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THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611),

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

67809

EDITED

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VOL. VI.

EZEKIEL—DANIEL—AND THE MINOR PROPHETS.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

EZEKIEL.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY G. CURREY, D.D., MASTER OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
I. Authenticity of the Book	1
II. Name, Birthplace, and Private Life of the Prophet	2
III. Events in Palestine and Egypt during the first period of Ezekiel's Prophecy	*ib.*
IV. Internal condition of the Jews in Palestine and in Chaldæa	3
V. Ezekiel's Mission	4
VI. Effect of the Captivity in reuniting the Tribes of Israel	5
VII. Order of Ezekiel's Prophecies	5
VIII. Leading characteristics	7
IX. Different systems of Interpretation	*ib.*
X. Relation of the Visions of Ezekiel to those of the Apocalypse	8
XI. Eschatological character of Ezekiel's writings	10
XII. Composition of the Book	11
XIII. Points of contact in the writings of Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and St John the Divine	12

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES.

	PAGE
First Group. *Words of Warning to Israel*	17
Note on the Vision in the opening Chapter	23
Note on the Idolatries of Judah in the time of Ezekiel	47
Note on the Section xiii. 17—23	61
Second Group. *Words of Judgment to Heathen Nations*	105
Note on the Siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar and its subsequent Ruin	113
Note on the Egyptian kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty	130
Note on the Downfall of Pharaoh-Hophra and the Ruin of Egypt	131
Third Group. *Words of Comfort to Israel*	141
Note on the Vision of the Temple, with Plans	177
Plan of the Ideal Allotment of the Land	203
Plan of the same in detail	206

DANIEL.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, CRITICAL NOTES AND EXCURSUS, BY THE LATE H. J. ROSE, B.D., ARCHDEACON OF BEDFORD, AND J. M. FULLER, M.A., VICAR OF BEXLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

I. The Life and Times of Daniel . . 210
II. The Reception of the Book of Daniel 213
1. Daniel and the Post-exilic Prophets . . . . . *ib.*
2. Daniel and the Books of the Old Testament . . . . . *ib.*
3. Daniel and the Canon . . . 214
4. Daniel and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament 217
5. Daniel and Josephus 219
6. Daniel and the LXX. Version . 220
7. Daniel and the New Testament and the Church 221
III. Difficulties connected with the Book of Daniel 223
(*a*) Prophecies . . . . . *ib.*
(*b*) Miracles 225
(*c*) Historical Statements . . . 226
IV. Philology of the Book of Daniel . *ib.*
Conclusion 230

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 232—394.

EXCURSUS.

PAGE

The Names given to Daniel and his Companions 242
Persian Words in the book Daniel . . 246
Chaldean Magic 266
The Musical Instruments in the book Daniel 281
Belshazzar and Darius the Mede . . 305
The Four Kingdoms 332
The Messiah 337
The Angelology of the book 348
The Seventy Weeks 360
The belief in the Resurrection . . . 394

HOSEA.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, BY E. HUXTABLE, M.A., PREBENDARY OF WELLS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

Hosea's Name, Origin and Sphere of Ministry 398
Period of his Ministry 399
Contemporary History of the Northern Kingdom 401
Relation of the Contents of the book to the History 402
How far predictive 405
Relation to the centre of the Theocracy 406
Temperament of Hosea 407
Style . . . . . *ib.*
Relation to the Sacred Canon 408

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 411—491.

JOEL.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY F. MEYRICK, M.A., PREBENDARY OF LINCOLN,
RECTOR OF BLICKLING.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. Author and Date	492	(2) The effusion of the Holy Spirit	495
II. Contents of the book	494	(3) The Locusts	*ib.*
Its three Predictions:—		III. The Fulfilment of the Predictions	498
(1) The Day of the Lord	*ib.*		

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 500—519.

AMOS.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY R. GANDELL, M.A., LAUDIAN PROFESSOR OF ARABIC, OXFORD.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
Occupation and Home of Amos	520	His Call, Date, Subject and Style	521

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 523—560.

OBADIAH.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY PREBENDARY MEYRICK.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. The Author	561	IV. Predictions and their fulfilment;	
II. His Date	*ib.*	1. Conquest of Edom by the Jews	565
III. History of the Edomites, as illustrative of Obadiah	564	2. Conquest of Edom by the heathen	*ib.*
		3. Expansion of Israel	566

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 568—574.

JONAH.

INTRODUCTION, EXCURSUS, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, BY PREBENDARY HUXTABLE.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
Jonah's History and Era	575	Its Canonical Authority	578
Contents, and direct General Purpose of the book	576	The book shewn to be historical (*a*) by Christ's references to it	*ib.*
Typically predictive of Christ's Death, Resurrection, and Calling the Gentiles	577	(*b*) from internal evidence	579
		Jonah the probable Author of the book	580

EXCURSUS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Objections made to the Historical Character of the book	581	Relation of Jonah's Hymn to other Scriptures	583
Objections made to Jonah's being the Author	583		

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 585—608.

MICAH.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, BY THE LATE SAMUEL CLARK, M.A., RECTOR OF EATON BISHOP.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. Name and Ministry of the prophet	609	V. Personal characteristics	610
II. Prophetic Visions	610	VI. Unity of Authorship, and Plan of the book	611
III. Reign of Messiah	*ib.*		
IV. Comparison with Isaiah	*ib.*		

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 613—633.

NAHUM.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTE, BY PROFESSOR GANDELL.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. The Prophet	634	II. The Prophecy. Its date, subject, fulfilment and style	635

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTE, pp. 637—649.

HABAKKUK.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY F. C. COOK, M.A., CANON OF EXETER.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE
I. Name and Position of the prophet . 650
II. Analysis of the book 651
III. Events of Contemporary History 653
IV. Probable Date of the prophecy . 654
V. General Characteristics 656

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 658—676.

ZEPHANIAH.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY,
BY PROFESSOR GANDELL.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE
I. The Prophet. his Name and Descent 677
II. His Date . . . . . *ib.*
III. His Subject and Style 678

COMMENTARY, pp. 679—692.

HAGGAI.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY W. DRAKE, M.A., HON. CANON OF WORCESTER,
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE
I. Person of the prophet and Date of his mission 693
II. The Subject of the prophecy . . 694

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 695—701.

ZECHARIAH.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES,
BY CANON DRAKE.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Person and Date of the prophet . PAGE 702
II. Subject-matter of the book . . . *ib.*
III. Integrity of the book . . . . PAGE 703

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES, pp. 705—739.

MALACHI.

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTE,
BY CANON DRAKE.

INTRODUCTION.

Person and Age of the prophet . PAGE 740
II. Subject-matter and Style of the book PAGE 741

COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTE, pp. 742—750.

EZEKIEL.

INTRODUCTION.

		PAGE
I.	*Authenticity of the book*	1
II.	*Name, birthplace, and private life of the prophet*	2
III.	*Events in Palestine and Egypt during the first period of Ezekiel's prophecy*	2
IV.	*Internal condition of the Jews in Palestine and in Chaldea* . . .	3
V.	*Ezekiel's mission* :	4
VI.	*Effect of the captivity in reuniting the tribes of Israel*	5
VII.	*Order of Ezekiel's prophecies* . .	5
VIII.	*Leading characteristics*	7
IX.	*Different systems of interpretation*	7
X.	*Relation of the visions of Ezekiel to those of the Apocalypse* . . .	8
XI.	*Eschatological character of Ezekiel's writings*	10
XII.	*Composition of the book*	11
XIII.	*Points of contact in the writings of Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and St John the Divine* . . .	12

I.

WE know scarcely anything of Ezekiel except that which we learn from the book that bears his name[1]. Of the date and authorship of this book there has scarcely been any serious question. The book of Ezekiel has ever formed part of the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament. Josephus tells us that it was one of the twenty-two canonical books. In one passage indeed the Jewish historian says that Ezekiel wrote two books, and some have thought that this implies that a book of Ezekiel's has been lost (Davidson's 'Introduction'). But as we have no trace of any such book and no statement of such a loss, we may conclude that Josephus is speaking of two parts of the one book which we possess. This book is found in the most ancient versions, wherein with variations in particular texts the whole book is substantially the same. An old Jewish tradition asserts, that the book of Ezekiel was settled and placed in the canon by the great Council of state; this Council, by special treaty, had charge over the religious and political affairs of the Jewish nation, under the supremacy of the Persians from the first year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 444), the time of Nehemiah's mission to Jerusalem. It was continued under the Greek supremacy of the Seleucidæ until the death of the high-priest Simon (B.C. 196). There is however good reason to believe that the tradition above-mentioned pointed to the times of the Persian supremacy. It was not till several hundred years later that any doubt was thrown on the canonicity of this book[2]. (Fürst's 'Canon des Alt.

[1] An apocryphal tradition says that he was murdered by one of his fellow-exiles, and in the middle ages his tomb was shewn, distant a few days' journey from Bagdad, to which tomb Jews from Parthia are said to have made pilgrimages (Winer). A legend, current among the Jews and early Christians (Hävernick), that he was the son or servant of Jeremiah, arose, no doubt, from the resemblance of his mission to that of the earlier prophet, and was perhaps not meant to be understood literally.

[2] The canon of the Jewish Scriptures was examined by the Rabbins about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. A question was raised as to the authenticity of Ezekiel on the grounds of a supposed discrepancy between passages of his writings and the teaching of the Pentateuch —*e.g.* xviii. 20, Exod. xx. 5, but this was a mere critical discussion, and we are told that R. Eleazar Ben Hanania solved the difficulty by reconciling the passages objected to. (Derenbourg's 'Palestine,' p. 295.)

Test.' pp. 21 foll.) In recent times a critic has been here and there found to endeavour on purely subjective grounds to discredit the authenticity of one or two passages, but such criticisms have been speedily answered on their own grounds, and there is no need to revive them[1]. We may assume then as an unquestionable fact that we have before us the prophecy of Ezekiel as it was accepted from the first by the Jewish Church; and accordingly we may proceed with confidence to gather, by a study of its contents, such introductory information as may seem desirable, in reference to the circumstances and condition of the prophet and of his countrymen.

II.

Ezekiel (Heb. *Jechezk-el*[2], *God strengtheneth* or *hardeneth*) was the son of Buzi, a priest probably of the family of Zadok, which he mentions in more than one passage (xl. 46, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, 16) as marked out among the sons of Levi to *come near to the Lord to minister unto Him*. Being one of those who went into exile with Jehoiachin, when Nebuchadnezzar carried away the priests and the princes and the mighty of the land (2 K. xxiv. 14), he would seem to have belonged to the higher class, a supposition agreeing with the consideration accorded to him by his fellow-exiles (viii. 1, &c.).

The chief scene of his ministry was Tel-Abib in Northern Mesopotamia, on the river Chebar, along the banks of which were the settlements of the exiles; see on i. 3 and iii. 15.

Of the place and date of Ezekiel's birth we have no record. It is probable that he was born in or near Jerusalem, where he must certainly have lived many years before he was carried into exile. The date of his entering upon the prophetical office is given in i. 1, and if, as is not unlikely, he entered upon this office at the legal age of thirty, he must have been about fourteen years of age when Josiah died. In this case he could not have exercised the priestly functions at Jerusalem; but as his father was a priest (see on i. 3), he was no doubt brought up in the courts of the temple, and so became familiar with its services and arrangements. Josephus says that Ezekiel was "a boy" (παῖς ὤν) at the time of his exile, which, however, he by mistake identifies with the captivity of Jehoiakim instead of that of Jehoiachin (Schroeder). This looks like confusing Ezekiel with Daniel; but it may mean that he was not at that time of full age, *i.e.* not thirty years old.

We know from the book itself that Ezekiel lived in a house of his own, was married, and lost his wife in the ninth year of his exile. Of the rest of his life we know nothing.

III.

The period during which Ezekiel prophesied in Chaldæa was signalized by the miserable reign of Zedekiah, ending in his imprisonment and death, by the destruction of the temple, the sack of Jerusalem, and the final deportation of its inhabitants, by Gedaliah's short regency over the poor remnant left behind in the country, his treacherous murder, and the flight of the conspirators, conveying Jeremiah with them into Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar's conquests in the neighbouring countries, and especially his prolonged siege of Tyre.

The year in which Ezekiel delivered his prophecies against Egypt corresponds with the first year[3] of the reign of Pharaoh-Hophra, the Apries of Herodotus. The accession of this king to the Egyptian throne affected very materially the future of the kingdom of Judah. Since the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar the Jews had found the service of the Chaldæans a hard one, and were ready at any moment to rise and shake off the yoke. Zedekiah, though the creature of the Babylonian monarch, shared the burden, and could not but share the feelings of his

[1] Ewald remarks that the least observation must convince us that every portion of the book really came from Ezekiel's own hand. (Ewald, 'Israel.')

[2] The name also occurs in 1 Chro. xxiv. 16, as that of the head of one of 24 courses of ministering Levites. The Hebrew name there is identical with that of the prophet, but is expressed in English by *Jehezkel*.

[3] See Note at end of chap. xxix.

subjects. Nor was the character of either people or king such that they were likely to be restrained by the repeated oaths of fidelity which they had made to Nebuchadnezzar. It was however, clear that there was no hope of success from any combinations with small neighbouring states enslaved like themselves. Egypt was the only power from which they could hope for effectual support. And Egypt had long been inactive. The power of Necho was broken at Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2; 2 K. xxiv. 7). Psammetichus II. (the Psammis of Herodotus), his son and successor, seems to have been a feeble prince; he was, moreover, occupied in an Ethiopian war during part of his reign (which lasted only seven years), but Hophra was of a very different stamp. Herodotus tells us (II. 161) that no former king of Egypt except his great-grandfather, Psammetichus, was so prosperous in his undertakings as Apries, that he reigned twenty-five years[1], in the course of which he marched against Sidon and conducted an expedition by sea against the king of Tyre. It is clear that he was minded to recover the ground which his grandfather and father had lost in Palestine and in Syria. Rumours of these designs had no doubt reached the Jews, both in Jerusalem and in captivity, and they were watching their opportunity to break with Babylon and ally themselves with Egypt. Against such alliance Ezekiel came forward to protest. He told his countrymen that their hopes of safety lay not in shaking off a yoke, which they could not do without the grossest perjury, but in repenting of their sins, and turning to the God of their fathers.

The fallacy of the hopes entertained by the Jews of deliverance through Egypt was soon made manifest. In the course of the final siege of Jerusalem Hophra attempted a diversion which proved unsuccessful. Nebuchadnezzar left the siege of Jerusalem to attack the Egyptians, who, if not defeated in battle (as Josephus says they were, 'Antiq. Jud.' x. 10), were at least forced to retreat over the borders, and offered no further resistance to the captor of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxvii. 5—8). It was at this time that Ezekiel commenced the series of prophecies against Egypt (xxix.—xxxii.), which were continued until the blow fell upon that country which ended in the ruin and deposition of Pharaoh-Hophra.

[1] Herodotus is mistaken in the number of years of Hophra's reign. Monuments shew this number to have been 19 not 25. See Note at end of ch. xxix.

IV.

This book throws much light upon the condition and the feelings of the Jews both in the Holy Land and in exile, and of the relation of the two parties to each other.

The seeds of the idolatry with which Manasseh had saturated the land, and which Josiah had in vain attempted thoroughly to root up, yet remained in Jerusalem. Even among the priests and in the temple the abominable worship of false gods was carried on, though in secret (viii. 5 foll.). See Int. to Jer. p. 316. To the exiles, too, the hankering after idolatry in some degree clung (xiv. 3 foll.), though probably in a less decided degree.

Mixed up with this unfaithfulness to the true God there was yet prevalent a carnal and superstitious confidence in His disposition to protect the city and people, once His own. Looking to nothing beyond outward and material things, they deemed that Jehovah was, as it were, pledged to uphold His people; and utterly disregarding the conditional character of His promises, and the more spiritual nature of His blessings, they satisfied themselves that the once glorious Jerusalem never would and never could be overthrown. False prophets were ever at hand to support these delusions (xiii. 2 foll.), to which the exiles, as well as those yet unremoved, clung with a desperate pertinacity, even at the very moment that Jerusalem was tottering to its fall. Hence arose the foolish rebellions of Zedekiah, commencing in reckless perjury, and terminating in calamity and disgrace.

Connected with this feeling was a strange reversal of the relative positions of the exiles and of the Jews at home. The great men had been deported, the mean only left behind (2 K. xxiv. 14); but proud of their occupation of the

seat of material worship and dignity, the Jews at home soon affected to despise their exiled countrymen (xi. 13 foll.); and in this sentiment even the exiles themselves seem to have acquiesced, under the impression that their position in a foreign land shewed them to be outcasts and aliens in comparison with their more favoured countrymen, yet in possession of their home, and therefore Ezekiel had to assure his fellow-exiles that to them and not to the Jews in Palestine belonged the enduring title of God's people (xi. 16, 17, 20).

V.

Though the voice of the prophet may have sounded back to the country which he had left, Ezekiel's special mission was to those among whom he dwelt. He had, in the first place, to convince them of God's utter abhorrence of idolatry, and of the sure and irrevocable doom of those who practised it, and thus to persuade his hearers entirely to cast out idols from their homes and from their hearts. He had to shew that the Chaldæans were the instruments of God, and that therefore resistance to them was both hopeless and unlawful, and so teach his people to endure with patience the lot which their own sins had made inevitable. He had next to destroy their presumptuous confidence in external privileges, and so to open their eyes to a truer sense of the nature of the divine promises, and, lastly, to raise their drooping hearts by unfolding to them the true character of the divine government, and the end for which it was administered.

The book of Ezekiel may be said in this respect to be the moral of the captivity. For the captivity was not simply a divine judgment, but a preparation for a better state, an awakening of higher hopes. The state of exile brought with it longings for, and expectations of, restoration. These longings and expectations it was Ezekiel's part to direct and satisfy. It was his to teach the progress of the kingdom of God from the first call of Abraham to the establishment of the kingdom of David, and to shew that this most triumphant period of his people's history was but a shadow of still greater glory. He was to raise the drooping spirits of his countrymen by the prospect of a restoration, reaching far beyond a return to their native soil; he was to point to an inauguration of divine worship far more solemn than was to be secured by the reconstruction of the city or temple on its original site in its original form, to point, in fact, to that dispensation which temple, city and nation were intended to foreshadow and introduce. But further, their condition was intended, and was calculated, to stir their hearts to their very inmost depths, and to awaken thoughts which must find their answer in the messages characteristic of Gospel truth. In the law there had been intimations of restoration upon repentance (Deut. xxx. 1—10). But this idea is expanded by Ezekiel (xviii.), and the operations of the Holy Spirit are brought prominently forward (xxxvii. 9, 10). A change of heart viewed as the work of God, and consequent reconciliation with God, these are truths which Ezekiel was commissioned to declare (xxxvi. 26 foll.), and for this reason he may be specially described as the Gospel-prophet (see Note A, on xviii.).

We must not forget to compare the mission of Ezekiel with that of his countryman, Jeremiah, who began his prophetical office earlier, but continued it through the best part of the time during which Ezekiel himself laboured. Both had to deliver much the same messages, and there is a marked similarity in their utterances, as Calvin has remarked. "It cannot be in the mere natural course of events, that the one at Jerusalem, the other in Chaldæa, put forth their prophecies as from one common mouth, like two singers who answer one another in alternate strains. And never was there harmony sweeter and more complete, than that which we perceive in these two servants of God." But Jeremiah's mission was incomparably the more mournful one. It was his to cry aloud in vain, to be despised, rejected, and put to death. Ezekiel's task was a bitter one, for he had to denounce destruction and ruin upon the people and the objects nearest to his heart. But personally he soon acquired respect and attention, and if at first opposed, was

at last listened to if not obeyed. He may have been instrumental, together with Daniel, in working that reformation in the Jewish people, which certainly was to some extent effected during the captivity; at all events he must have seen some symptoms of spiritual renovation after the destruction of the city, and it was a grateful part of his ministry that it was so much concerned in opening the prospect of better times, and that his prophetic roll, which commenced with the bitterness of judgment and woe, terminated with the sweetness of renewed hope and restored glory.

VI.

One of the immediate effects of the captivity was the reunion of the severed tribes of Israel. For although the place of Ezekiel's abode may not have been identical with that of the exiles of the ten tribes (see on i. 1), still the exile of the Jews brought them into contact with their brethren of the earlier exile. The political reasons which had sundered them were at an end; a common lot begat sympathy in the sufferers; and those of the ten tribes who even in their separation had been conscious of a natural unity, and could not but recognize in the representative of David the true centre of union, would be naturally inclined to seek this unity in amalgamation with the exiles of Judah, and would not be unwilling to subordinate themselves to this tribe.

In the course of the years which had elapsed since their exile, the numbers of the ten tribes may well have wasted away. As their separate constitution in their own land had been founded on idolatry, though in a modified form, they would be more apt than the men of Judah, the professing servants of the true Jehovah and His temple, to be absorbed among the heathen who surrounded them, and thus the exiles from Judah may have far exceeded in number and importance those who yet remained of the exiles of Israel. Accordingly we find in Ezekiel the terms Judah and Israel applied indiscriminately to those among whom the prophet dwelt (see on xiv. 1); and the sins of Israel, no less than those of Judah, are summed up in the reproof of his countrymen. All descendants of Abraham were again being drawn together as one people, and this was to be effected by the separated members gathering again around the legitimate centre of government and of worship, under the supremacy of Judah. This will account for the name of Israel being lost in that of Judah, for the decree of Cyrus being addressed to the fathers of Judah and Benjamin (Ezra i. 5), and for the people's returning under the name of *Jews*, while we find in much later days mention of members of other tribes (Luke ii. 36). St Paul also speaks of the *twelve tribes of Israel*, Acts xxvi. 7. (See notes on iv. 3, xi. 1, 15.) The amalgamation of the exiles of Israel and of Judah is in fact distinctly predicted by Jeremiah (Jer. iii. 18); a prediction which has been indeed referred by some to a reunion yet to come, but which had in fact its accomplishment in the restoration of the people to their native land by the decree of Cyrus. The same inference may be drawn from Ezekiel's sign of the *two sticks* (xxxvii. 16 foll.); for although this prophecy had a further and fuller accomplishment, yet it need not be supposed entirely to overlook a primary fulfilment in the return from Babylon.

Attempts have been made from time to time to discover the lost ten tribes, by persons expecting to find, or thinking that they have found, them existing still as a separate community. But according to the foregoing view we need not look forward to any such discovery. The time of captivity was the time of reunion. Ezekiel's mission was *to the house of Israel*, not only to those who came out with him from Jerusalem or Judah, but to those also of the stock whom he found residing in a foreign land, where they had been settled for more than 100 years (xxxvii. 16 and xlviii. 1).

VII.

The order and the character of the prophecies which this book contains are in strict accordance with the prophet's mission. He is summoned to his office by an extraordinary manifestation of the Divine Majesty, appropriate for one who had long been banished from that house which he had hitherto

regarded as the peculiar seat of the glory of Jehovah. His first utterances are those of bitter denunciation of judgment upon a rebellious people, and these threatenings are continued until they are fulfilled. The voice of thunder ceases not until the storm breaks in full fury upon the deserted city. Then the note is changed. There are yet indeed threatenings, but they are for unfaithful shepherds, and for the enemies of God's people. The remainder of the book is full of reassurance of hopes and promises of renovation and blessing, in which the spiritual predominates over the temporal, and the kingdom of Christ takes the place of the kingdom upon Mount Zion.

The prophecies are divided into groups by dates prefixed to various chapters, and we may assume that those prophecies which are without date were delivered at the same time as the last given date, or at any rate followed closely upon it.

1. *The fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity.*

Ch. i.—vii. Ezekiel's call, and predictions of the coming siege of Jerusalem.

2. *The sixth year.*

Ch. viii.—xix. An inspection of the whole condition of the people, with predictions of coming punishment.

3. *The seventh year.*

Ch. xx.—xxiii. Fresh reproofs and fresh predictions of the coming ruin.

4. *The ninth year.*

Ch. xxiv. The year in which the siege began. The declarations that the city should be overthrown.

5. *The same year.*

Ch. xxv. Prophecies against Moab, Ammon and the Philistines.

6. *Eleventh year.*

In this year Jerusalem was taken after a siege of eighteen months, and the temple destroyed.

Ch. xxvi.—xxviii. Prophecies against Tyre.

7. *The tenth year.*

Ch. xxix. 1—16. Prophecy against Egypt.

8. *The twenty-seventh year.*

Ch. xxix. 17—xxx. 1—20. Prophecy against Egypt.

9. *The eleventh year.*

Ch. xxx. 20—26—xxxi. Prophecy against Egypt.

10. *The twelfth year.*

Ch. xxxii. Prophecy against Egypt.

11. *The same year.*

Ch. xxxiii.—xxxiv. Reproof of unfaithful rulers.

12. *Same year, or some year between the twelfth and twenty-fifth.*

Ch. xxxv. Judgment of Mount Seir.

13. *Same year.*

Ch. xxxvi.—xxxix. Visions of comfort. Overthrow of Gog.

14. *Twenty-fifth year.*

Ch. xl.—xlviii. The vision of the temple.

We observe from the summary that the prophecies are in general arranged in chronological order. The deviations from this order are not difficult to explain. So far as the people of God were concerned, there are two chief groups, (1) those delivered before (ch. i.—xxiv.), (2) those delivered after the destruction of the city (xxxiii.—xlviii.). There was an interval during which the prophet's mouth was closed so far as regarded the children of his people, from the ninth to the twelfth year of the captivity. During this interval he was guided to utter words of threatening to the heathen nations, and these utterances find their place (ch. xxv.—xxxii.). They form a suitable transition from the declaration of God's wrath to that of His mercy towards His people, because the punishment of their enemies is in itself a part of the deliverance of His people. But the arrangement of these prophecies against the heathen is rather local than chronological, so that, as in the case of Egypt, several

prophecies delivered at various times on the same subject are brought together.

VIII.

The leading characteristics of Ezekiel's prophecies are, first, his use of visions; secondly, his constant reference to the earlier writings of the Old Testament. The second of these characteristics is especially seen by his application of the Pentateuch. He represents and enforces its lessons, recognizing therein the word of God, that will make itself heard and obeyed. It is not merely the voice of a priest, imbued with the law which it was his profession to study. It is the voice of the Holy Spirit Himself, teaching us that the Law, which came from God, is ever just, wise, and holy, and preparing the way for the enlarged interpretation of the ancient testimonies, which our blessed Lord Himself afterwards promulgated; and instructing us to read, in the spirit of its commandments, and of its ordinances, those moral truths and those mysterious doctrines, upon which is founded and established the salvation of man.

In regard to visions, the most striking is that in which is revealed to him the majesty of God (see ch. i. and notes thereon). Besides these are visions of ideal scenes (*e.g.* ch. viii.) and of symbolical actions (*e.g.* ch. iv.). It is true that this form was not unknown to the earlier prophets. Isaiah has in his sixth chapter a vision resembling that with which the book of Ezekiel opens. Jeremiah has many symbolical actions similar to those of Ezekiel: but that which was heretofore kept in the background is now brought to the front, and while we find in Ezekiel direct addresses to the people, as in the older prophets, these are less frequent; while on the other hand we find no prophecy communicated to him by dreams, as was the case with Daniel. The form of his prophecy may then be said to be a kind of transition from the earlier to the later mode (Schroeder).

When we proceed to examine the book in reference to its imagery, and the foundation of the figurative language therein employed, we observe at once how much is derived from the temple and its services.

Some have insisted that the language of the prophet takes its colour from the scenes which surround him, that *the living creatures*, for instance, were suggested by the strange forms of Assyrian sculpture familiar to us through recent explorations[1]. But these living creatures (like the seraphim of Isaiah, Isai. vi. 2) have much more in common with the cherubim of the Jewish temple than with the winged figures of Assyria. And though here and there we find traces of the place of his sojourn (as in iv. 1), it is but seldom. By the waters of Babylon the prophet remembered Zion, and his language, like his subject, was for the most part not of Chaldæa but of Jerusalem. But the choice of his imagery is not to be accounted for simply upon the ground that Ezekiel was a Jewish priest, thoroughly impressed by the outward signs of worship, and this all the more because these valued ordinances were for ever taken away from him. His fancy may naturally have recurred to the dearest objects of his love. But there is more than this. These ordinances were but the shell, containing within the kernels of eternal truth; these were the shadows, not the substance; and when the Spirit of God would reveal by the mouth of Ezekiel spiritual realities, He permitted the prophet to clothe them in those symbols with which he and his country were familiar. How far they were permitted to interpret the symbols is uncertain; but there is quite enough in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and in the declarations of the New, to convince us that such knowledge was not entirely withheld; and the vision of the temple, with which the book closes, difficult indeed in many points still, would be utterly strange and incomprehensible, were we to see in it no more than a material fabric, and in its service nothing beyond the reorganization of a Levitical priesthood and worship.

IX.

Schroeder[2] sums up the various systems of interpretation under the heads of

[1] See Note at end of chap. i.
[2] Lange's 'Bibelwerk.'

(1) historical, (2) allegorical, (3) typical, (4) symbolical, (5) Judaistical.

The *historical* regards simply the restoration after the seventy years, and supposes Ezekiel's prophecies and visions to have their purpose and fulfilment in this return.

The *allegorical* gathers spiritual lessons from any part according to the fancy of the interpreter.

The *typical* recognizes, both in the history, in the temple and its services, types of the Christian Church and its ordinances, following here the method of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the line of thought continually appearing in the Epistles of St Paul.

The *symbolical* is rather supplementary to, than varying from, the former method; the *types* were in themselves symbolical. The tabernacle or temple and its ordinances, its measurements and arrangements, no less than its sacrifices, had their meaning, and were intended by the Divine Lawgiver to express it.

The *Judaistical* was a method known in Jerome's day, and rejected by him. According to this method the prophecies look forward to a fulfilment in the future, but this is to be found in the restoration of the Jews to their native soil, in the establishment of an earthly kingdom, having Jerusalem for its capital, with a new temple and restored services, Messiah for the King, His subjects being the whole company of believers incorporated with the twelve tribes of Israel. In this way either the Christian is to be absorbed in the Jewish, or the Jewish in the Christian Church.

Jerome describes such interpreters as persons who "carnally interpret as future that which we spiritually understand to be already past[1]."

Jerome means that the prophecy of Ezekiel had its completion in the Church of Christ, then established in the Roman Empire. But as the Church is ever growing, and will continue to grow until the consummation of all things, we may believe that the prophecy is still in the course of fulfilment, and that the temple in its completeness is for the time when the kingdom of Christ shall be fully established, and He shall have put down all rule and all principalities and power, to deliver up the kingdom unto the Father, that God may be all in all (see the notes on xxxvii.).

[1] "Ut quæ Judæi et nostri, immo non nostri, Judaizantes carnaliter futura contendunt nos spiritualiter jam transacta doceamus." Hieronym. quoted by Schroeder.

X.

The relation of the visions of Ezekiel to those of the Apocalypse is next to be considered. So much is common to the two books, that it is impossible to doubt that there is in the Revelation of St John a designed reference to the older seer. It is not merely that the same images are employed, which might be supposed naturally to belong to a common *apocalyptic language*, as in other writings the recurrence of the same phrases denotes a common *prophetical language*, but in some of the visions there is a resemblance which can only be accounted for by an identity of subject, and as the subject is by St John often more precisely defined, the later vision throws great light upon the former. This will be seen best in detail.

The opening visions of Ezekiel and of St John can scarcely be otherwise than substantially identical. In each, the prominent object is a throne, and He that sitteth on it; the throne is surrounded by ineffable brightness, lightnings flash forth from it, and a rainbow encircles it, whilst in constant attendance upon it are four, called, according to our English version, by Ezekiel *living creatures*, by St John *beasts*, but in the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament ζῶα (Heb. *chaioth*), being the common name for animals, *living ones*. In Ezekiel he who sits upon the throne is described as *the likeness or the appearance of a man;* in St John He is *to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone*, and is addressed in adoration as *the Lord* (Rev. iv. 11), being no doubt the same person described more fully in Rev. i. as *like unto the Son of Man*, and as *He that liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore.* As there can be no doubt who is designated by St John, we are led by an irresistible conclusion to recognize in the vision of Ezekiel the manifestation of the glory of God in the

person of our Lord Jesus Christ, made Man, *in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*. But while the central object is the same there are in the two visions marked differences. In St John we have no *clouds from the north*, and no *firmament*. The *wheels*, which are so striking a feature in Ezekiel, are altogether wanting, the *eyes* being transferred to the bodies of the four beasts. The Four differ considerably. While in Ezekiel the fourfold variety is common to all, so that each of the Four is precisely similar to the others, in St John the varieties are distributed, to one being given that of *a man*, to another that of *a lion*, and so forth. The peculiar motion of the Four, all together moving to all quarters of the earth with no change in their relative positions, occurs not in St John; and, in short, while *unity* is a characteristic of Ezekiel's Four, actuated by one spirit, so as to be called, not only *living creatures*, but *the living creature* (Heb. *chaiiah*) (i. 20), in St John the Four seem more like four persons offering, like the twenty-four elders, common adoration. These differences bear directly upon the subject of the two visions. The *cloud from the north* localizes the vision to a spot upon the earth's surface. The *wheels* connect the chariot with the *earth*, the movements are to do service *on the earth*, the *firmament* is the medium between *earth* and *heaven*. The various particulars are parts of one whole, which represents the manifestations of the glory of God upon earth, and in all the creatures of the earth. But in St John the scene is *Heaven*. Visible creation is indeed represented, but it is translated to heaven. No services are required on earth, but the employment of all creation is to render perpetual worship to Him who is enthroned in glory, *having taken His manhood into God*. If, as is most probable, the number *four* is symbolical of the *earth*, we see why by Ezekiel the number is so much more frequently repeated than by St John, not only *four* beings, but each being *fourfold*, with *four* faces, *four* (not *six*) wings.

Again, a characteristic feature of Ezekiel's prophecy is the declaration of God's judgments, first against the rebellious city, and then against the enemies of the chosen people. In the Revelation there is nothing exactly corresponding to the judgment of Jerusalem, because the Church is contemplated by St John in its purity and in its triumph. But the same figures, both to denote wickedness and its punishment, which are by Ezekiel applied to idolatrous Judah, are by St John turned upon idolatrous Babylon. The image of Babylon as *the great whore* finds its parallel in the whoredoms of Aholah and Aholibah (xvi.), and the judgment is pronounced upon the former in the very terms which in Ezekiel are employed against the latter (comp. Rev. xvii. 16 and Ezek. xvi. 37—44).

We have the dirge of Babylon with its merchants and merchandize (Rev. xviii. 11), recalling forcibly the dirge of Tyre (xxvii.), and the fowls of the air are summoned to fatten upon the carcases of the armies of Babylon in the same form as upon those of the army of Gog (comp. Ezek. xxxix. 17 and Rev. xix. 17). And further, we have the same mighty array of forces under Gog, and their overthrow, in Ezekiel (xxxviii.) and in the Revelation (xx.). Now the repetition of these descriptions by the Christian seer must be owing to something more than the mere employment of figurative language already in use. The descriptions seem to point, in many cases at least, to the same events, and this may teach us to extend the application of Ezekiel's prophecies beyond the time at which they were delivered: just as our Lord's predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem are so mixed up with those of the end of the world, that we learn to regard the destruction of the city as the type and anticipation of the final judgment, so in the adoption of Ezekiel's language and figures by St John, we see a proof of the extended meaning of the older prophecies. It is one conflict, waged from the first, and waging still; the conflict of evil with good, of the world with God, to be accomplished only in the final consummation, to which the Revelation manifestly conducts us.

When we come to the figures of a building, we find a most significant difference between Ezekiel and St John. The latter introduces an angel with a measuring reed, like that of Ezekiel

(Rev. xi. 1), and there is a measuring of the temple of God, and its inner court, though the outer court is to be given unto the Gentiles. But the figure of the holiness of the temple is only in an earlier part of the visions. When the new Jerusalem, which is to represent, like the new city of Ezekiel, the presence of the Lord among His people (comp. Ezek. xlviii. 35 and Rev. xxi. 3), descends from heaven, all reference to Jewish ordinances ceases. While Ezekiel, writing before the old dispensation had passed away, is guided to represent the perfection of worship under the form of a renewed and more complete ritual, the Christian seer, writing under the new dispensation, represents to us the true character of the worship of God, foretold by our Lord Himself, "not in Jerusalem, nor in this mountain, but everywhere in spirit and in truth," by the striking announcement, *I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple thereof*, Rev. xxi. 22.

XI.

There is one feature in the writings of Ezekiel, which deserves particular notice. This is (to use a modern term) their Eschatological character, *i. e.* their reference not merely to *an* end, but to *the* very end of all (see for instance ch. vii. and xxxvi.). There are many parts which have special reference to the circumstances of the prophet and his countrymen. The local and the temporary seem to predominate; and some have thought that these messages were exclusively for those among whom Ezekiel lived, that when the blow which he had foretold fell, this portion of his book was closed, and is simply to be viewed historically as furnishing proof of the prophet's inspiration, and exhibiting in a particular instance the principles of the divine administration of the world. But if we look closely we shall find more than this. It is remarkable that the reproaches for wilful blindness and obstinacy, and the denunciations of punishment, are derived, often verbally, from the Law, especially from that part of it wherein Moses set before the people the consequences of obedience or disobedience to the precepts of their Almighty Ruler (v. 2, Lev. xxvi. 33;—xiv. 21, Lev. xxvi. 22, 25, 26;—xvi. 38, Deut. xxii. 22). The reiteration of these threats by Ezekiel proves that the events which he predicts form part of that plan which was set forth at the commencement of the national life of the children of Israel. And as we must suppose that this fundamental plan of government reached beyond the time of any one visitation, so we may gather that Ezekiel's predictions of siege, of slaughter, of dispersion, had not their final accomplishment in the consequences of the Chaldæan conquest; and this is borne out by the history of the Jewish nation. There is no city of which we have recorded such dreadful sieges as the city of Jerusalem. The horrors predicted by Moses and by Ezekiel have had their literal fulfilment on more than one occasion; and the fortunes of the people, scattered throughout the world, have borne continual proofs of the fulfilment of the divine decrees. But we are carried further than this. The discourses of our Lord in Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi. repeat the same predictions, and these discourses manifestly look forward to the end of time, to the final judgment of the world. For each temporal judgment foreshadows the final retribution, and so one prophecy may be directly addressed to many periods of time, in all of which the immutable law illustrates itself in the history of nations and individuals. Violence blossoms into punishment, sin bears death as its fruit; and this teaches us the principle upon which we are to interpret even those passages in Ezekiel which seem most particularly to refer to Israel and to Jerusalem. St John the Baptist, St Paul, and our Lord Himself, teach us to regard believers in Christ as the true Israel, the real children of Abraham; and this is connected with the truth, that the institution of the Church of Christ is only a continuance of the plan according to which God called Abraham out of the world, and separated his descendants to be a peculiar people to Himself. Thus Israel represents the visible Church, brought into special relation with God Himself, and

too often acting, as Israel of old acted, in neglect of the obligations which such relation imposes. The history of the Christian Church viewed in this light presents a spectacle scarcely less melancholy than the history of the children of Israel. The prophetical warnings have therefore their applications here. How far the calamities of Christendom may be viewed as divine judgments for the violation of the divine law, it may not be wise too nicely to inquire. But many of these calamities have been the direct consequence of departure from the principles of the law of Christ. War, for instance, bringing with it the special visitations of *famine*, *pestilence*, and the *sword*, is the result as well as the punishment of such departure (comp. James iv. 1). We are therefore to interpret these predictions of Ezekiel not simply as illustrative of, but as directly predictive of, the future of the Church, Jewish and Christian, until the end of time. This view is confirmed by the introduction (so remarkable in Ezekiel) of passages setting forth in the strongest terms individual responsibility (especially ch. xviii.). These passages contain, it is manifest, universal truth, but their peculiar appropriateness to such a book as that of Ezekiel is best seen when we perceive that he is addressing, not simply the historical Israel of his own day, but the whole body who have been, like Israel of old, called forth to be God's people, and who will be called to strict account for the neglect of their consequent privileges (see note on xi. 19).

XII.

It has been already seen that the book forms a complete and harmonious whole. It is evident that the parts have been studiously arranged, and there can be no doubt that this was done by the prophet himself, who, at the same time, prefixed the dates to the several prophecies. The precision of these dates affords a clear proof that the prophecies were in the first instance orally delivered[1]. Ezekiel very generally speaks of himself in the first person, and uses the historic past to describe the occurrence of each particular vision, or communication from God. The prophecies were, no doubt, written down at the time of their delivery, and afterwards, under the directions of the Holy Spirit, put together into one volume, to form a part of those Scriptures which God has bequeathed as a perpetual inheritance to His Church.

Some have thought that the frequent insertion of passages from older writers is characteristic rather of an author than of a prophet. (Ewald's 'Introd.' and Schrader in Schenkel's 'Bibel Lexicon.') They see herein a declension from the true prophetical character of the older prophets, such as Isaiah, Hosea, and Jeremiah, who went forth to seek the people, and addressed to them fresh words of rebuke or exhortation. It is thought to be in accordance with this view of Ezekiel's position, that the elders of Israel come to his house, and there receive their answer (viii. 1, xx. 1), but this is in fact the exception, and not the rule. Other prophecies were manifestly delivered publicly, like those of Jeremiah, and Ezekiel is constantly bidden to go forth to shew signs, and to instruct the people. His subsequent arrangement of his own prophecies in no way affects their prophetical character at the time of their delivery. Each writer in the Holy Scripture, though speaking under the inspiration of God, was yet permitted to preserve his own characteristic style, and if Ezekiel, the priest, imbued not only with the spirit, but with the letter of the Law, engrafted it upon his predictions, this can in no degree lessen the authority of his commission as prophet. The greater part of this book is written in prose, although the images employed are highly poetical. Some portions, however, may be regarded as poetry; as, for instance, the dirge of the kings (xix.), the lay of the sword (xxi. 8 foll.), the dirges of Tyre (xxvii., xxviii.), and of Egypt (xxxi., xxxii.). The language bears marks of the later style, which was introduced at the time of the Babylonish captivity.

[1] Ewald's inference that the dates were not precise, because the days of the month mentioned are always either the 1st or the 5th or the 7th or the 10th or the 12th or the 15th, will scarcely recommend itself to the reader. Considering that the day is only mentioned in fourteen instances, there is surely sufficient variety. (Ewald, 'Introd.' p. 207.)

XIII. POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE WRITINGS OF *EZEKIEL, DANIEL, ZECHARIAH* AND *ST JOHN THE DIVINE.*

I was among the captives	Ezek. i. 1. Rev. i. 9.
The word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel	Ezek. i. 3. Rev. i. 10.
A whirlwind out of the north	Ezek. i. 4.
Four winds strove upon the great sea	Dan. vii. 2.
A fire infolding itself, &c.	Ezek. i. 4.
Lamps of fire	Rev. iv. 5.
Four living creatures	Ezek. i. 5.
Four great beasts	Dan. vii. 3.
Four beasts	Rev. iv. 6.
The likeness of a man	Ezek. i. 5.
The first beast was made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it	Dan. vii. 4.
The third beast had a face as a man	Rev. iv. 7.
Every one had four faces and four wings	Ezek. i. 6, x. 14, 21.
The third beast had four wings and four heads	Dan. vii. 6.
The fourfold nature distributed severally to each individual	Rev. iv. 7.
Four wings	Ezek. i. 6.
Eagle's wings, four wings	Dan. vii. 4, 6.
Six wings	Rev. iv. 8.
The appearance of lamps	Ezek. i. 13.
Seven lamps	Rev. iv. 5.
Wheels	Ezek. i. 16, x. 9, 12, 13, 16, 19. Dan. vii. 9.
The colour of the terrible crystal	Ezek. i. 22.
Glass like unto crystal	Rev. iv. 6.
Like the noise of great waters	Ezek. i. 24, xliii. 2. Dan. x. 6. Rev. i. 15.
A throne	Ezek. i. 26, x. 1. Dan. vii. 9. Rev. iv. 2, 3.
The colour of amber, as the appearance of fire	Ezek. i. 27, viii. 2.
Like the beryl	Dan. x. 6. Ezek. x. 9. Rev. i. 14—16, x. 1.
The bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain	Ezek. i. 28.
A rainbow	Rev. iv. 3, x. 1.
I fell upon my face	Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliv. 4. Dan. viii. 17. Rev. i. 17.
Stand upon thy feet	Ezek. ii. 1, iii. 24. Dan. x. 11. Rev. i. 17.

A roll of a book	Ezek. ii. 9.
A flying roll	Zech. v. 1.
A little book	Rev. x. 2, 8—10.
Eat this roll	Ezek. iii. 1. Rev. x. 9.
The spirit took me up	Ezek. iii. 12, viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, xxxvii. 1, xliii. 5.
I was in the Spirit	Rev. i. 10.
A man clothed with linen	Ezek. ix. 3, 11, xliv. 17. Dan. x. 5, xii. 6, 7. Zech. iii. 3—5. Rev. xv. 6, xix. 8, 14.
A mark upon the foreheads	Ezek. ix. 4. Rev. vii. 3.
Come not near any on whom is the mark	Ezek. ix. 6. Rev. ix. 4.
Scatter the coals of fire over the city	Ezek. x. 2. Rev. viii. 5.
Full of eyes	Ezek. x. 12. Rev. iv. 8.
The living creature	Ezek. x. 15, 20.
Four living creatures	Ezek. i. 5. Dan. vii. 3. Rev. iv. 6.
The glory of the Lord stood upon the mountain	Ezek. xi. 23. Zech. xiv. 4.
The day of the Lord	Ezek. xiii. 5, xxx. 3. Zech. xiv. 1. Rev. vi. 17, xvi. 14.
Written in the writing of the house of Israel	Ezek. xiii. 9. Rev. xx. 12.
The vine-tree	Ezek. xv. 2, 6, xvii. 6—9, xix. 10—14. Rev. xiv. 18, 19.
The whore	Ezek. xvi. 15—34, xxiii. 1—21. Zech. v. 7, 8. Rev. xvii. 1—6.
Punishment of the whore	Ezek. xvi. 35—43, xxiii. 22—49. Rev. xvii. 16.
A goodly cedar	Ezek. xvii. 3, 22—24, xxxi. 3—18. Dan. iv. 10—12.
Prophecy against the forest	Ezek. xx. 46—48. Zech. xi. 1, 2.
Bring into the wilderness	Ezek. xx. 35. Rev. xii. 6, 14.
Mine holy mountain	Ezek. xx. 40. Zech. viii. 3.
The sword	Ezek. xxi. 3—5, 9—20, 28, xxx. 4, 24, xxxii. 10. Zech. xiii. 7. Rev. i. 16; xix. 15.

I will make the pile for fire great	Ezek. xxiv. 9—13.
The smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever . .	Rev. xiv. 11.
A merchant of the people	Ezek. xxvii. 3, 33, xxviii. 5. Rev. xviii. 3.
Fine linen, blue and purple	Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16. Rev. xviii. 12, 16.
Ivory	Ezek. xxvii. 6, 15. Rev. xviii. 12.
Precious stones and gold	Ezek. xxvii. 22, xxviii. 13. Zech. ix. 3. Rev. xviii. 12, 16.
Persons of men	Ezek. xxvii. 13. Rev. xviii. 13.
Spices	Ezek. xxvii. 19, 22. Rev. xviii. 13.
Horses	Ezek. xxvii. 14. Rev. xviii. 13.
Lambs and rams and goats	Ezek. xxvii. 21. Rev. xviii. 13.
They shall fall into the midst of the seas	Ezek. xxvii. 27, 34. Zech. ix. 4. Rev. xviii. 2, 21.
They shall cry bitterly	Ezek. xxvii. 30. Rev. xviii. 9, 11, 15, 19.
Thine heart is lifted up	Ezek. xxviii. 2, 17. Dan. iv. 30. Rev. xviii. 7.
There shall be no more any grieving thorn . . .	Ezek. xxviii. 24. Rev. xxi. 4.
The horn of Israel to bud	Ezek. xxix. 21. Dan. viii. 9, 10. Zech. vi. 12. Rev. xxii. 16.
I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean	Ezek. xxxvi. 25. Zech. xiii. 1. Rev. i. 5, vii. 13, 14.
The stony heart	Ezek. xxxvi. 26. Zech. vii. 12.
The breath came into them	Ezek. xxxvii. 10. Rev. xi. 11.
They shall be my people and I will be their GOD . .	Ezek. xxxvii. 23, 27. Zech. viii. 8. Rev. xxi. 3.
My tabernacle shall be with them	Ezek. xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. Zech. viii. 3. Rev. xxi. 3.
Gog, the land of Magog	Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1. Rev. xx. 8, 9.

I will bring thee forth and all thine army	Ezek. xxxviii. 4, 9, 16. Rev. xvi. 14, xx. 8.
A great shaking	Ezek. xxxviii. 19. Zech. xiv. 4. Rev. xvi. 18.
Great hailstones	Ezek. xxxviii. 22. Rev. xvi. 21.
Fire and brimstone	Ezek. xxxviii. 22. Rev. xx. 9, 10.
I will give thee unto the ravenous birds	Ezek. xxxix. 4, 17—22. Rev. xix. 17, 18, 21.
A very high mountain	Ezek. xl. 2, xliii. 12. Zech. viii. 3. Rev. xxi. 10.
A city	Ezek. xl. 2. Rev. xxi. 10.
Like the appearance of brass	Ezek. xl. 3, i. 7. Dan. x. 6. Rev. i. 15.
A line of flax and a measuring reed	Ezek. xl. 3. Zech. ii. 1. Rev. xi. 1, xxi. 15.
The outward court	Ezek. xl. 17. Rev. xi. 2.
Pillars	Ezek. xl. 49. Rev. iii. 12.
They shall put on other garments	Ezek. xliv. 17. Zech. iii. 4, 5. Rev. vii. 13, 14, xix. 8.
He measured it by the four sides	Ezek. xlii. 20. Rev. xxi. 16.
The earth shined with His glory	Ezek. xliii. 2, x. 4. Rev. xviii. 1.
I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever	Ezek. xliii. 7, 9. Rev. xxi. 3.
Most holy	Ezek. xliii. 12, xlviii. 14. Zech. viii. 3, xiv. 20, 21. Rev. xxi. 2, 27, xxii. 3, 14, 15.
They shall enter into my sanctuary	Ezek. xliv. 16. Rev. xxi. 22, 24, xxii. 3, 4.
The gate shall not be shut until the evening The gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there is no night there	Ezek. xlvi. 2. Rev. xxi. 25.
The gate	Ezek. xlvi. 1, 9. Rev. xxii. 14.
Four corners	Ezek. xlvi. 21—23, xlviii. 16, 17.
Four-square	Rev. xxi. 16.
Waters issued out of the house A fountain opened Water of life	Ezek. xlvii. 1—5. Zech. xiii. 1, xiv. 8. Rev. xxii. 1, 17.

Very many trees	Ezek. xlvii. 7, 12.
The tree of life	Rev. xxii. 2.
Go into the sea	Ezek. xlvii. 8. Zech. xiv. 8.
The waters shall be healed	Ezek. xlvii. 8, 9. Zech. xiv. 10. Rev. xxii. 2.
On either side of the river	Ezek. xlvii. 12. Rev. xxii. 2.
New fruit according to his months	Ezek. xlvii. 12. Rev. xxii. 2.
The fruit for meat	Ezek. xlvii. 12. Rev. xxii. 2.
The leaf for medicine	Ezek. xlvii. 12. Rev. xxii. 2.
Three gates	Ezek. xlviii. 31—34. Rev. xxi. 13.
The name of the city shall be "The Lord is there". .	Ezek. xlviii. 35. Zech. ii. 10.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET

EZEKIEL.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The time of Ezekiel's prophecy at Chebar.* 4 *His vision of four cherubims,* 15 *of the four wheels,* 26 *and of the glory of God.*

NOW it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth *month*, in the fifth *day* of the month, as I *was* among the †captives by the river † Heb. *captivity.*

FIRST GROUP.

WORDS OF WARNING TO ISRAEL.

Chaps. i.—xxiv.

CHAP. I. The first three chapters contain the account of Ezekiel's call.

A mighty whirlwind is issuing from the north, and a dark cloud appears in that quarter of the heavens. In the midst of the cloud is an area of dazzling brightness surrounded by encircling flames. Therein are seen four beings of strange and mysterious shape standing so as to form a square, below their feet are four wheels, and over their heads a throne on which is seated the likeness of a man dimly seen, while a voice issuing from the throne summons the prophet to his office.

1. *Now*] The Hebrew particle, commonly rendered *and*, frequently commences an historical book, linking it to the preceding. (See on Exod. i. 1 and 1 S. i. 1.) In the prophetical writings this is only the case in Ezekiel and Jonah. Some have thought that the book of Ezekiel is thus linked to Jeremiah, but there is certainly no historical sequence. Rather, as one use of the Hebrew particle is to convert the verb into an historical tense, the *connective* force is merged into the *conversive;* it is well rendered *now.*

in the thirtieth year] The Hebrew is, literally, "in thirty years" (a common way of expressing *in the thirtieth year*, Ewald 'Heb. Sprach.' § 287, R.), which thus finds a parallel in 2 S. xv. 7, *after forty years*, which refers to the age of Absalom, and in the common phrase, "son of thirty years"= thirty years old. We observe that here *the thirtieth year* is closely connected with *as I* or *and I*, which is rather in favour of considering this as a personal date. (So Origen, Gregory and Schroeder.) It is not improbable that Ezekiel was called to his office at the age prescribed in the law for Levites (Num. iv. 23, 30), at which age both John the Baptist and our Lord began their ministry. His call is probably to be connected with the letter sent by Jeremiah to the captives (Jer. xxix.) written a few months previously. Some reckon this date from the accession of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 625, and suppose that Ezekiel here gives a Babylonian, as in *v.* 2 a Jewish date. The removal of Jehoiachin has been fixed by Prideaux and Clinton at B.C. 598 (Ewald B.C. 597); according to the Hebrew mode of computation this gives B.C. 594 for the fifth year of that captivity, the 32nd year of Nabopolassar's accession. We have no certainty that this accession formed an era in Babylon, and Ezekiel does not elsewhere give a double date, or even a Babylonian date. The Targum, followed by Jerome and Grotius, dates from the 18th year of Josiah, when Hilkiah discovered the book of the law (supposed to be a jubilee year). As Josiah reigned thirty-one years, and Jehoiakim eleven, this would give B.C. 594 as the 30th year, but we have no other instance in Ezekiel of reckoning from this year.

among the captives] Not in confinement, but restricted to the place of their settlement (see on *v.* 2), so that *exiles* would express too little, if *captives* expresses too much.

in the fourth month] We observe that *month* is not expressed in the original. This is the common method. See viii. 1, xx. 1, &c. Before the captivity the months were described not by proper names (the names *Abib*, *Ziph*, are scarcely exceptions) but by their order, *the first*, *the second*, &c.; the first month corresponding nearly with our *April*. After the captivity the Jews brought back with them the proper names of the months, *Nisan*, &c. (probably those used in Chaldæa).

the river of Chebar] The modern *Khabour* rises near Nisibis and flows into the Euphrates near *Kerkesiah*, 200 miles north of Babylon. It has been doubted whether this can be the Chebar, because we are told that the exiles with Jeconiah were brought *from Jerusalem to Babylon* (2 K. xxiv. 15). But this may very well have been said of any place of exile in the kingdom of Babylon. Comp. "in the land of

of Chebar, *that* the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God.

2 In the fifth *day* of the month, which *was* the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity,

3 The word of the LORD came Heb. Ezekiel. expressly unto [1]Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the LORD was there upon him.

4 ¶ And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire [1]infolding itself, [1] Heb. *catching itself.*

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the Chaldæans," *v.* 3. The Syriac interpreter adopting the Hebrew (as is usual among the old translators) employs the same word as that in use for the modern *Khabour*. We may therefore conclude that the Jewish exiles were placed in cities or villages on the banks of the Khabour. Some have identified *Chebar* with *Habor the river of Gozan*, for *by* is not in the original (2 K. xvii. 6), whither the ten tribes were carried away more than a hundred years before, and have supposed that Ezekiel and his companions were thus brought into close contact with the descendants of the exiles transported thither by the king of Assyria; but the place of exile of the ten tribes is clearly defined to have been in northern Assyria or Media, which does not suit with the place of Ezekiel's exile.

the heavens were opened] Jerome explains this to mean that the glories were opened to the eye of faith (comp. John i. 51; Matt. iii. 16; Acts vii. 56, x. 11); but an actual vision is being described, and to the prophet's eye the heavens above his head were unfolded to shew the divine glory.

visions of God] The Hebrews were wont to express greatness and majesty by the addition of the name of God. Ps. xxxvi. 6; *the great mountains:* Heb., "the mountains of God." Ps. lxxx. 10; *the great cedar trees:* Heb., "the cedars of God." Comp. Ps. lxv. 9. Here, however, the visions were not only supremely majestic, but visions of the majesty of God. Comp. below, viii. 3 and xl. 2.

2. *the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity*] This is the Jewish date. *vv.* 2, 3, which seem rather to interrupt the course of the narrative, may have been added by the prophet himself when he revised and put together the whole book. Jehoiachin was actually in prison for many years (2 K. xxv. 27)—but the word *captivity* is the same as in *v.* 1 and refers to the *transportation* of the king and others from their native to a foreign soil. Comp. Jer. xxix. 2 and 2 K. xxiv. 12. This policy of settling a conquered people in lands distant from their home, begun by the Assyrians, was continued by the Persians and by Alexander the Great. The Jews were specially selected for such settlements, and this was no doubt a Providential preparation for the Gospel, the dispersed Jews carrying with them the knowledge of the true God and the sacred Scriptures, and thus paving the way for the messengers of the kingdom of Christ.

3. *came expressly*] *did verily come*, the phrase marking strongly that it was in truth a heaven-sent vision.

Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi] The order in the Heb. is, **Ezekiel the son of Buzi the priest**, where *the priest* may belong either to *Ezekiel* or to *Buzi*. The Hebrew accent (dargu) connects it with Buzi and this seems more natural; if so, Ezekiel was not only a priest but the son of a priest. Hengstenberg, however, adopts the former view, taking *the* priest to denote that Ezekiel was the priest in charge of the company of exiles among whom he resided. But this is less likely as he was not called to his office till the fifth year of the captivity, and seems then to have been of no repute among his countrymen.

the hand of the LORD] Rashi remarks that wherever the word '*hand* of the Lord' is used, not only in this book but in all prophecy, it implies a *constraining* power, because the spirit *constrains* the prophet independently of his own will. Comp. 1 K. xviii. 46 and below, xxxiii. 22, xxxvii. 1; also Rev. i. 17, where, however, the *hand* exercises a *supporting* rather than a *constraining* power. So in Dan. viii. 18, x. 10.

4. *out of the north*] It was frequently foretold that the divine judgments should proceed *from the north* (Jer. i. 14, iv. 6) because it was from the north that the Assyrian conquerors came upon the Holy Land, and it may be that for this reason the *whirlwind* proceeded *out of the north*, for the vision though seen in Chaldæa had reference to Jerusalem, and the seer is to contemplate judgment as it is coming upon the Holy Land. But we observe in the vision of Zechariah that the horses *go towards the north* (Zech. vi. 8). Mount Zion and the temple were *on the sides of the north* (Ps. xlviii. 2, where see note, and Isai. xiv. 13). Thus *the north* was felt by the Jews to be the peculiar seat of the power of Jehovah. Further, the high mountain range of Lebanon that closed in the Holy Land on the north naturally connected to the inhabitants of that country the northern region with the idea of height reaching to heaven, from which such a vision as this would probably come.

and a brightness *was* about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire.

5 Also out of the midst thereof *came* the likeness of four living creatures. And this *was* their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

6 And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.

[1] Heb. *straight foot.*

7 And their feet *were* [1]straight feet; and the sole of their feet *was* like the sole of a calf's foot: and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.

8 And *they had* the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings.

9 Their wings *were* joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward.

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a great cloud, and a fire] as on Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 16, 18.

infolding itself] forming a circle of light—flames moving round and round and following each other in rapid succession, to be as it were the framework of the glorious scene: *a brightness was about it*, about *the cloud; and out of the midst thereof*, out of the midst of *the fire*.

colour] Literally, "eye." It is not the *colour* but the *brightness* which is compared. *Eye* means "appearance," and *as the eye of* is adequately represented by the one English word **like**.

amber] Heb. *chashmal*. The word occurs only in Ezekiel, here and *v.* 27, and viii. 2. The LXX. and the Vulgate have *electrum*, a substance composed by a mixture of silver and gold, which corresponds very well to the Hebrew word. But since *electrum* was also applied to the gum known as *amber*, our translators adopted the latter word. The brightness is that of shining metal, not of a transparent gum, like the *burnished brass* in *v.* 7 and *fine brass*, Rev. i. 15.

out of the midst of the fire] *out of the midst thereof*, **like burnished gold out of the midst of fire**. The punctuation in our Authorized Version would make this clause the repetition or explanation of *out of the midst of it*. It is better to connect it closely with *burnished gold*, and to consider the definite article as generic; *the fire* is for *fire* in general.

5. *living creatures*] The Hebrew word answers very nearly to the English "beings," to denote those who live, whether angels or men (in whom is the breath of life), or inferior creatures. The LXX. and Vulg. have words equivalent to our "animals" in the sense of living creatures. The Hebrew word is also used for "wild beasts," and (in a Chaldaic form) for the *beasts* in Daniel's vision (Dan. vii. 3), in which last passage, however, the LXX. and Vulg. use words equivalent not to "animals" but to "beasts." In Rev. iv. 6, the word for *beasts* is that employed here in the LXX.

they had the likeness of a man] They stood erect like men; with all their strange variety of form, they bore the general aspect of the human figure.

6. *four faces, and...four wings*] In the Revelation each "beast" has its own distinctive character—here each unites in itself the four characters; in Revelation each has six wings, like the Seraphim in Isaiah (Isai. vi. 2), here only four. (See Introduction.)

7. *their feet were straight feet*] **Each of their legs was a straight leg and their foot like a calf's foot.** The foot seems here to mean the lower part of the leg, including the knee, and this was *straight, i.e.* upright like a man's. *Like the sole of a calf's foot*, the sole is the *foot* as distinguished from the *leg*, the leg terminated in a solid calf's hoof. This was suitable for a being which was to present a front on each of its four sides. Ezekiel was living in a country on the walls of whose temples and palaces were those strange mixed figures, human heads with the bodies of lions and the feet of calves, and the like, which we see in the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments. These combinations were of course symbolical and the symbolism must have been familiar to Ezekiel. But the prophet is not constructing his cherubim in imitation of these figures, the Spirit of God is revealing forms corresponding to the general rules of eastern symbolism. See Introduction, § v. (See Note at end of Chapter.)

like the colour of] Lit. "as the eye of;" translate **like**; see on *v.* 4.

8. *and they four had their faces and their wings*] This clause is to be connected with the former clause thus:—"They had the hands of a man under their wings on all four sides, just as they had wings and faces on all four sides."

9. *Their wings were joined one to another*] Two of the wings were in the act of flying, so stretched out that the extremity of each touched a wing of a neighbouring living creature, similarly stretched out. This was only when they were in motion. When they stood these two wings were let down. (See *v.* 24.)

they went every one straight forward] The

10 As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle.

11 Thus *were* their faces: and their wings *were* [1]stretched upward; two *wings* of every one *were* joined one to another, and two covered their bodies.

12 And they went every one straight forward: whither the spirit was to go, they went; *and* they turned not when they went.

13 As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance *was* like burning coals of fire, *and* like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.

14 And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning.

15 ¶ Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces.

16 The appearance of the wheels

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four formed a square, each occupying one corner, with its two outer faces in a line with the two sides of the square. The upper wings of each touching the wings of each other formed the sides of the square. Thus the four together formed a square, and never altered their relative position. From each side two faces looked straight out, one at each corner—and so all moved together towards any of the four quarters, towards which each one had one of its four faces directed, and so in whichsoever direction the whole moved the four might be said all to go *straight forward.*

10. Each living creature had four faces, of a man, of a lion, of an ox, of an eagle. Our English Bibles in the present day have a comma after *lion*, which would refer *on the right side* both to *the face of a man*, and *the face of a lion;* but it is better with the older edition to omit the comma after *lion*. Thus each would have in front the face of a man, that of a lion on the right side, that of an ox on the left side, and that of an eagle behind, and the "chariot" would present to the beholder two faces of a man, of a lion, of an eagle, and of an ox, according to the quarter from which he looked upon it.

11. *Thus were their faces, and their wings were stretched upward*] Rather, **And their faces and their wings were separated above.** The original of the first clause is simply *and their faces.* The words added are forced in very unnaturally. The word rendered *stretched* occurs often, and is variously rendered *divided* (Gen. x. 5), *separated* (Gen. xiii. 14), *parted* (Gen. ii. 10), *dispersed* (Esther iii. 8), *scattered* (Job iv. 11), *sundered* (Job xli. 17). All these renderings agree substantially, and differ entirely from *stretched.* All four formed, as we have seen, a whole, yet the upper parts of each, the heads and the wings (though touching), rose distinct from one another; two wings of each as in the case of Isaiah's Seraphim were folded down over the body, and two were in their flight (see on *v.* 9) stretched upward so as to meet, each a wing of the neighbouring living creature, as the wings of the Cherubim touched one another over the mercy-seat of the ark.

12. *whither the spirit was to go*] Although the "chariot" was composed of distinct parts, four living creatures, four wheels, &c., it was to be considered as a whole. There was one spirit expressive of one conscious life pervading the whole, and guiding the motions of the whole in perfect harmony.

13. *lamps*] *like the appearance of* **flames.** The *and* before *like* is not in the original and is not wanted. The Hebrew word is variously translated in our English Bibles *lamp* (Gen. xv. 17), *lightnings* (Exod. xx. 18), *firebrands* (Judg. xv. 4), *torches* (Nahum ii. 4). The corresponding Greek word is in the N. T. translated *torches* (John xviii. 3), elsewhere *lamps.* Comparing these passages together we conclude that the word properly means not the vessel which contains the light but the light itself. Here it must mean the *bright flames* described as resembling *coals of fire.*

it went up and down] *It* refers to *fire* just mentioned. It seems desirable, for the sake of distinctness, to substitute in the translation the noun for the pronoun that is intended to represent it. *Fire went up and down.*

14. *as the appearance of a flash of lightning*] In this description is probably included the speed as well as the brightness of the lightning-flash.

15. *one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces*] Translate, *one wheel upon the earth by* **each of** *the living creatures* **on his four sides.** *One* prefixed to *wheel* has in Hebrew a distributive force, and thus we learn that there was a wheel to

and their work *was* like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work *was* as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.

17 When they went, they went upon their four sides: *and* they turned not when they went.

18 As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their ‖rings *were* full of eyes round about them four.

19 And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them: and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up.

20 Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither *was their* spirit to go; and the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit ‖of the living creature *was* in the wheels.

‖ Or, *of life.*

21 When those went, *these* went; and when those stood, *these* stood; and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit ‖of the living creature *was* in the wheels.

‖ Or, *of life.*

22 And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature *was* as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.

23 And under the firmament *were*

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each of the living creatures: it was set *by, i.e.* immediately *beneath* the feet of the living creature, and was so constructed as to be fit for direct motion in any of the four lines in which we are told that the creatures themselves moved. Their *work* or make, *i.e.* their construction, was *a wheel in the middle of a wheel;* the wheel was composed of two circumferences set at right angles to each other, like the equator and meridian upon a globe. Such a line would move on one or other of the circles in the four directions indicated. **On his four sides**, *i.e.* on the four sides of each of the living creatures—a wheel so placed and constructed did its part alike on each side of the living creature beneath which it stood. Here also Ezekiel has the Temple in his mind. See Introduction, § v. The *ten bases*, described in 1 K. vii. 27—36, were constructed with lions, oxen, and Cherubim, between the ledges and wheels at the four corners attached beneath so as to move like the wheels of a chariot.

16. *like unto the colour of a beryl*] Rather, **like** *beryl*, see on *v.* 4.

17. *upon their four sides*] *i.e.* straight in the direction towards which their faces looked. As the four quarters express all directions, the construction of the living creatures was such that they could move in each direction alike.

18. *their rings*] The felloes or circumference of the wheels. *They were so high that they were dreadful*, lit. "there was both height and terribleness." Translate **they were both high and terrible**. The height was not the cause of their being terrible. In x. 12, it is said that *their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes.* In Rev. iv. 8, *the beasts* are *full of eyes.* The *eyes* may have been no more than dazzling spots adding to their brilliancy. But it seems more likely that they had a symbolical meaning expressing either the universal fulfilment of God's will through His creation (2 Chro. xvi. 9, and on x. 12), or the constant and unceasing praise which His works are ever rendering to God (Rev. iv. 8). The power of nature is no blind force, it is employed in the service of God's providence, and all over it the stamp of reason is impressed. It is this very thing that makes the power of nature terrible to him who is at enmity with God (Hengstenberg).

20. *Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went*] By comparing this with *v.* 19 and *v.* 21 we see that the meaning is: whithersoever the spirit of the four living creatures was to go, the wheels went—thither was the spirit of the wheels to go.

the spirit of the living creature] Marg. *of life*, following the LXX. and Vulgate, but the Hebrew is the same word as in *v.* 22 and x. 15; it is not said that the wheels were actuated by a living spirit, but that one and the same spirit actuated the living creatures throughout, wheels and all. All four creatures together with their wheels are here called *the living creature*, because they formed a whole, one in motion, and in will, for one spirit was in them.

22. *the firmament*] The expanse to which God gave the name of *heaven* (Gen. i. 7). We need not think of the likeness of a vault. *The colour* (Heb. "eye") *of the terrible crystal* refers to its dazzling brightness—and so the *firmament* was a clear bright expanse between the *throne* and the *living creatures*, separating heaven from earth. We are not to suppose that there was any contact between the throne

their wings straight, the one toward the other: every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two, which covered on that side, their bodies.

24 And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings.

25 And there was a voice from the firmament that *was* over their heads, when they stood, *and* had let down their wings.

26 ¶ And above the firmament that *was* over their heads *was* the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne *was* the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.

27 And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.

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and the wings, or between the living creatures and the wheels; all moved together, because all were actuated by one spirit.

23. *every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two, which covered on that side, their bodies*] It is not meant that each had four wings wherewith to cover his body; for *v.* 6 tells us plainly that each had but four wings, and two being outstretched to fly, there remain only two to cover the body. The repetition is a Hebrew idiom to express distribution, as in ch. iv. 6 *each day for a year*, literally, "a day for a year, a day for a year." So also ch. xlvi. 21. Our translators here have obscured the meaning by being too literal. It would be better, following the plan in iv. 6 and xlvi. 21, to read in the text **each one had two wings covering his body on either side**, and to add in the margin the literal translation.

24. *the voice of the Almighty*] Thunder is thus denominated in Scripture, Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix. 3, 4, 5; Rev. x. 3.

the voice of speech] The original word occurs here and in Jer. xl. 16, where it is rendered *a great tumult*. Some take it to describe the rushing of a storm: it is to be observed that the same Hebrew word is rendered in this verse *voice* and *noise*.

25. *a voice from the firmament*] This may mean the sound compared above to thunder (*the voice of God*), but it more probably anticipates that which we find below, iii. 12, where, in the midst of the tumult, are heard articulate sounds declaring the glory of God.

26. *sapphire*] Clear heavenly blue, Exod. xxiv. 10.

the appearance of a man] Deeply significant is the form of this manifestation. Here is no angel conveying God's message to man, but the glory of the Lord Himself, and when we remember how in the fulness of time the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father (John i. 14), in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, we recognize in this vision the prophetic annunciation of the Holy Incarnation. Yet we observe the manifestation was such that the prophet did not see a distinct human form such as an artist might have portrayed to represent his God. We are told little of the extent to which the human form was made evident to the prophet. There was *the likeness of a throne, and the likeness as the appearance of a man above it*. For the vision of the prophet was rather to the mind, than to the bodily eye, and even inspired language was inadequate to convey to the hearer the glory which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and which only by special revelation it hath entered into the heart of man to conceive. In Revelation the form of *one like unto the Son of Man* as revealed to John is one minutely described, but the characteristics are not such as admit of visible representation. They are all highly symbolical—and it is upon the substance, not upon the symbol, that the mind is invited to dwell. See Note at end of Chapter.

likeness ... appearance ... likeness as the appearance] Peculiar to Ezekiel, used in order to set aside "the bald realism, which makes no distinction between thought and its clothing, and which professes to protect the interests of faith against a false spiritualism, but is, in truth, mere weakness in the interpretation of Scripture" (Hengstenberg). Irenæus warns us against supposing that Ezekiel saw God in His proper person, "Manifestius autem adhuc et per Ezechielem factum est, quoniam ex parte dispositiones Dei, sed non ipsum videbant prophetæ proprie Deum. Hic enim quum vidisset visionem et Cherubim et rotas eorum, et universæ progressionis ejus mysterium quum retulisset, et similitudinem throni quum vidisset super eos, et super thronum similitu-

28 As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so *was* the appearance of the brightness round about. This *was* the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD. And when I saw *it*, I fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake.

dinem quasi figuræ hominis et illa quidem, quæ erant super lumbos ejus, quasi figuram electri, quæ autem deorsum, quasi visionem ignis, et reliquam universam thronorum visionem manifestans; ne quis putaret forte eum in his proprie vidisse Deum, intulit, *hæc visio similitudinis gloriæ Domini.*" Iren. 'adv. Hær.' IV. '20. 10.

28. The rainbow is not simply a token of glory and splendour. The *cloud* and the *day of rain* point to its original message of forgiveness and mercy, and this is specially suited to Ezekiel's commission, which was first to denounce judgment, and then promise restoration. See Introd. v.

I fell upon my face] Comp. iii. 23. So Daniel (Dan. viii. 17), Saul (Acts ix. 4), and St John (Rev. i. 17).

NOTE on CHAP. I.

The exposition of the fundamental principles of the existence and nature of a Supreme God, and of the created angels, was called by the Rabbis "the Matter of the Chariot[1]" in reference to the form of Ezekiel's vision of the Almighty, and the subject was deemed so mysterious as to call for special cautions as to its study. (Maimonides, 'Yad Hachazachah,' ch. II.) The vision must be compared with other manifestations of the divine glory vouchsafed to Moses in the bush (Exod. iii.), to Moses and Aaron, and seventy of the elders of Israel (Exod. xxiv. 9), to Isaiah (Isai. vi. 1), to Daniel (Dan. vii. 9), and in subsequent times to St John (Rev. iv. 2). Each of these visions has some of the outward signs here recorded. In the bush we have *the burning fire*, on the mount *a devouring fire, a work of a sapphire stone like the heaven itself for clearness*, while in Isaiah and Daniel are many of the same details, though not without marked variations. One other manifestation, made to Moses in answer to special prayer (Exod. xxxiv. 5), has this peculiarity, that it contains a proclamation of the character of Jehovah in words denoting the same attributes as are elsewhere displayed in symbols. If we examine these symbols we shall find them to fall readily into two classes, (1) those which we employ in common with the writers of all ages and countries. *Gold, sapphire, burnished brass*, the *terrible crystal* are familiar images of majestic glory, *thunders, lightnings* and *the rushing storm* of awful power. But (2) we come to images to our minds strange and almost grotesque. And these lead us at once to the different manner in which the Greeks and the Hebrews treated religious symbolism. The former ever aimed at beauty of form and harmony of details in representing the objects of their veneration. To express the attributes of their gods, they delineated as perfectly as they could some human figure in which these attributes were conspicuous. The artist's eye might be able to see the ideal under such figures, but the common spectator soon began to compare gods and men, and the very perfection of art led him to overlook its highest purpose and aim. But with the Hebrews the symbolic character of their figures was more apparent. Each feature had its meaning easily recognized by all; and the Hebrew cared not whether his combinations followed the ordinary rules of art and beauty, nay perhaps preferred the unnatural because it was more evidently symbolical (see remarks of Abp. Trench, 'Seven Churches,' Rev. ch. i.). The cherubim in the Tabernacle and Temple are notable instances of this kind of symbolism (see note on Gen. iii.). To these cherubim, writers, according to their respective theories, have severally assigned an Egyptian, Phœnician, Arabic, or Assyrian origin. But the mode of representation was too general throughout the East to ascribe it to any one nation. Nor are we to wonder that the Almighty was pleased to sanction its employment in the temple itself, and to reveal His glory to the ancient prophets in forms easily recognized and understood. That the Four Living Creatures had their groundwork in the cherubim there can be no doubt. And yet their shapes were very different. The four-faced and four-sided forms could not have been those which stretched their wings over the mercy-seat, and in the ornaments of Ezekiel's temple itself there is the marked variety, *every cherub had two faces* (Ezek. xli. 18). This accounts for the circumstance that, when the prophet first saw them on the banks of Chebar, he did not know that they were the cherubim. It was when he saw their connection with the Temple that he discovered it (Ezek. x. 20). Because they were symbols not likenesses, they could yet be the same though their appearance was varied, and this is the account of the further change in the

[1] The term *chariot* in this sense is found (1 Chron. xxviii. 18).

forms seen by St John in the Revelation (Rev. iv. 7) where the faces of the lion, ox, man and eagle occur, but each living creature has only one face. The question arises, If these living creatures are symbols, of what are they symbolical? The Talmudists seem to have considered them to represent angels. Maimonides ('Yad,' ch. II.) names ten orders of angels, the highest *Chaioth* (the living creatures), the next *Opheним* (the wheels), the fourth *Seraphim*, and the ninth *Cherubim*. It is not very easy to see how the *Chaioth* and *Cherubim* are separated into distinct orders, especially as Maimonides expressly refers to this chapter of Ezekiel, saying that *Chaioth* are first in order because they are said in prophecy to be *under the throne of glory* (Ezek. i. 26). Perhaps it was simply that the Jewish Rabbis, having devised ten orders of angels for which there is no Scriptural authority, gave to each the name of some Scriptural image, which they naturally sought and found in the *Chariot* of Ezekiel. We may observe that this view by no means implies that the *four living creatures* represented four particular angels (or, as some have conceived, the four archangels) attending upon God as the chief ministers of an eastern monarch. They may, according to the Talmudists, have symbolized orders and not persons, and so escaped the transgression of the second commandment, not being likenesses or even figures of creatures in heaven. Kimchi makes them represent the four Empires, Chaldæan, Persian, Grecian and Roman, corresponding to Daniel's four beasts, the ministers of the divine judgments.

Irenæus (III. 11. 8) saw in them figures of the Four Gospels actuated by one spirit spread over the four quarters of the globe, upon which, as on pillars, the Church is borne up, and over whom the Word of God sits enthroned.

But we shall best interpret the meaning of the four living creatures by regarding the general scope of the vision.

Ezekiel himself tells us that he saw *the likeness of the glory of God*. We must distinguish between the visions of the tenth and of the first Chapter. The two visions are identical in form, but different in circumstances. There the vision is in distinct connection with the Temple, the place in which the Shechinah had a local habitation. Here the vision has the most general relation and application; the glory of God arising to visit the earth. The first idea is that of judgment, hence the *whirlwind* (Jer. xxiii. 19), the *great cloud*, and the *fire* (Exod. xix): but at the same time there is the *clear brightness*, the symbol of God's purity, truth, and the *rainbow* the token of His mercy. The glory of God is manifested in the works of creation; and as light and fire, lightning and cloud, are the usual marks which in inanimate creation betoken the presence of God (Ps. xviii. 6—14)—so the four living ones symbolize animate creation. The forms are typical, *the lion* and *the ox* of the beasts of the field (wild and tame), *the eagle* of the birds of the air—some have thought that the eagle represents the angelic nature (wings being the constant mark of angels), but we are rather concerned with the works of creation upon earth—while *man* is the rational being supreme upon the earth. And the human type predominates over all, and gives character and unity to the four, who thus form one creation. Further, these four represent the constitutive parts of man's nature:—*the ox* (the animal of sacrifice), his faculty of suffering; *the lion* (the king of beasts), his faculty of ruling; *the eagle* (of keen eye and soaring wing), his faculty of imagination; *the man*, his spiritual faculty, which actuates all the rest. Christ is the Perfect Man, so these four in their perfect harmony typify Him who came to earth to do His Father's will; and as man is lord in the kingdom of nature, so is Christ Lord in the kingdom of grace; and as the word of His commandments goeth forth into all lands through His Gospel, so the reference which Irenæus discovered in the four living creatures to the four gospels is not without its significance (Lange).

The *wings* represent the power by which all creation rises and falls at God's will; the *one spirit*, the unity and harmony of His works; the free motion in all directions the universality of His Providence. The number *four* is the symbol of the world with its *four quarters*; the *veiled* bodies, the inability of all creatures to stand in the presence of God; the *noise of the wings*, the testimony borne by creation to God (Ps. xix. 1—3); the *wheels* connect the vision with the earth, the wings with heaven, while above their heads, separated by the bright expanse, is the throne of God in heaven.

As the eye of the seer is turned upward, the lines of the vision become less distinct. He describes what he sees as *the likeness of a throne, the appearance of a sapphire stone, the likeness as the appearance of a man, the appearance of fire, the appearance of his loins*, as if he were struggling against the impossibility of expressing in words the object of his vision: yet on the summit of the throne is He who can only be described as, in some sort, the form of a man. That Jehovah, the eternal God, is spoken of, we cannot doubt, and herein we recognize the necessity under which we lie of ascribing to the Deity the attributes of man, just as we speak of His anger, jealousy, love, mercy, and the like, and even of His hand, His eye, and His ear, figures all, but the only ones which we can employ, being borrowed from the attributes of the being who was created in the image of God. But in thus contemplating God under the form of man there is something more: St Paul in the Colossians describes Christ as *the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature* (Col. i. 15).

In the Hebrews we read that Christ is *the brightness of God's glory and the express image of His person* (Heb. i. 3); and St John tells us that *the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth* (John i. 14); while a similar vision in Isaiah (vi.) is explained by St John to refer to Christ: *These things said Esaias when he saw His glory and spake of Him* (John xii. 41). We are therefore justified in maintaining that the revelation of the divine glory here made to Ezekiel has its consummation or fulfilment in the person of Christ, the only-begotten of God, a conclusion which is borne out and indeed established beyond dispute by the identification of Him, of whom Ezekiel saw the appearance upon a throne, with the Ancient of days, whom Daniel saw enthroned, and described in terms employed afterward by St John to describe Him who announced Himself thus:—*I am the first and the last. I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore* (Rev. i. 17, 18).

The vision in the opening chapter of Ezekiel is in the most general form—the manifestation of the glory of the living God. It is repeated more than once in the course of the book. The Person manifested is always the same, but the form of the vision is modified according to special circumstances of time and place.

1. viii. 2. As Ezekiel sits among the elders who had come to consult him—the same Person who had been seen above the throne appears to him *in visions of God*, but no mention is made of *the chariot*, of *the living creatures*, of *the firmament*, or of *the throne* itself. He is caught up by the same spirit as had been manifested in the living creatures and in the wheels. Here the inspiration of the prophet himself is the predominating idea. The Person who is to speak to him stands forth prominently, and for a moment the general purpose of such communication, judgment, and the revelation of the divine glory, is kept, as it were, in the background. The prophet is lifted in spirit between earth and heaven.

2. viii. 4. When the prophet appears in spirit before the Temple all the previous features of the original vision come into notice—the glory of God was there *according to the vision which he saw on the plain*. For now is to be the application of the general revelation of the divine justice and wrath.

3. ix. 3. There is now a more special reference to the manifestation of the divine glory among the children of Israel. That special manifestation was in the Shechinah residing in the Holy of Holies, between the cherubim over the mercy-seat of the ark. This special manifestation had indeed given form to the original vision, but the vision had by no means exclusive reference to the temple or to the ark. It was the revelation of God as the Governor and Judge of the whole earth. But now as Jerusalem itself is approached, the Temple-manifestation is brought forward to notice, and the name of *cherub* appears in connection with the manifestation of the glory of God. But it is remarkable that on the introduction of the name, the glory of God is separated from it.

The *cherub* is but the throne from which the dweller has departed to execute judgment upon His people.

4. x. The identification of the living creatures with the cherubim is now made clear to the prophet: and by this it is seen that the God, whose glory is manifested in all the works of creation, is the same Jehovah, who rules over the people of Israel. This bears specially on the symbolical character of the cherubic forms.

The *cherub* (x. 2) is distinct from the cherubim (x. 3)—each being as they are called (1 Chro. xxviii. 18) the *chariot* of the glory of God: the former when that glory was localized in the Holy of Holies, the latter when it goes forth to the utmost ends of the earth.

5. xi. 22. Just as the identification of Jehovah the God of Israel is clearly manifested as the God of the whole earth, the vision is seen quitting the temple, quitting the city; and though the temple and the city be left destitute of the presence of the Lord, He is still present in His universe; He has not ceased to be the Governor or Sovereign of the earth.

6. xl. In the vision of the Temple the prophet is again rapt by the spirit, the hand of God is upon him—he is *in the vision of God*. As the temple in all its proportions opens upon him, these particulars are displayed by a man *whose appearance was like the appearance of brass* (xl. 3), apparently the same Person who had been seen sitting on the throne, and who had revealed Himself to execute judgment (ix. 3), and when the temple is again erected and prepared as a habitation for its true Owner, the glory of the Lord is seen returning to take possession of His dwelling-place (xliii. 3). And here the key to the whole vision is directly furnished. This vision is declared to be *according to the vision when He came to destroy the city*, and also *like the vision that he saw by the river Chebar*. The general manifestation of God as King or Judge of the earth is applied to and illustrated by the destruction and restoration of the city or the temple of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER II.

1 Ezekiel's commission. 6 His instruction. 9 The roll of his heavy prophecy.

AND he said unto me, Son of man, ‡stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee.

2 And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious †nation that hath rebelled against me: they and their fathers have transgressed against me, *even* unto this very day.

4 For *they are* †impudent children and stiffhearted. I do send thee unto them; and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD.

5 And they, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, (for they *are* a rebellious house,) yet shall know that there hath been a prophet among them.

6 ¶ And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words, though †briers and thorns *be* with thee, and thou dost dwell among scorpions: be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks, though they *be* a rebellious house.

7 And thou shalt speak my words

† Heb *nations.*

† Heb *hard of face.*

† Or *rebellious*

CHAPS. II. and III. In these two chapters is contained the direct commission conveyed to Ezekiel in connection with the vision just recorded. The commission was repeated more than once, at what intervals of time we are not told. We have first the direct commission (ii. 1—8), next the vision of the roll (ii. 9—iii. 3), followed by fresh instructions to the same effect, and partly in the same words; then a second appearance of the great vision (iii. 12), and the sadness which it occasioned (iii. 14); then the prophet's visit to Tel-Abib, his mourning there and fresh instructions (iii. 15—21); and lastly, a third appearance of the vision, and a communication shewing that the seer is dependent on the Spirit of God for every utterance which he is enabled to make (iii. 24—27). We have here recorded visions and words of God. Whether these visions were seen by the natural eye, and the words heard with the natural ear, the prophet probably knew not. The senses are not the only means of conveying images to the soul, and it may have pleased the Almighty to impress these images without the intervention of the senses. In any case the communication is equally from without, the vision and the words are from God.

1. *Son of man*] This phrase (which occurs elsewhere in Scripture) is applied especially to Ezekiel and Daniel, the prophets of the captivity. In eastern language *son of man* is simply equivalent to *man*. In Syriac Adam is called *the first son of man* (1 Cor. xv. 45). Ezekiel is thus reminded of his humanity, at the time when he is especially permitted to have intercourse with God.

2. *the spirit*] A comparison with iii. 24 shews that *the spirit* was *the Spirit of God*.

3. *Israel*] See on iv. 3.

to a rebellious nation] Lit. "to the rebellious nations"—the word *nations* usually distinguishes the heathen from God's people. So here it expresses that Israel is cast off by God. So Isaiah (i. 4) addresses his countrymen, *Ah sinful nation* (comp. Hos. i. 9). The plural is used here to denote that the children of Israel are not even *one nation*, but scattered and disunited.

4. *For they are children*] Lit. "and the children." The children of Israel are first described as *rebellious heathens*, then as *heartless children*. The translation would run better thus:—*I send thee to the children of Israel, the rebellious nation that have rebelled against me (they and their fathers have transgressed against me, even to this very day), and the children impudent and stiff-hearted: I do send thee unto them.*

5. *a rebellious house*] Lit. "house of rebellion." This appellative is employed continually by Ezekiel (*e.g.* xii. and elsewhere), in bitter irony, in the place of *house of Israel*, as much as to say, "House no longer of Israel, but of rebellion." The phrase first occurs in Isai. xxx. 9.

6. *briers and thorns*] Of the Hebrew words rendered *briers and thorns*, the former would in itself seem rather to mean *rebellious* (hence the marginal rendering), the latter, *thorns*. But it is unlikely that one of the words should be literal, the other figurative. Hence some have supposed the former word to be a substantive signifying *briers* (derived from a verb to *burn* or *prick*), others have taken the latter to be an adjective meaning *refractory* (derived from the substantive *thorns*). The former seems more in Ezekiel's figurative style, and to correspond best with *scorpions*.

unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear: for they
† Heb *rebellion.* *are* † most rebellious.

8 But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee; Be not thou rebellious like that rebellious house:
[a] Rev. 10. 9. open thy mouth, and [a] eat that I give thee.

9 ¶ And when I looked, behold, an hand *was* sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book *was* therein;

10 And he spread it before me; and it *was* written within and without: and *there was* written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe.

CHAPTER III.

1 Ezekiel eateth the roll. 4 God encourageth him. 15 God sheweth him the rule of prophecy. 22 God shutteth and openeth the prophet's mouth.

MOREOVER he said unto me, Son of man, eat that thou findest; eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel.

2 So I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that roll.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this roll that I give thee. Then did I [a] eat *it;* and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness. [a] Rev. 10. 9.

4 ¶ And he said unto me, Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them.

5 For thou *art* not sent to a people † of a strange speech and of an hard language, *but* to the house of Israel; † Heb. *deep of lip, and heavy of tongue:* and so ver. 6.

6 Not to many people † of a strange speech and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not understand. ‖ Surely, had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee. † Heb. *deep of lip, and heavy of language.* ‖ Or, *If I had sent thee, &c. would they not have hearkened unto thee?*

7 But the house of Israel will not hearken unto thee; for they will not hearken unto me: for all the house of Israel *are* † impudent and hardhearted. † Heb. *stiff of forehead and hard of heart.*

8 Behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces, and thy forehead strong against their foreheads.

9 As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: [b] fear them [b] Jer. 1. 8.

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9. *was sent*] Rather, was **put forth**. So is the same word translated Gen. iii. 22, xix. 10. In Ezek. viii. 3 it is rendered, *put forth*. In Ezek. x. 7, *stretched forth*, marg. *sent forth*.

a roll of a book] The book was one of the ancient kind written on skins rolled up together. Hence our English *volume* which is adopted in Ps. xl. 7. Comp. Jer. xxxvi. and Zech. v. The writing was usually on one side, but in this case it was written *within and without*, on both sides, the writing as it were running over, to express the abundance of the calamities in store for the devoted people. Comp. Rev. v. 1; Isai. xxix. 11. *To eat the book* signifies to be thoroughly possessed with its contents. Comp. Jer. xv. 16, *Thy words were found, and I did eat them.* In fact, it is explained below, iii. 10.

CHAP. III. 1. Before, there was a direct commission, now there is a symbolical action. St John has the same vision, Rev. x. 8 foll., but there that is expressed, which is here left to be inferred, that *as soon as he had eaten it his belly was bitter.* The sweetness in the mouth denoted that it was good to be a messenger of the Lord (comp. Ps. xix. 10), but the bitterness which accompanied it, denoted that the commission brought with it much sorrow, for the tidings were sad and evil. The symbol of *eating* marks that the words were not the prophet's own, but put into his mouth by the Lord. Comp. Exod. iv. 12; Deut. xxx. 14; Rom. x. 8.

6. *to many people*] to various nations using diverse languages. Comp. Rev. x. 11.

of a strange speech and of an hard language] Hebr. as in marg. *deep of lip and heavy of tongue.* Comp. Isai. xxxiii. 19, *of a deeper speech than thou canst perceive, of a stammering tongue that thou canst not understand.*

Surely] The thought is that expressed by our Saviour Himself (Matt. xi. 21—24). The children of Israel were like the heathen, nay, they were far worse, for had the heathen been warned like Israel, they would not, like Israel, have turned a deaf ear to the warning.

7. *impudent*] Marg. *stiff of forehead, stiff*, Hebr. *chazak*, the same word as in *v.* 8, *strong*, and in the name of Ezekiel, Hebr. *Jechzekel* (see Introduct.). There is a play on the word *God hardeneth* thee, against the *hardened.*

8. *I have made...thy forehead strong*] I have given thee a strength superior to theirs. The metaphor is taken from horned animals.

9. *adamant*] The word is rendered *dia-*

not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they *be* a rebellious house.

10 Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, all my words that I shall speak unto thee receive in thine heart, and hear with thine ears,

11 And go, get thee to them of the captivity, unto the children of thy people, and speak unto them, and tell them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.

12 Then the spirit took me up, and I heard behind me a voice of a great rushing, *saying*, Blessed *be* the glory of the LORD from his place.

13 *I heard* also the noise of the wings of the living creatures that [†] touched one another, and the noise of the wheels over against them, and a noise of a great rushing.

[†] Heb. *kissed.*

14 So the spirit lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in [†] bitterness, in the [†] heat of my spirit; but the hand of the LORD was strong upon me.

[†] Heb. *bitter.* [†] Heb. *hot anger.*

15 ¶ Then I came to them of the captivity at Tel-abib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar, and I sat where they sat, and remained there astonished among them seven days.

16 And it came to pass at the end of seven days, that the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

17 [c]Son of man, I have made thee

[c] chap. 33. 7.

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mond in Jer. xvii. 1, *adamant* in Zech. vii. 12. The comparison between the *diamond* and the *flint* is introduced not simply to express great hardness, but because the diamond was employed to cut flint. Thus Ezekiel's firmness being that of a diamond, he should cut a stroke home to the hardened hearts of a rebellious people.

11. *the children of thy people*] There is here, as in ii. 5, an irony, *thy* people, not *God's* people.

12. *I heard behind me*] The commission having been given, and the prophet transported to the place of his ministry, the chariot of the vision passes away with the proper tokens (i. 24. 25). One of these tokens is a *voice from above the firmament*, which is now heard proclaiming the divine glory.

from his place] The place where the glory of the Lord had revealed itself in the vision.

13. *the living creatures that touched one another*] The living creatures did not always touch each other, but in their flight they raised their wings, so as to touch each other. See on i. 11. It would be more literal and more clear to read **touching** for *that touched.*

14. *lifted me up*] It is the same word as is rendered *took me up* in *v.* 12 and *carry* in 1 K. xviii. 12. We are not, however, to suppose that the prophet was miraculously transported from one place to another in the land of his captivity. He *went* and *came.* (Comp. *v.* 22, also xi. 1, 24; Matt. iv. 1; Acts viii. 39.) He had been in ecstatic vision (i. 1), and now guided by the Spirit he goes forth among his countrymen.

in bitterness] in sorrow for his people.

the heat of my spirit] Full of the righteous indignation, which God inspired, at the sin which he was to denounce.

but the hand of the LORD] **and** *the hand of the Lord.*

strong (*chasak*)] The Lord strengthened him for his mission. See on *v.* 7.

15. *Tel-abib* was on the river Chebar (i. 3), the chief seat of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. *Tel* means *heap* or *mound*, and is applied by the Arabs now to the heaps of brick found so frequently in the Babylonian plains. The name *Tel-abib* (*mount of ears of corn*) was probably given on account of its fertility.

I sat where they sat]. Rather, "And I saw them sitting there and I sat there." See Note at end of Chapter. The exiles, being settled along the river Chebar, the prophet came up to Tel-abib, and there saw a body of exiles, and took his place among them.

astonished] Rather, **silent.** The original implies fixed and determined silence. Comp. Ezra ix. 3, 4—where the same word occurs. *To be silent* was characteristic of mourners (Lam. iii. 28); *to sit* their proper attitude (Isai. iii. 26; Lam. i. 1); *seven days* the set time of mourning (Job ii. 13).

seven days] The number seven was (according to Bähr) symbolical of the covenant relations of Jehovah to Israel. So the messenger sits silent seven days.

16. The Lord guards both Ezekiel and his countrymen from dwelling exclusively on the national character of his mission. Not only was the people to be warned and to be punished as a whole, one part rejected, another (the remnant) spared and restored, but in the midst of the general visitations, each individual was to stand as it were alone before Him to render account of his doings, and to be judged according to his works.

a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore hear the word at my mouth, and give them warning from me.

18 When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life; the same wicked *man* shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

19 Yet if thou warn the wicked, and he turn not from his wickedness, nor from his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.

[d] chap. 18. 24.
[†] Heb. *righteousnesses.*

20 Again, When a [d]righteous *man* doth turn from his [†]righteousness, and commit iniquity, and I lay a stumblingblock before him, he shall die: because thou hast not given him warning, he shall die in his sin, and his righteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

21 Nevertheless if thou warn the righteous *man*, that the righteous sin not, and he doth not sin, he shall surely live, because he is warned; also thou hast delivered thy soul.

22 ¶ And the hand of the LORD was there upon me; and he said unto me, Arise, go forth into the plain, and I will there talk with thee.

23 Then I arose, and went forth into the plain: and, behold, the glory

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The priests and ministers of the Lord were often called *watchmen*. Habakkuk speaks of *standing upon his watch* (Hab. ii. 1). Ezekiel is especially distinguished by this title (xxxiii. 7). The duties of a watchman are twofold (1) to wait and watch what God will order, (2) to watch over and superintend the people. Isaiah describes and censures unfaithful watchmen (Isai. lvi. 10).

18—21. This passage anticipates the great moral principle of divine government, enlarged upon and enforced in ch. xviii., that each man is individually responsible for his own actions, and will be judged according to these and these alone. They who are appointed to watch the souls of others must render their account of their performance or neglect of this their duty, but the man who sins shall die for his own sin. *Thou shalt surely die.* The primal sentence (Gen. ii. 17) is reinforced, comp. Rom. vi. 23. But the penalty of sin is not simply natural death, so a righteous man, though involved in the general calamity and even perishing with the rest, may live and not die.

20. *his blood will I require*] Comp. Gen. ix. 5 and xlii. 22.

I lay a stumblingblock before him] I bring him to trial by placing difficulties and temptations in his way. Thus in vii. 19, the silver and gold which the people possessed are said to be *the stumblingblock of their iniquity.* See xliv. 12 *they caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity*, lit. as in margin, *they were for a stumblingblock of iniquity to the house of Israel.*

In xiv. 3, 4 the people are said themselves to *put the stumblingblock of their iniquity before their eyes.* It is true that God tempts no man in order to his destruction, but in the course of His providence he permits men to be tried in order that their faith may be approved, and in this trial some who seem to be righteous fall. See on ch. xviii.

because] This is not the sole cause—the individual was tried and found wanting, but so far as the prophet was concerned, the neglect of his duty is reckoned as the cause of the seemingly righteous man's fall.

his righteousness...shall not be remembered] righteousnesses, *i.e.* acts of righteousness; the verb is plural, and the Masorets in the margin alter the singular into the plural noun, and this is better. The *righteous* man here must be one, who had hitherto done the *acts of righteousness* prescribed by the law, but when trial came was shewn to lack the *principle of righteousness.*

21. *if thou warn the righteous man, that the righteous sin not*] The repetition of the word *righteous* is to be noted. The LXX. do not repeat it, neither does Luther, but the Vulg. and the A.V. keep closely to the original. There seems to be an intimation that sin is alien to the character of a *righteous* man. The words might be rendered *if thou warn the righteous man that* he sin not as becometh a righteous man. Comp. 1 John iii. 7—9.

23. A fresh revelation of the glory of the Lord, to impress upon Ezekiel another characteristic of his mission. By *eating the roll* he was taught that his words should be those of the Spirit of God—by *being a watchman*, that he must speak boldly and without fear of consequences—now he is to learn that there is *a time to be silent* as well as *a time to speak*, and that both are appointed by God. This represents forcibly the authoritative character and divine origin of the utterances of the Hebrew prophets.

of the LORD stood there, as the glory
[c] chap. i. 2. which I [c]saw by the river of Chebar:
and I fell on my face.

24 Then the spirit entered into
me, and set me upon my feet, and
spake with me, and said unto me,
• Go, shut thyself within thine house.

25 But thou, O son of man, be-
hold, they shall put bands upon thee,
and shall bind thee with them, and
thou shalt not go out among them:

26 And I will make thy tongue
cleave to the roof of thy mouth, that
thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be
to them [a] a reprover: for they *are* a
rebellious house.

[a] Heb. *a man reproving.*

27 But when I speak with thee, I
will open thy mouth, and thou shalt
say unto them, Thus saith the Lord
GOD; He that heareth, let him hear;
and he that forbeareth, let him for-
bear: for they *are* a rebellious house.

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24. • *Go, shut thyself within thine house*] The prophet is directed to retire to the privacy of his own chamber in order to receive a message from Jehovah. This *shutting up*, however, and the *bands* were signs of the manner in which Ezekiel's countrymen would close their ears, hindering him as far as in them lay from delivering the message of the Lord.

25. *they shall put bands upon thee*] Jeremiah was, we know, actually bound and imprisoned, but we have no record that Ezekiel was thus treated. The expression is figurative. See Note at the end of this Chapter.

26. *And I will make*] Rather, Then will I *make*. The original marks that one action is the consequence of the other. Because the people would silence the prophet, God to punish them will close his mouth. Comp. Isai. vi. 9, quoted and sanctioned by our Lord Himself (Matt. xiii. 14).

27. *He that heareth, let him hear*] The judicial blindness of which Ezekiel speaks had already fallen upon the great body of the nation. They had served idols and been answered *according to the multitude of their idols* (xiv. 4). In the Revelation of St John, throughout which book there are constant references to Ezekiel's prophecies, we find utterances in the same spirit (Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 11).

NOTES on CHAP. III. 15, 25.

15. *and I sat where they sat*] In the Hebrew text, *and I sat* is represented by (*Chetib*) וָאֵשֵׁב, (*K'ri*) וָאֵשֵׁבָה—there is a variety in the Hebrew MSS., and the *K'ri* is plainly intended to find out a meaning for the unintelligible *Chetib*. The Septuagint adopts the *Chetib*, and passing over the ו translates τοὺς ὄντας ἐκεῖ. The Chaldee and Vulgate adopt the *K'ri*, and this is represented in our English version, but this does not accord well with the grammatical construction, and the repetition of *sat* seems weak. Kimchi explains בַּאֲשֶׁר רְאִיתִי, *when I saw*. In accordance with this Hitzig proposes to read וָאֵשֵׁר *and I saw*. The alteration is only in the points, and the sense is far the most satisfactory.

24. With this verse commences a series of symbolical actions enjoined to the prophet in order to foretell the coming judgments of Jerusalem. They are contained in the fourth and fifth chapters, and deserve some particular notice.

We find, in the first place, actions described metaphorically: *lay siege, build a fort*, and the like: while the time that the prophet contemplates is described as *the days of thy siege*, iv. 8. Again, were v. 25 of this chapter to stand alone, we might be inclined to regard it simply as a metaphor expressing the constraint to which Ezekiel would be subjected by the behaviour of his countrymen. But, comparing it with iv. 8, we cannot but see that the action of *binding* is more formally expressed. This was certainly no common act of binding or imprisoning the prophet. It was figurative, to set forth a special lesson. We observe that in v. 25 it is said *they* (*i.e.* the people) *shall lay bands*, and in iv. 8 it is said, *I* (Jehovah) *will lay bands*, so that we can scarcely take the statement in either case without modification. But the other actions which follow, seem of a more definite character. The prophet is bidden to *portray a siege upon a tile, to lie bound upon his side, to prepare and eat defiled bread, to shave his head and divide his hair with the sword*. Were these and similar acts really done? Now the symbolical actions of the old prophets were of two kinds, (1) *public*, such as Ezekiel's sitting among his fellow-exiles seven days (iii. 15), remaining shut up in his house (iii. 24), removing his goods (xii. 3), sighing before their eyes (xxi. 6), his abstaining from mourning for his wife's death (xxiv. 16), and, to take an instance from another prophet, the birth and naming of Isaiah's son (Isai. viii. 1). In such cases, the prophet was to be *a sign* to the beholders, and we can only understand the actions as

literally performed. But (2) there is another kind of symbolical action intended to impress in private upon the prophet's mind the truth which he is to enforce upon others by the description of the action as by a figure. When this is part of an ecstatic vision, no one will look for a literal interpretation. Independently of the actual impossibility of eating a roll of parchment, we see at once the propriety of a spiritual interpretation. In addressing the ear, it is common to employ metaphor in order to convey ideas, and in addressing the bodily or mental sight (as in visions), *metaphor* is replaced by *symbolical actions*, which are to the seer as real as if they literally took place, of which he neither knows nor heeds whether they literally take place or no. In ch. iv. and v. we have no mention of a vision, and the actions are certainly not impossible. *To portray a siege upon a tile*, was common in Chaldæa (see note on ch. iv. 1), *the baking of the cakes* might easily have been done; but if we examine the actions a little more closely, a strictly literal interpretation is seen to be incapable of being maintained. *The division of the hair by a sword or knife*, seems a trifling act for the prophet to have performed privately in his own house, although we can see its force when announced as a *figure* of that which he was to foretell. The *lying on one side* for so long a period is scarcely conceivable, and when we observe that on the one hand it is said that he should not move *from one side to another* (iv. 8), and on the other hand that in the course of the 390 days, he is to take grain and prepare it for food, we must modify any literal explanation. To this must be added that between the fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year (i. 2), and the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year (viii. 1), there is not room for the 430 days except on the supposition of an intercalary month in the fifth year. Again, in v. 2, the seer is directed to *burn the third part of his hair in the midst of the city*. It is manifestly impossible that this could have been literally done, the prophet being an exile on the banks of Chebar. Another instance of the same kind occurs in xxi. 19 where the seer is directed to *appoint* (lit. to *mark*) *two ways*, for the king of Babylon to choose. Here, there can be no doubt of the figurative character of the action prescribed.

The same conclusion will be arrived at, by comparing these with similar actions noticed by other prophets, *e.g. the bonds and yokes* in Jer. xxvii. 2, and the *wine-cup of fury* (Jer. xxv. 15); comp. also Ezek. vii. 23 *make thee a chain*. It is enough to suppose that when the prophet was bidden to do such acts, they were impressed upon his mind with all the vividness of actual performance. In spirit, he grasped the sword and scattered the hair and saw herein the coming events thus symbolized. They would only have lost force by substituting bodily for mental action. The command of God gave to the *sign* the vividness of a real transaction, and the prophet communicated it to the people, just as it had been stamped on his own mind, with more impressiveness than could have been conveyed by the language of ordinary metaphor. In ch. xxiv. we have, side by side, specimens of the two kinds of figurative action in the prophecies of Ezekiel. The first is, we are told, a *parable* (xxiv. 3) *of a boiling pot*. Even without such notice it would have been somewhat hard to conceive that Ezekiel actually set a cauldron on the fire, and put in it *the choice pieces of the chief of the flock*, and yet the action is described exactly as if it were literally performed. Besides, we have in this case the figurative language extending alike to the sign and to the thing signified. The *pot* is to be *set on* the fire (xxiv. 3), and in the explanation of the parable it is said, *Set it* (*her, the city*) *upon the coals* (xxiv. 11). This then may help us to see the figurative nature of other actions similarly detailed. On the other hand, the second prophecy in ch. xxiv. rests upon what we can scarcely view otherwise than a real event. It would be a very forced interpretation to say that Ezekiel's wife did not die, but that her death was merely put in as a supposition, wherefrom to draw a moral. Assuming, then, that the simple fact did take place, we have an instance of the manner in which the prophet was made in the very circumstances of his domestic life a *sign* to the people among whom he dwelt (xxiv. 24).

Difficulties have arisen, because interpreters have not chosen to recognize both these modes of prophesying; and so some, who would have all literal, have had to accept the most strange and unnecessary actions as real, while others, who would have all figurative, have had arbitrarily to explain away the most plain historical statement. There may be a difference of opinion as to which class one or other figure may belong, but after all, the determination is not important, the whole value of the parabolic figure residing in the lesson which it is intended to convey.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *Under the type of a siege is shewed the time from the defection of Jeroboam to the captivity.*
9 *By the provision of the siege, is shewed the hardness of the famine.*

THOU also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, *even* Jerusalem:

2 And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set ‖ *battering* rams against it round about.

‖ Or, *chief leaders.*

CHAPS. IV. and V. The coming siege of Jerusalem and dispersion of its inhabitants foretold under divers symbols.

If we accept the 5th year of Jehoiachin's captivity (as is most probable), for the year in which Ezekiel received this communication, we may observe that it was a time at which such an event would, according to human calculation, have appeared improbable. Zedekiah was the creature of the king of Babylon, ruling by his authority in the place of Jehoiachin, who was still alive; and it could scarcely have been expected that Zedekiah would have been so infatuated as to provoke the anger of the powerful Nebuchadnezzar. It is indeed to infatuation that the sacred historian ascribes the act (2 K. xxiv. 20), God in this way carrying out His purpose of punishing the iniquity of the people by the folly of their king.

1. *take thee a tile*] Rather, **a brick.** Sun-dried or kiln-burnt bricks were from very early times used for building walls throughout the plain of Mesopotamia. (See on Gen. xi. 3.) Pliny tells us of astronomical observations of 720 years recorded upon bricks ('Hist. Nat.' VII. 57). Jerome speaks of a similar practice in his day. Recent discoveries have brought to light an immense number of such bricks at Nineveh and Babylon. They are sometimes stamped with what appears to be the device of the king in whose reign they were made, often covered with a kind of enamel on which various scenes were portrayed. Among the subjects depicted on such bricks discovered at Nimroud, now in the British Museum, are (1) Part of a walled tower or fort; (2) A castle with angular battlements. "These, with other fragments," says Layard, "evidently belong to the same period, and probably to the same general subject, the conquest of some distant nations by the Assyrians" (Layard's 'Nineveh and Babylon,' ch. VII. p. 167). In the ruins of Babylon itself similar fragments are found in great numbers (ibid. ch. XXII).

the city] Rather, **a city.**

2. *lay siege against it*] By a common figure the prophet is represented as doing that which he portrays. Comp. Jer. i. 10, and below, xxxii. 18, *cast them down;* and also xliii. 3. The leading features of a siege are thus depicted. The *mount* is earth heaped up so as to enable the besiegers to place themselves on vantage ground (Jer. xxxii. 24, *cast a bank*, Isai. xxxvii. 33), for shooting their arrows and directing their attacks. See note on Jer. vi. 6.

the camp] **encampments** (the Hebrew noun is plural), which is more literal and more expressive, for it denotes various hosts in various positions around the city.

fort] Tower used in assault. It was customary in sieges to construct towers of vast height, sometimes of 20 stories, which were wheeled up to the walls to enable the besiegers to reach the battlements with their arrows; in the lower part of such a tower there was commonly a battering-ram. (See Gosse's 'Assyr.' p. 301, 304.) These towers are frequently represented in the Assyrian monuments.

battering rams] A far better translation than the alternative given in the margin. Heb. 'car.' The first meaning of this word is *lamb* (Deut. xxxii. 14, and elsewhere), here it is translated *battering-rams* with an alternative marginal rendering *chief leaders;* in xxi. 22 the same Hebrew word occurs twice, and is rendered in one case *captains*, marg. *battering-rams*—in the other *battering-rams*. There can be little doubt that an engine of war is here meant. The invention of battering-rams has been ascribed by some to the Greeks at the siege of Troy (Plin. 'Hist. Nat.' VII. 57), though Homer makes no mention of them. Vitruvius and Tertullian ascribe the invention to the Tyrians, whence it has been supposed that Nebuchadnezzar, in his siege of Tyre, acquired the knowledge of these machines which he afterwards turned against Jerusalem (see Gosse's 'Assyria,' p. 303); but the recent discoveries of Assyrian monuments prove that these engines of war had a far higher antiquity. In the N. W. Palace of Nimroud, the probable date of which was the Twelfth Century before Christ (see Vaux's 'Nin. and Per.' p. 456; Gosse's 'Assyria,' p. 50), bas-reliefs have been discovered with representations of towers and battering-rams employed against city walls—(Layard's 'Nin.' II. 368, 1849). At Kouyunjik, the palace of Sennacherib, there is a monument of the siege of an important city, in which no less than seven battering-rams are employed (Layard's 'Nin. and Bab.' p. 149). These engines seem to have been beams suspended by chains generally in moveable towers, and to

3 Moreover take thou unto thee an iron pan, and set it *for* a wall of iron between thee and the city: and set thy face against it, and it shall be besieged, and thou shalt lay siege against it. This *shall be* a sign to the house of Israel.

‖ Or, *a flat plate*, or, *slice*.

4 Lie thou also upon thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it: *according* to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon it thou shalt bear their iniquity.

5 For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days: [a] so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel.

[a] Numb. 14. 34.

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have been applied against the walls in the way familiar to us from Greek and Roman history. The head of the beam in the earliest monuments was in the form of a mace, but in the more recent was pointed like a pike's head. (See Gosse, 'Assyria,' p. 300.) The name *ram* was probably given to describe their mode of operation—no Assyrian monument yet discovered exhibits the ram's head of later times. It is possible that this form was suggested to the Greeks by the ancient name of the engine.

3. *an iron pan*] The Hebrew word is used in Lev. ii. 5, vi. 21, vii. 9; 1 Chro. xxiii. 29, "an iron plate," on which bread was baked. It has been thought that this represented the "wall of the city," or "the circumvallation of the beleaguering host," or again "the impenetrable barrier, which the black sins of the people have interposed between themselves and God," in whose place now the prophet stands (see Isai. lix. 2). But it seems more in character with the rest of the chapter to understand this verse, as depicting under another figure the coming siege. On Assyrian sculptures from Nimroud and Kouyunjik there are sieges of cities with *forts*, *mounts* and *rams*; and together with these we see a kind of shield set up on the ground, behind which archers are shooting. See Layard's 'Nin.' II. 345. Such a shield would be fitly represented by the *flat plate* here spoken of. Ezekiel was directed to take such a plate (part of his household furniture) and place it between him and the representation of the city.

a sign to the house of Israel] This *sign* was not necessarily acted before the people, but may simply have been described to them as a vivid representation of the event which it foretold (see Note at end of the preceding Chapter). The prophet here applies the general term *Israel* to the kingdom of Judah. So also iii. 7, 17, v. 4, viii. 6, and elsewhere. So in the Books of Chronicles written in the time of or after the captivity, 2 Chro. xxi. 2, *Jehoshaphat, king of Israel*, and xxviii. After the captivity of the ten tribes the kingdom of Judah represented the whole nation, and we find both Hezekiah and Josiah calling on such of the tribes of Israel as had been left in the land to join their brethren of Judah in keeping a most solemn Passover (2 Chro. xxx. 1, xxxv. 18). Hence prophets writing after this event constantly address their countrymen as the house of Israel without distinction of tribes. See Introd. § 6. It is only on such occasions as below (*vv.* 5, 6) that the distinction between *Israel* and *Judah* is kept up.

4. The siege being thus represented, the condition and suffering of the inhabitants are to be prefigured. They are exhibited by the condition of one, who, bound as a prisoner or oppressed by sickness, cannot turn from his right side to his left. The prophet was in such a state.

shalt bear their iniquity] The scapegoat was to *bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited* (Lev. xvi. 21, 22), in order that their sins might thus be removed and be remembered no more—so was the prophet, in a figure, to bear their iniquities for a fixed period, in order to shew that, after the period thus foretold, the burden of their sins should be taken off, and the people be forgiven.

5. *according to the number of the days*] Ezekiel is manifestly referring to Num. xiv. 34, where the years of wandering in the wilderness correspond to the number of *days* that the spies searched the land. What were the years which these days were to represent? Some conceive that they were the years during which Israel and Judah *sinned*, and they reckon in various ways the number of these years, dating for instance in the case of Israel from Jeroboam's rebellion (as in the heading of our English Bibles), to the time at which Ezekiel wrote, a period corresponding with tolerable accuracy to the 390 years; in the case of Judah from Josiah's reformation, at which time previous sins are supposed to have been blotted out, and a fresh start commenced. Eichhorn, 'Die Bibl. Propheten,' Pt. II. p. 369, quoted by Rosenmüller. But it seems more in accordance with the other *signs*, to suppose that they represent not that which has been, but that which shall be. The number of years in the whole is 430, the number assigned of old for the affliction of the descendants of Abraham (Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 40). Hosea had already predicted

6 And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee †each day for a year.

† Heb. *a day for a year, a day for a year.*

7 Therefore thou shalt set thy face toward the siege of Jerusalem, and thine arm *shall be* uncovered, and thou shalt prophesy against it.

8 And, behold, I will lay bands upon thee, and thou shalt not turn thee †from one side to another, till thou hast ended the days of thy siege.

† Heb. *from thy side to thy side.*

9 ¶ Take thou also unto thee wheat, and barley, and beans, and lentiles, and millet, and ‖fitches, and put them in one vessel, and make thee bread thereof, *according* to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon thy side, three hundred and ninety days shalt thou eat thereof.

‖ Or, *spelt.*

10 And thy meat which thou shalt eat *shall be* by weight, twenty shekels

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a repetition of the history of Israel in the afflictions about to come upon them for their sins. Once more should they suffer the misery of bondage in a strange land. *Ephraim shall return into Egypt* (Hos. viii. 13, ix. 3. Comp. Amos viii. 7, 8). The *forty years* apportioned to Judah bring to our minds at once the *forty years* passed in the wilderness; and as these were years not only of punishment, but also of discipline and were preparatory to restoration, so it seems that Ezekiel would intimate the difference between the punishments of Israel and of Judah, the one of much longer duration with no definite hope of recovery, the other imposed with the express purpose of the renewal of mercy. The LXX. read 190 instead of 390, and so miss entirely the reference to the past. The chosen people were to enter upon a new commencement of their history, to which they should be introduced, as of old, by exile and oppression.

7. *thou shalt set thy face*]—not "actually turn thy face to the portrayed siege," but rather, "direct thy mind to that subject."

thine arm shall be uncovered] In eastern countries a man put forth his arm from the loose sleeve which generally concealed it, in order to wield a weapon. Hence *the arm bared* or *uncovered* was a sign of the execution of vengeance (Isai. lii. 10).

8. *I will lay bands upon thee*] There seems a reference by way of contrast to iii. 25. The people put constraint upon the prophet to hinder him from exercising his office. The Lord will put constraint upon him, to cause him to exercise it. In the retirement of his house, figuratively bound and under constraint, he shall not cease to proclaim the doom of the city.

till thou hast ended the days of thy siege] The prophet is described as *besieging* the city because he prefigures and predicts it (*vv.* 2, 3); *the days of thy siege* are therefore those during which thou shalt thus foretell the approaching calamity.

9. Two things are prefigured in the remainder of this chapter, (1) the hardships of exile, (2) the straitness of a siege. To the people of Israel, separated from the rest of the nations as holy, it was a leading feature in the calamities of their exile that they must be mixed up with other nations, and eat of their food, which to the Jews was a defilement (comp. Amos vii. 17; Dan. i. 8). In their exile should be fulfilled the prophecy of Hosea, *They shall not dwell in the Lord's land, but Ephraim shall return to Egypt and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria* (Hos. ix. 3).

beans] The word occurs only once more in Scripture (2 S. xvii. 28); *lentiles* (2 S. xvii. 28; Gen. xxv. 34); *millet* (Hebr. *dochan*) occurs only here. There is a species of millet called *dukhan* in use among the Arabs to this day; *fitches*, see note on Exod. ix. 32. "It is a species of wheat with shorn ears" (Smith's 'Dict.'). The English word *fitches* is used in our A. V. in Isai. xxviii. 25, where the Hebrew word is not the same as here, but the equivalent of *black cummin*.

in one vessel] It was especially forbidden in the Law to *sow the ground with mingled seeds* (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9). Hence to mix all these varied seeds was an indication that the people are no longer in their own land, where precautions against such mixing of seeds were prescribed.

three hundred and ninety days] The days of Israel's punishment, because here is a figure of the *exile* which concerns all the tribes, not of the *siege* which concerns Judah alone (see above, *v.* 3). The dates given in 2 K. xxv. 1—3 do not admit of the notion that the siege of Jerusalem lasted 390 days.

10. *thy meat...shall be by weight*] This part of the figure belongs to the *siege*. *Meat* is a general term for *food*, which in this case consists of *grain*. So the *offering of flour* is called in our A. V. a *meat-offering* (Lev. ii. 1, and below, xlv. 24). Instead of measuring, it was necessary in extreme scarcity to *weigh* it (Lev. xxvi. 26; Rev. vi. 6).

twenty shekels a day] The *shekel* contained about 220 grains, so that 20 shekels would be about $\frac{5}{6}$ lb.

a day: from time to time shalt thou eat it.

11 Thou shalt drink also water by measure, the sixth part of an hin: from time to time shalt thou drink.

12 And thou shalt eat it *as* barley cakes, and thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man, in their sight.

13 And the LORD said, Even thus shall the children of Israel eat their defiled bread among the Gentiles, whither I will drive them.

14 Then said I, Ah Lord GOD! behold, my soul hath not been polluted: for from my youth up even till now have I not eaten of that which dieth of itself, or is torn in pieces; neither came there abominable flesh into my mouth.

15 Then he said unto me, Lo, I have given thee cow's dung for man's dung, and thou shalt prepare thy bread therewith.

16 Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, behold, I will break the [b] staff of bread in Jerusalem: and they shall eat bread by weight, and with care; and they shall drink water by measure, and with astonishment:

17 That they may want bread and water, and be astonied one with another, and consume away for their iniquity.

[b] Lev. 26. 26. chap. 5. 16. & 14. 13.

CHAPTER V.

1 *Under the type of hair,* 5 *is shewed the judgment of Jerusalem for their rebellion,* 12 *by famine, sword, and dispersion.*

AND thou, son of man, take thee a sharp knife, take thee a barber's razor, and cause *it* to pass upon thine head and upon thy beard: then

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from time to time] Thou shalt receive and eat it at the appointed intervals of *a day* and at no other time. In 1 Chro. ix. 25, we have the same phrase with the same meaning, the intervals there being *of seven days*.

11. *water by measure*] This probably corresponds to the *water of affliction* (1 K. xxii. 27; Isai. xxx. 20). The measure of the *hin* is variously estimated by Jewish writers. According to Josephus, it is equal to .4449 *gal.*, according to the Rabbinists, .7381 *gal.* The 6th part of a *hin* will be according to the former about $\frac{6}{10}$ths, according to the latter $\frac{9}{10}$ths of a *pint*. The lesser estimate is most suitable here.

12. Another of the usual calamities of a siege is want of fuel. In eastern countries where fuel is scarce the want is supplied by dried cow-dung laid up for the winter.

barley cakes] were baked under hot ashes without an oven, as is the custom in the East to this day. The dung therefore was to be burnt to ashes, and the ashes so employed.

13. The defilement is here expressed by a very strange figure. All the ceremonial ordinances in relation to food were, no doubt, intended to keep the nation free from idolatrous usages; everywhere among the heathen idol feasts formed a leading part in their religious services, and idol meats were partaken of in common life. Their dispersion among the Gentiles must have exposed them to much which they regarded as common and unclean (comp. Lev. xx. 25; Acts x. 14). In the case of Cornelius, St Peter's objection was set aside because the time had come for all distinctions of food and nationality being done away. In Ezekiel's case there was a mitigation of the defilement, but still legal defilement remained, and the chosen people in exile were subjected to it as to a degradation.

14. Comp. Exod. xxii. 31 and Dan. i. 8.

abominable flesh] Flesh that had become corrupt and foul by overkeeping. Thus, Lev. xix. 7, flesh of the offering if kept to the third day was forbidden to be eaten by the priests as *abominable*.

16. The seer reverts to the general subject of the siege and declares that God will *break the staff of bread*. Bread is so called because it is that on which mainly the support of life depends. Comp. Isai. iii. 1; Ps. civ. 15.

with astonishment] With dismay and anxiety at the calamities which are befalling them.

CHAP. V. 1. *a sharp knife*] The word here rendered *knife* is used either for a sword (as in *v.* 2) or for any sharp cutting instrument (Josh. v. 3). Here the LXX. and Vulg. render it "sword." Our translators perhaps wished to simplify the action. If the view in Note at end of ch. iii. be taken, all difficulty is removed. But even if the action were literal, the use of an actual sword would best enforce the symbolical meaning. Our translators have also neglected the suffix (*it*) to the second *take: take thee a sharp sword,* **for a barber's razor thou shalt take it thee.**

cause it to pass] The *head* represents the

take thee balances to weigh, and divide the *hair*.

2 Thou shalt burn with fire a third part in the midst of the city, when the days of the siege are fulfilled: and thou shalt take a third part, *and* smite about it with a knife: and a third part thou shalt scatter in the wind; and I will draw out a sword after them.

3 Thou shalt also take thereof a few in number, and bind them in thy [1] skirts.

[1] Heb. wings.

4 Then take of them again, and cast them into the midst of the fire, and burn them in the fire; *for* thereof shall a fire come forth into all the house of Israel.

5 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; This *is* Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries *that are* round about her.

6 And she hath changed my judgments into wickedness more than the nations, and my statutes more than the countries that *are* round about her: for they have refused my judgments and my statutes, they have not walked in them.

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord

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chief city, the *hair* the inhabitants, its ornament and glory—the *hair cut from the head* the exiles cast forth from their homes. It adds to the force of the representation that *to shave the head* was a token of mourning (Job i. 20), and was forbidden to the priests (Lev. xxi. 5) probably for this reason: Isaiah calls the instrument of God's wrath *a razor that is hired* (Isai. vii. 20). Thus in many ways is this action of Ezekiel *the priest* significant of calamity and ruin. Theodoret says well, "The sword indicates the avenging power; the shaving of the head the removal of grace and glory; the scales and weights the determination of divine justice." We find a similar threefold division in Zech. xiii. 8, 9.

2. *The third part burnt in the midst of the city* represents those who perished within the city during the siege; *the third part smitten about with a knife* (**the sword**, not *a knife*) those who were killed in fight during the same period: *the third part scattered to the wind* those who after the siege were dispersed in foreign lands.

in the midst of the city] The prophet is in exile, and is to do this *in the midst of Jerusalem*—the action being *ideal* is fitly assigned to the place which the prophecy concerns (see Note at end of ch. iii.).

when the days of the siege are fulfilled]—not "when Jerusalem has been actually besieged and taken," but "when the days of the figurative representation of the siege are fulfilled."

I will draw out a sword after them] Comp. Lev. xxvi. 33, *I will draw out a sword after you*: observe too here how the figure and its fulfilment are mixed together.

3, 4. Of the third part a few are yet to be taken and kept in the fold of the garment (representing those still to remain in their native land) and yet even of those few some are to be cast into the fire. Such was the fate of those left behind after the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xl., xli.). The whole prophecy is one of denunciation. We are not therefore to think so much of a remnant preserved by grace, as of the number exempted from the former judgments and yet not destined to escape; though, as not *all* are cast into the fire, the sentence is not without some reservation.

4. *for thereof*] **from thence**, out of the midst of the fire. *For* (not in the original) is better away (comp. Judg. ix. 15; Jer. xxiii. 29).

5. *I have set it in the midst of the nations*] Comp. xxxviii. 12. The middle place was in the East the place of honour, and it was not unusual for nations to regard the sanctuary, which they most revered, as the centre of the earth. In the case of the Holy Land this was both natural and appropriate. Egypt to the South, Syria to the North, Assyria to the East and the Isles of the Gentiles in the Great Sea to the West, were to the Jew proofs of the central position of his land in the midst of the nations (comp. Jer. iii. 19). The habitation assigned to the chosen people was no doubt purposely chosen by Jehovah. It was suitable at the first for separating them from the nations—then for the seat of the vast dominion of Solomon, carrying his arms and commerce in every direction—then when they learnt from their neighbours the idol-worship, against which they were specially called to protest, their central position was the source of their punishment. Midway between the mighty empires of Egypt and Assyria the Holy Land became a battle-field for the two powers, and suffered alternately from each as for the time it became predominant.

that are round about her] *that are* (not in the original) would be better away.

6. *for they have refused*] They, "the inhabitants of Jerusalem," not "the nations."

GOD; Because ye multiplied more than the nations that *are* round about you, *and* have not walked in my statutes, neither have kept my judgments, neither have done according to the judgments of the nations that *are* round about you;

8 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I, even I, *am* against thee, and will execute judgments in the midst of thee in the sight of the nations.

9 And I will do in thee that which I have not done, and whereunto I will not do any more the like, because of all thine abominations.

[a] Lev. 26. 29. Deut. 28. 53. 2 Kin. 6. 29. Lam. 4. 10. Baruch 2. 3.

10 Therefore the fathers [a]shall eat the sons in the midst of thee, and the sons shall eat their fathers; and I will execute judgments in thee, and the whole remnant of thee will I scatter into all the winds.

11 Wherefore, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD; Surely, because thou hast defiled my sanctuary with all thy detestable things, and with all thine abominations, therefore will I also diminish *thee;* [b]neither shall mine eye spare, neither will I have any pity.

[b] chap. 7. 4, 9.

12 ¶ A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them.

13 Thus shall mine anger be accomplished, and I will cause my fury to rest upon them, and I will be comforted: and they shall know that I the LORD have spoken *it* in my zeal, when I have accomplished my fury in them.

14 Moreover I will make thee

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7. *Because ye multiplied*] Lit. "Because of your multiplying." Because through God's favour ye have become more numerous than the nations round about you, and yet.... But the word rendered *multiply* may mean, as in Ps. ii. 1, *rage tumultuously* (so Gesen. and Fürst). This seems preferable:—Because ye have raged tumultuously more than.

neither have done according to the judgments of the nations] Some Hebrew MSS. omit the negative in the clause, according to which reading the people of Israel are reproved, because they have *not* kept the judgments of *Jehovah*, but *have* done according to the judgments of the nations. This would be the most obvious contrast, but the weight of authority is in favour of the reading adopted by our translators, according to which the reproach is that the Israelites have not even been as faithful to their one true God as the nations have been to their false gods. Comp. xvi. 47.

8. *execute judgments*] as upon the false gods of Egypt (Exod. xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 4).

9. *which I have not done*] Our Lord in predicting the final woes of Jerusalem employs the same phrase, *such as was not since the beginning of the world, neither shall be* (Matt. xxiv. 21). The punishments of God are cumulative. The calamities of the Babylonian were surpassed by the Roman siege, and these again were but a foreshadowing of still more terrible destruction at the last day.

10. Comp. Lev. xxvi. 29; Deut. xxviii. 53; Jer. xix. 9; Lam. ii. 20.

12—17. The judgments of *famine, pestilence*, and the *sword*, were precisely those which attended the coming siege of Jerusalem, Jer. xv. 2, foll. The *drawing out the sword after them* indicates that the anger of God will follow them even to the land of their exile (comp. Jer. xlii. 19—22; Lev. xxvi. 25), and that the horrors of the Babylonian siege are but the beginning of the sorrows of the nation. We may suppose that the inspired prophet, as from a watch-tower, looked onward to the end, and in delivering the sentence which Nebuchadnezzar was so soon to execute, was commissioned to declare also the continuous misery destined for the once-favoured people of God.

13. *I will cause my fury to rest upon them*] to abide, so as not to pass away (below, xvi. 42, xxi. 17).

I will be comforted] The original word may either mean to *feel compassion* for any one, and so to repent of one's anger, or *to console one's self* and *feel satisfaction in punishing;* hence to *avenge one's self.* The first meaning we find in Num. xxiii. 19; Deut. xxxii. 36; Ps. cxxxv. 14—the latter in Gen. xxvii. 42; Isai. i. 24, where the A.V. has, *I will ease myself* (comp. below, xxxi. 16, xxxii. 31). According to the former interpretation we should see hope held out of a change for the better. In the latter, judgment alone is foretold, and this latter is in strictest accordance with the tone of the whole of this prophecy.

The fury is to *rest* upon them. The *accom-*

waste, and a reproach among the nations that *are* round about thee, in the sight of all that pass by.

c Deut. 28. 37. 15 So it shall be a [c]reproach and a taunt, an instruction and an astonishment unto the nations that *are* round about thee, when I shall execute judgments in thee in anger and in fury and in furious rebukes. I the LORD have spoken *it*.

16 When I shall send upon them the evil arrows of famine, which shall be for *their* destruction, *and* which I will send to destroy you: and I will increase the famine upon you, and

d Lev. 26. 26. chap. 4. 16. & 14. 13. will break your [d]staff of bread:

e Lev. 26. 22. 17 So will I send upon you famine and [e]evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee; and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee; and I will bring the sword upon thee. I the LORD have spoken *it*.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The judgment of Israel for their idolatry.* 8 *A remnant shall be blessed.* 11 *The faithful are exhorted to lament their calamities.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face toward the a mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,

a chap. 36. 1.

3 And say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD to the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys; Behold, I, *even* I, will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places.

4 And your altars shall be desolate, and your [f]images shall be broken: and I will cast down your slain *men* before your idols.

f Or, *sun images*: and so ver. 6.

5 And I will [g]lay the dead carcases of the children of Israel before their

g Heb. *give*.

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plishment of the divine anger is not the *completion* in the sense of bringing it to a close, but in the sense of carrying it out to the full. It is very common for the prophets to describe the purposes of God by attributing to Him the feelings of a man. This of course is only a partial and imperfect mode of representing God's dealings with man, but, as Schroeder observes, "the completely human clothing of ideas in this passage is a sensible representation of the Personality of God in His Being and in His actions."

CHAP. VI. The former prophecies concerned the city of Jerusalem and the inhabitants of Judæa. The present is addressed to the whole land and people of Israel, which is to be included in a like judgment. The ground of the judgment is *idolatry*, and the whole rests on Deut. xii. There an injunction was given to the people of God to root out and utterly destroy idols and idol-worship. This they had not done—nay they had themselves joined in this false worship. Therefore Jehovah will bring about that destruction which they had failed to inflict, and will include those who have thus joined themselves to the heathen. Hence the force of *I, even I.* "I will Myself do what you should have done." The prophecy is against the *mountains* of Israel, not so much because the land of Israel was characterized by *mountains* and deep valleys, as because the mountains and valleys were the seats of idol-worship. So it had been with the Canaanites (Deut. xii. 2), so it continued to be in later times (2 K. xvii. 10, 11). Comp. Jer. iii. 6 parallel to this prophecy. See note on Lev. xxvi.

But as this utterance closes one division of Ezekiel's book, so it carries the subject on to the end of all things. (See Introduction, § XI.) It is the proclamation of the final judgment of Israel. It is the picture of the future judgment of the world.

3. *rivers*] Or, *ravines*, such as the wadys described in Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 15. The word occurs often in Ezek. *e.g.* xxxi. 12, &c., translated throughout *rivers*. In Ps. xviii. 15 and Isai. viii. 7 it is rendered *channels*. The exact meaning is a *deep hollow*, along which a river might run. It is better here to recur to the original meaning in order to keep up the contrast *mountains and hills, ravines and valleys*. Deep ravines were, like the mountains, favourite seats of idol rites (2 K. xxiii. 10), especially of the Phœnician worship of Astarte or Ashtaroth.

4. *images*] "Sun-images." See note on Lev. xxvi. 30.

idols] The same word occurs in Lev. xxvi. 30, where see note. The Phœnicians were in the habit of setting up *heaps* or *pillars* of stone in honour of their gods, which renders the use of the word more appropriate. There seems a distinct reference to this passage in Leviticus. In both there are the *sun-images*, the *idols*, the *carcases* or *slain cast before the idols*. As they had defiled the land with their idols, so being slain for their sins they should yet

idols; and I will scatter your bones round about your altars.

6 In all your dwellingplaces the cities shall be laid waste, and the high places shall be desolate; that your altars may be laid waste and made desolate, and your idols may be broken and cease, and your images may be cut down, and your works may be abolished.

7 And the slain shall fall in the midst of you, and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

8 ¶ Yet will I leave a remnant, that ye may have *some* that shall escape the sword among the nations, when ye shall be scattered through the countries.

9 And they that escape of you shall remember me among the nations whither they shall be carried captives, because I am broken with their whorish heart, which hath departed from me, and with their eyes, which go a whoring after their idols: and they shall lothe themselves for the evils which they have committed in all their abominations.

10 And they shall know that I *am* the LORD, *and that* I have not said in vain that I would do this evil unto them.

11 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; Smite [b] with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say, Alas for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel! for they shall fall by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence.

[b] chap. 21. 14.

12 He that is far off shall die of the pestilence; and he that is near shall fall by the sword; and he that remaineth and is besieged shall die by the famine: thus will I accomplish my fury upon them.

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further defile it by their dead bodies. Comp. below, ix. 6, xliii. 7.

7. *and ye shall know*] The Hebrew particle commonly rendered *and* often connects two clauses, of which the latter is the principal assertion, the former the conditions under which that assertion holds good. *The slain shall fall, and ye shall know*, means more exactly "when the slain shall fall, *then at last* ye shall know." Thus, taking *v.* 6 to be parenthetical—a fresh denunciation of judgment introduced in the course of the prophet's utterance—the force of *vv.* 5 to 7 will be this: "Then when I shall have laid the dead carcases of the children before their idols, and shall have scattered your bones before your altars...when the slain shall fall in the midst of you, then at last ye shall know that I am the Lord."

There is throughout this chapter a frequent change from *their* to *your*, and from *your* to *their*, when the same persons are spoken of. This is quite in the manner of Ezekiel.

8—10. The prophet has said that the children of Israel shall, by the course of divine judgment, know that Jehovah is the Lord—find it out to their cost. Here we have the same refrain following a different course—the course of repentance—the knowledge therefore here implies a recognition of the merciful intent of Jehovah's dispensations, and therefore implies a hope of restoration. The construction is the same as that in *v.* 7; *v.* 9 is an introduction to *v.* 10, "When they that escape shall, in the land of their exile, remember me, when they shall loathe themselves for their sins—then at last shall they know that I am the Lord, and that my purpose in pronouncing their doom has not been in vain."

9. *I am broken*] Comp. Jer. xxiii. 9. The original word is in a passive form. The LXX. seem to have had an altogether different reading. The Vulgate, following the Targum, translates it by an active verb *contrivi*, and this may safely be adopted. The word *broken* applies to *heart*, and some other verb is implied which would more probably belong to *eyes* in the other clause. Translate thus: *because* **I have broken** *their whorish heart, which hath departed from me*, **and their eyes**, &c.

Since Ezekiel is addressing the Church of God through Israel (see Introd. § 11), we are to note here that the general principle of the divine administration is laid down. Sin leads to judgment, judgment to repentance, repentance to forgiveness, forgiveness to reconciliation, reconciliation to a knowledge of communion with God.

11—14. The gleam of hope is but transitory. Darkness again gathers round, for as yet the prophet is predicting judgment.

11. *Smite with thine hand*]—a well-known mode of expressing grief, Num. xxiv. 10; below, xxi. 17, xxii. 13. *Clap the hands* and *stamp the feet* either in sorrow as here, or in derision as xxv. 6.

13 Then shall ye know that I *am* the LORD, when their slain *men* shall be among their idols round about their altars, upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and under every green tree, and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols.

14 So will I stretch out my hand upon them, and make the land desolate, yea, ‖more desolate than the wilderness toward Diblath, in all their habitations: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

‖ Or, *desolate from the wilderness.*

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The final desolation of Israel.* 16 *The mournful repentance of them that escape.* 20 *The enemies defile the sanctuary because of the Israelites' abominations.* 23 *Under the type of a chain is shewed their miserable captivity.*

MOREOVER the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Also, thou son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD unto the land of Israel; An end, the end is come upon the four corners of the land.

3 Now *is* the end *come* upon thee, and I will send mine anger upon thee, and will judge thee according to thy ways, and will †recompense upon thee all thine abominations.

† Heb. *give.*

4 And mine eye shall not spare thee, neither will I have pity: but I will recompense thy ways upon thee, and thine abominations shall be in the midst of thee: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

5 Thus saith the Lord GOD; An evil, an only evil, behold, is come.

6 An end is come, the end is come: it †watcheth for thee; behold, it is come.

† Heb. *awaketh against thee.*

7 The morning is come unto thee, O thou that dwellest in the land: the time is come, the day of trouble *is* near, and not the ‖sounding again of the mountains.

‖ Or, *echo.*

8 Now will I shortly pour out my fury upon thee, and accomplish mine anger upon thee: and I will judge thee according to thy ways, and will recompense thee for all thine abominations.

9 And mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: I will recompense †thee according to thy ways and thine abominations *that* are in the

† Heb. *upon thee.*

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13. *sweet savour*] Heb. *savour of rest*, Gen. viii. 21, a formula applied in the Law, to the smell of sacrifices ascending to heaven and accepted by God; so applied to idol-sacrifices in irony.

14. *more desolate than the wilderness toward Diblath*] *Diblath*, not found elsewhere but *Diblathaim* (or two Diblaths) (Num. xxxiii. 46; Jer. xlviii. 22), one of the double cities of Moab (see on xxv. 9) to the east of which lay the great desert of Arabia. The name, in the modified form *Diblathan*, is found on the Moabite stone. Jeremiah had already prophesied desolation against Diblathaim itself. On the Moabitic stone we find both *Kirjath* and *Kirjathan* to denote the same place. See xxv. 9.

CHAP. VII. This chapter is a dirge rather than a prophecy. The prophet laments over the near approach of the day wherein the final blow shall be struck, and the city be made the prey of the Chaldæan invader. Supposing the date of the prophecy to be the same as that of the preceding, there were now but four, or perhaps three, years to the final overthrow of the kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar.

3, 4. These verses form a kind of refrain, repeated in *vv.* 8, 9, as the close of another stanza of the dirge.

5. *an only evil*] An evil singular and remarkable above all others.

6. *the end is come: it watcheth for thee*] Lit. "there is come upon thee *the end that waketh*" (Heb. *hakketz hakkeytz*, a play upon words)—the end (personified) so long slumbering now awakes and comes upon thee.

7. *The morning*] Rather, *The conclusion.* See Note at end of Chapter.

the day of trouble...and not the sounding again of the mountains] **the day is near, a tumult, and not the echo of the mountains.**

the day of trouble] The word rendered *trouble* = tumultuous noise, as in Zech. xiv. 13, *a great tumult from the land sounding again* (marg. *echo*). The Hebrew word occurs only here, it is allied to a word found in Isai. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 10, denoting the joyous sound of festivity (heard too often in the idolatries of the land). Comp. Exod. xxxii. 17. The contrast is between the wild tumult of war and the joyous shouts of such as keep holiday.

midst of thee; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD that smiteth.

10 Behold the day, behold, it is come: the morning is gone forth; the rod hath blossomed, pride hath budded.

11 Violence is risen up into a rod of wickedness: none of them *shall remain*, nor of their ‖multitude, nor of any of ‖theirs: neither *shall there be* wailing for them.

12 The time is come, the day draweth near: let not the buyer rejoice, nor the seller mourn: for wrath *is* upon all the multitude thereof.

13 For the seller shall not return to that which is sold, †although they were yet alive: for the vision *is* touching the whole multitude thereof, *which* shall not return; neither shall any strengthen himself ‖in †the iniquity of his life.

14 They have blown the trumpet, even to make all ready; but none goeth to the battle: for my wrath *is* upon all the multitude thereof.

15 The sword *is* without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that *is* in the field shall die with the sword; and he that *is* in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.

16 ¶ But they that escape of them shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his iniquity.

17 All [a]hands shall be feeble, and all knees shall †be weak *as* water.

18 They shall also [b]gird *themselves*

‖ Or, *tumult.*
‖ Or, *their tumultuous persons.*
† Heb. *though their life were yet among the living.*
‖ Or, *whose life is in his iniquity.*
† Heb. *his iniquity.*
[a] Isai. 13. 7. Jer. 6. 24.
† Heb. *go into water.*
[b] Isai. 15. 2, 3. Jer. 48. 37.

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10. *rod*] Heb. *matteh'*. The Hebrew word is commonly used for tribe, Exod. xxxi. 2; also for a rod used to punish, Micah vi. 9. The people of Judah have blossomed into proud luxuriance.

11. *Violence is risen up into a rod of wickedness*] The rod of wickedness here means the rod to punish wickedness.—The violence and fury of the enemy have risen up so as to become a rod to punish the wickedness of the people. There is a play upon the word rod.

The remainder of this verse is literally thus —"not from them and not from their multitude, and not from any of theirs, and there is no one lamenting among them."

There are differences in the rendering of some of the words in this passage, as is indicated by the marginal varieties, but the above translation seems to be the true one. The meaning however still remains obscure, owing to the brief and enigmatic form of the utterance. We may adopt the following explanation. The Jews had ever exulted in their national privileges—everything great and noble was to be from them and from theirs; but now Jehovah raises up the rod of the oppressor to confound and punish the rod of his people. The furious Chaldæan has become an instrument of God's wrath, endued with power emanating not from the Jews or from the multitude of the Jews, or from any of their children or people; nay, the destruction shall be so complete that none shall be left to make lamentation over them.

12. *the day*] Comp. Joel ii. 2; Zeph. i. 14, *the day of doom*, either of temporal or final judgment.

12, 13. It was grievous for an Israelite to part with his land. But now the seller need not mourn his loss, nor the buyer exult in his gain. A common ruin should carry both away; the buyer should not take possession, nor should the seller return to profit by the buyer's absence. Should he live it would be in exile. All should live the pitiful lives of strangers in another country.

13. *although they were yet alive*] **Though they be yet among the living.** The fuller stop should be after *thereof*.

which shall not return] **he** (*i.e. the seller*) *shall not return.*

neither shall any strengthen himself in the iniquity of his life] **and, every man living in his iniquity, they shall gather no strength.** Lit. "and every man—in his iniquity, his life—they shall not strengthen themselves." Exile being the punishment of iniquity, the exiles were said to *live in their iniquity*.

16. *But they that escape*, &c.] The construction is that noted above, vi. 7. "But when they that escape shall escape, then they shall be like doves of the valleys on the mountains." Comp. Ps. xi. 1; Mark xiii. 14; Luke xxi. 21. As doves whose natural abode is the valleys when driven by fear into the mountains moan lamentably, so shall the remnant, who have escaped actual death, moan in the land of their exile. To *mourn as a dove*, comp. Isai. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11.

18. Various signs of mourning common in eastern countries. *Sackcloth*, see below, xxvii. 31; *cover them, to cover the face* or *lips* was another sign, Micah iii. 7; *shame upon all*

with sackcloth, and horror shall cover them; and shame *shall be* upon all faces, and baldness upon all their heads.

19 They shall cast their silver in the streets, and their gold shall be † removed: their ‡ silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the LORD: they shall not satisfy their souls, neither fill their bowels: ‖ because it is the stumblingblock of their iniquity.

20 ¶ As for the beauty of his ornament, he set it in majesty: but they made the images of their abominations *and* of their detestable things therein: therefore have I ‖ set it far from them.

21 And I will give it into the hands of the strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it.

22 My face will I turn also from them, and they shall pollute my secret *place:* for the ‖ robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.

23 ¶ Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence.

24 Wherefore I will bring the worst of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses: I will also make the pomp of the strong to cease; and ‖ their holy places shall be defiled.

25 † Destruction cometh; and they shall seek peace, and *there shall be* none.

26 Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour; then shall they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.

† Heb. *for a separation, or, uncleanness.*
‡ Prov. 11. 4. Zeph. 1. 18. Ecclus. 5. 8.
‖ Or, *because their iniquity is their stumblingblock.*
‖ Or, *made it unto them an unclean thing.*
‖ Or, *burglers.*
‖ Or, *they shall inherit their holy places.*
† Heb. *Cutting off.*

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faces, Jer. li. 51; Micah vii. 10; *baldness*, Ezra ix. 3; Job i. 20; Jer. xlviii. 37. This was forbidden to the Israelites, Deut. xiv. 1, where see note. They seem, however, in later times to have adopted the custom of foreign nations in this matter, not without permission. Comp. Isai. xxii. 12; Amos viii. 10; Micah i. 16, also below, xxvii. 31.

19. *They shall cast their silver in the streets*] In the hurry of flight they shall cast away their treasures as useless.

shall be removed]—Heb. "shall be an unclean thing," Lev. xx. 21, their gold shall be unclean and abominable in their eyes.

the stumblingblock of their iniquity] See above, iii. 20. Their gold and silver was the occasion of their sin, especially as used in making images, Hos. ii. 8, viii. 4.

20. *in majesty*] And *the beauty of his ornament, he set it* to pride. *He*, the people called either *he* or *they*. What was for their ornament they used for pride.

have I set it far from them]—made it a defilement, see also *v.* 19; they have made abominable images with it—therefore have I made it their defilement and their disgrace.

22. *secret*] Hidden for the purpose of protection, Ps. lxxxiii. 3, *thy hidden ones*, those under thy protection. My *secret place* is the inner sanctuary, hidden from the multitude, protected by the Most High.

robbers] Lit. "men making breaches." Hence the marginal alternative, *burglers*.

23. *Make a chain*] Heb. "the chain," *i.e.* the chain of imprisonment determined and appointed for them. Forge the chain. See note on iii. 24.

24. *the worst of the heathen*] The most cruel and terrible of nations—the Chaldæans. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 49 foll. This expression is considered by Ewald, 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' III. 781, to indicate that at this time the Babylonian Empire contained in it an element of rude, rough, and uncultivated warriors, while, at the same time, there must have been a highly civilized population long settled in Nineveh or Babylon. The two elements are mentioned by Habakkuk, chh. i. and ii.

the pomp of the strong] The same Hebrew words which are rendered in Lev. xxvi. 19 *the pride of power*. This is a repetition of the warning in Leviticus. *The strong* are those who pride themselves in imaginary strength.

their holy places shall be defiled] Jerome remarks that what elsewhere is called *God's Holy Place* is here *their holy places*, because God disowns the profaned sanctuary. If the marginal rendering be adopted *they shall inherit*, *they* must mean *the worst of the heathen*. See on xxii. 16.

26. *Mischief shall come upon mischief*] Comp. Isai. xlvii. 11.

rumour shall be upon rumour] Job ch. i.

then shall they seek a vision] Comp. xx. 1, 3; Jer. xxxvii. 17, xxxviii. 14.

27 The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled: I will do unto them after their way, and [1]according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

[1] Heb. *with their judgments.*

NOTE on CHAP. VII. 7.

the morning] Heb. הַצָּפִירָה. The word occurs elsewhere only in Isai. xxviii. 5. The first meaning is *a circle*. Hence in Isaiah *diadem*—and here *morning*, as a *crown* of light. But Gesen. remarks that in scriptural language *morning* indicates not the beginning but the end of trouble (Ps. xxx. 5). In our passage the word is very variously translated, LXX. πλοκή (a *wreath*), Vulg. *contritio*, Targ. *regnum*, a *kingdom* (derived from the idea of a crown, and referring to the approach of the king Nebuchadnezzar). Perhaps *conclusion* (winding up) will best express the meaning, as a whole series of events are, as it were, summed up and brought to a close—with a slightly different shade of meaning it has been taken to mean the *revolution* of events, in the same manner as the goddess Fortune is represented with her *wheel*.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Ezekiel, in a vision of God at Jerusalem,* 5 *is shewed the image of jealousy,* 7 *the chambers of imagery,* 13 *the mourners for Tammuz,* 15 *the worshippers towards the sun.* 18 *God's wrath for their idolatry.*

AND it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth *month*, in the fifth *day* of the month, *as* I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord GOD fell there upon me.

2 Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even

CHAPS. VIII—XIX. A date is prefixed to the 8th (14 months after the date of the preceding visions); the next date given is in the 20th chapter. The prophecies contained in the intervening chapters must therefore fall within eleven months. Although they were not all delivered on the same day, they may be regarded as a whole. They contain in fact a review of the condition of the people of Judah, including those who were still in the Holy Land, and those who were with the prophet exiles in Chaldæa.

This is first represented by a vision in which the seer is transported in spirit to the temple of Jerusalem, and sees there idolatry, so often openly practised in that city (viii.); the punishment of all except such as had received God's mark (ix.). He sees the glory of the Lord quit the temple (x.), punishment fall upon the princes, and the glory of the Lord leave the city (xi.).

This vision ended, and the prophet having again taken his stand as a man among men, he by a symbolical act expresses to his fellow-exiles the coming removal of their countrymen from Jerusalem and the Holy Land and the doom of their king (xii.), and addresses a warning of false prophets, whether in Jerusalem or in Chaldæa, who were holding out false hopes that the doom of the city would be averted (xiii.). The prophet next turns a searching eye to the exiles themselves. These might at first seem free from the charge of idolatry (for the outward sin was not committed by them as it was at Jerusalem), but there might be, and unhappily was, a spirit of idolatry which called for stern rebuke (xiv.). He then, by the parable of an unfruitful vine, depicts the state of God's people (xv.), and reviews under another figure their past history, shewing how the nation had fallen, and yet holding out hopes of restoration (xvi.). By a striking figure he illustrates the doom of the nation, warns them against their false hopes of delivery from Egypt, and shews that their future hopes rest not on the present ruler (Zedekiah), but on the family of him who has been displaced (xvii.). Lest, however, the recital of the sins of past times should lead the people to imagine that they were to suffer, not for their own, but for others' faults, the prophet corrects this misapprehension (xviii.), and closes this section of his prophecy by a lament over his ruined country (xix.).

1. *the elders of Judah*] The prophet is now recognized by his fellow-exiles, who are no longer unwilling to hear him as in ch. ii. *Sitting* as mourners. See on iii. 15. The message here is not common to all the descendants of Abraham (as in vi. 2), but distinctly to *Judah*, that portion of the people whose exile Ezekiel shared.

2. *the appearance of fire*] It is the same appearance as in i. 26, there seen as the *appearance of a man* enthroned upon the cherubim.

upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber.

[a] Dan. 5. 5. 3 And he [a]put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north; where *was* the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy.

4 And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel *was* there, according to [b] chap. 1. 28. the vision that I [b]saw in the plain.

5 ¶ Then said he unto me, Son of man, lift up thine eyes now the way toward the north. So I lifted up mine eyes the way toward the north, and behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy in the entry.

6 He said furthermore unto me, Son of man, seest thou what they do? *even* the great abominations that the house of Israel committeth here, that I should go far off from my sanctuary? but turn thee yet again, *and* thou shalt see greater abominations.

7 ¶ And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall.

Here He stands apart from the throne revealing Himself to His servant. See Note at end of chapter i.

as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber] See on i. 4. *And from his loins, even upward,* **the appearance of brightness, like that of burnished gold.** The double *as* is used to intensify the comparison, and as we say, "like master, like man."

3. *in the visions of God*] It is not to be thought that Ezekiel was transported *in the body*, but rapt *in spirit*, while he still sat amidst the elders of Judah. See xi. 24. It was probably a misunderstanding of such passages, reducing the *spiritual* to the *literal*, which led the author of the apocryphal book of Bel, v. 36, to represent Habakkuk as lifted up bodily by *a lock of his hair*.

the inner gate] **the gate of the inner court.** This gate led from the outer to the inner court (the court of the priests), called, *v.* 5, *the gate of the altar*, because it was from this side that the priests approached the brazen altar (see on xl. 35 and 37 foll.). The prophet is on the *outside* of this gate, so that the *image of jealousy* was set up in the outer or people's court over against the northern entrance to the priests' court.

the image of jealousy] The image of a false god provoking Jehovah to *jealousy* (Deut. xxxii. 16, 21; 1 K. xiv. 22). In the kingdom of Israel Ahab had set up an image of Baal which Jehoram put away, 2 K. iii. 2. Manasseh set up an image *in the house of God*, 2 Chro. xxxiii. 7. It may be doubted whether the scenes described in this chapter are intended to represent what actually occurred. They may be ideal pictures to indicate the idolatrous corruption of priests and people. And this is in accordance with the symbolical character of the number *four;* the four idolatries representing the idolatries in all the four quarters of the world. The false gods of heathendom are brought into the temple in order that they may be detected and exposed by being brought face to face with the God of revelation (Schroeder). Still history proves that the ideal picture was supported by actual facts which had occurred and were occurring. See Note A at end of the Chapter.

In the opening vision the glory of the Lord had been manifested to the prophet independently of any special locality.

Now he is carried in spirit to that place (the temple) which (for the chosen people) was the peculiar dwelling-place of the glory *of the* LORD.

4. *the glory of the God of Israel was there*] We learn in ix. 3 that the *glory of the* LORD *was gone up from the cherub where He sat to the threshold of the house;* we may therefore conclude that the glory of the LORD having now departed from His seat between the cherubims in the Holy of Holies rests in the threshold of the temple, to execute vengeance before it quits the house altogether (x. 18). The seer stands indeed on the outside of the gate of the inner court, but he may well see the glory of the LORD which is within; so *there* must mean in the inner court, which was *full of the brightness of the* LORD'S *glory* (x. 4), and at the gate of which Ezekiel stands.

7. *the door of the court*] The seer is brought to another spot. This was probably not the same gate as that which in *v.* 3 is called **the gate of the inner court.** *The court* here may be the outer or inner court. The outer court was indeed first brought into exact symmetry in the vision of the temple (xl.), but in Ezekiel's time there were sundry buildings on the space around the inner court which formed a court or courts, not improbably inclosed by a wall (see Note at end of chap. xl.). The Hebrew word for *wall* (*kir*) is

8 Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door.

9 And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here.

10 So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about.

11 And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up.

12 Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, [c]The LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the earth.

[c] chap. 9. 9.

13 ¶ He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, *and* thou shalt see greater abominations that they do.

14 Then he brought me to the

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the term for the wall of a city, or of a whole collection of buildings, rather than for an internal wall separating one part from another. The idolatries here were viewed as taking place in secret, and it is more in accordance with the temple arrangements to suppose that such chambers as would give room for those rites should belong to the outer than to the inner court. The seer is now outside the wall of the outer court, by the door which leads from it out of the temple boundary. By breaking through the wall he enters into a chamber which stands in the outer court against the wall near the gate.

a hole] A window or some opening not sufficiently large to admit of entrance until the wall is broken through, and the seer entering comes upon a door which admits him to the scene of idolatry.

10. There is clearly a reference to the idolatry of Egypt. See Note A at end of the Chapter. Belzoni's discoveries in the early part of the present century brought to light many subterranean chambers in rocks upon the shores of the Nile. These were used as sepulchres both for kings and private persons. The walls were uniformly adorned by painted figures, depicting embassies from foreign nations, or the occupations of ordinary life, and by hieroglyphical characters, some of which were representative of the objects of idolatrous worship. The most remarkable of these chambers are the tombs of the kings at Bibanel-Molouk, and also at Gourneh near Thebes. Belzoni found access into one of these by *a hole in the wall*, which gave no sign of a regular entrance (see Gosse's 'Monuments of Egypt,' p. 6). We have no evidence that these sepulchral chambers were used as places of worship, but their position, and the adornments, some of which at least were objects of idolatry, fitted them for the scene of the ideal picture by which Ezekiel represented Egyptian idolatry. In reference to Egyptian worship, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII. 15 (quoted by Rosenmüller), speaks of "certain subterranean caverns, said to have been constructed by men practised in ancient rites, on the walls of which were portrayed many kinds of birds and beasts, which they called hieroglyphics." The Egyptian worship of animals is well known.

11. *seventy men*] The *council* of seventy (the Sanhedrim) was not instituted till the return from captivity—but *seventy elders* had in times past been chosen to represent the whole people in beholding the glory of Jehovah (Exod. xxiv. 9, 10).

The vision may have pointed to the contrast between the times. The number *seven* is, moreover, symbolical of the covenant between Jehovah and His people, and so the *seventy* men exhibit forcibly the breach of the covenant. It is a figure of the covert idolatry of the whole people.

Jaazaniah] The name means *Jehovah is listening*. Contrast *the* LORD [Jehovah] *seeth not* in *v.* 12. *Jaazaniah* was, however, a real person, one of the chief Jews, distinguished as *son of Shaphan* from another Jaazaniah (xi. 1). The name also occurs in 2 K. xxv. 23.

a thick cloud of incense] See Note B at end of Chapter.

12. *in the dark*] Hidden as it were in the secret places which the seer dug through the wall to discover.

every man in the chambers of his imagery] Rather, **in his chambers of imagery.** *Chambers of imagery* = chambers painted with images. The word for *imagery* is the same as in Lev. xxvi. 1. What the prophet had seen was a sample of all. All were worshipping their graven images.

14 The seer is now brought back to the same gate as in *v.* 3.

door of the gate of the LORD's house which *was* toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.

15 ¶ Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? turn thee yet again, *and* thou shalt see greater abominations than these.

16 And he brought me into the inner court of the LORD's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the LORD, between the porch and the altar, *were* about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east.

17 ¶ Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? [f] Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose.

[f] Or, *Is there* any *thing lighter than to commit.*

18 Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine [d]eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they [e]cry in mine ears with a loud voice, *yet* will I not hear them.

[d] chap. 5. 11. & 7. 4. [e] Prov. 1. 28. Isai. 1. 15. Jer. 11. 11. Micah 3. 4.

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the LORD'S house] is here put for the whole temple (or inner) court. The seer stands in the outer court, and there are women taking part in the Thammuz-festival. See Note A at end of Chapter. It is not certain that this refers to any special act of Thammuz-worship. The month in which the vision was seen, the sixth month (September), was not the month of the Thammuz-rites. But that such rites had been performed in Jerusalem there can be little doubt. *The women who wove hangings for the grove by the house of the* LORD (2 K. xxiii. 7) would be ready to play their part for Thammuz. Women are mentioned as employed in the service of idols in Jer. vii. 18.

16. He now enters *the inner court* (the court of the priests). See description of the courts in Note at end of ch. xl.

about five and twenty men] Rather, as it were *five and twenty men*; as it were being appropriate to a vision. It was not an indefinite number taken at random, but the number of the heads of the twenty-four courses with the high priest presiding over them. These then were the representatives of the priests as the seventy were of the people. In the temple the seat of the Divine Majesty was at the West, perhaps appointed for this very purpose, to guard against the idolatrous adoration of the rising sun. Therefore the idolatrous priests must in worshipping the false sun-god turn their backs upon the True. It was a further aggravation of their daring impiety that they took a position scarcely permitted in the worship of Jehovah. The ordinary place of the priests was in the forecourt to the east or north of the brazen altar where they sacrificed. It was only in times of extraordinary calamity that they drew near to weep between the porch and the altar (Joel ii. 17), turning of course to the west of the temple.

17. *for they have filled*] They seem to think so, for they have filled.

violence] represents sins against man, *abominations*, sins against God. These went hand in hand in Jerusalem. Comp. vii. 23, ix. 9, and Micah vi. 12.

and have returned] After the reformation effected for a time by Josiah's zeal, they have gone back to their old state. *They have gone backwards and not forwards*, Jer. vii. 24.

provoke me to anger] This reminds us of the words of the Lord as to Manasseh's wickedness, 2 K. xxi. 15, 16.

they put the branch to their nose] This passage contains peculiar phrases occurring in only one place, and with an allusion to a then familiar practice, of which we find no clear traces elsewhere. Modern commentators propose conjectural emendations, which only serve to shew the difficulty of the passage. The more ancient versions, including the LXX., seem to have read as our present Hebrew text, which was certainly that of the Vulgate: we may then assume that the Masoretic reading is correct. The word for *branch* occurs elsewhere (xv. 2; Num. xiii. 23; Isai. xvii. 10), and always means a branch severed from the tree, commonly a vine-branch. *Their nose* might be "their wrath," the word for *nose* also meaning "wrath." The following are the chief interpretations, but none of them seem to stand on very sure ground. Some see in the *branch* the *thyrsus* of the Bacchanalians, assuming that the worship of the Greek Bacchus was derived from the Eastern worship of the sun. Others allege the custom of the Parsees, who while adoring the Sacred Fire hold a bunch of twigs of the tamarisk palm and pomegranate. This bunch was called Barsom, Bareçman (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' II. p. lxviii. Introd.). It was held not before the nose but before the mouth (Strabo, lib. XV. p. 732). But neither of these rites very

exactly represents our phrase. This is first heard of in Western Asia in the time of Cyrus, but it may have been in use in earlier times. (2) Lightfoot takes the phrase to be proverbial, and, explaining *their wrath* to mean the wrath due to them, explains it as "bringing firewood to the wrath due to them," or, as we should say, "adding fuel to their fire." But the proverb is not known, and the explanation, of *their wrath* instead of *their nose* is forced. (3) The LXX. and some other ancient versions intimate the interpretation, "they hold out the branch as in mockery," but it does not seem clear against what object such mockery would be directed. (4) Hengstenberg's explanation seems the most satisfactory. Ezekiel is describing the attitude usual in such devotions, the branch held before the mouth, but wishing to represent it in contemptuous and derogatory terms, he substitutes the word *nose* for *mouth*.

NOTE A.

The Idolatries of Judah in the time of Ezekiel.

1. *Canaanite worship.* The children of Israel when they entered the land of promise found the inhabitants devoted to nature-worship, expressed in rites most cruel and impure. These rites too soon proved very attractive to the conquerors, and retained their hold up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, though often repressed by pious rulers, and even partially supplanted by new and more popular forms of idolatry, so that in Ezekiel's time, *i.e.* in the reign of Zedekiah, the chronicler tells us that *all the chief of the priests and the people transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen* (2 Chro. xxxvi. 14).

2. *High places and groves.* This worship in *high places* was not in all cases the worship of false gods, though no doubt it continually degenerated into it, see note on 1 K. iii. 2, and 2 K. xxiii. 9, and is reproved by Ezekiel as one form of idolatry (xx. 29).

3. *Egyptian idolatry* lingered among the ten tribes in the calves of Dan and Bethel, but we do not know that it appeared in the kingdom of Judah, until a later period, when for a season Pharaoh-Necho subjected the land to his sway (2 K. xxiii. 34), at which time must have been introduced that kind of idolatry mentioned by Ezekiel (viii. 10), continued and fostered by the false hopes entertained of the assistance which Egypt might yet afford against the Chaldæans.

The above were all various forms of nature-worship, but in subsequent days arose another kind of idolatry yet more distinctly antagonistic to the service of Jehovah.

4. The distinctive *worship of Baal* was introduced into the kingdom of Israel by Jezebel from Tyre, and so through her daughter Athaliah into that of Judah. See note on 1 K. xvi. 31. This was a worship of the heavenly bodies. *Baal* was the *sun-god* and was associated with Ashtoreth (Astarte, moon) the goddess of the Zidonians. *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth* (both in the plural form) occurring together represent the plurality of the *host of heaven*, whose worship prevailed among the children of Israel long before the Baal-worship from Tyre (Judg. ii. 13). The worship of Baal is connected with that of the host of heaven in 2 K. xxiii. 4.

It has been thought that Baal, Moloch, and Chemosh were originally different names of the same divinity. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that Baal-peor is named as the god of the Moabites (in Num. xxv. 1—3) whose national god was Chemosh, and by Mesha's immolation of his son to Chemosh, an act characteristic of the rites of Moloch, 2 K. iii. 27. Again on the Moabitic stone occurs the title Astar Kamos, Astar being apparently the male divinity, corresponding to the female Ashtoreth (Schlottmann's 'Siegesäule,' p. 26). In the course of time however the different nations developed their rites in different forms, and thus produced distinctive worships.

5. *Sun-worship.* The worship of the heavenly bodies was one of the earliest forms of idolatry (Job xxxi. 26) and was expressly forbidden in the law (Deut. xvii. 3). But among the Arabians, in its earliest form, it was conducted without the intervention of images, the adoration being addressed to the heavenly bodies themselves. This form, continued among the Persians, seems to have been introduced afresh into Jerusalem at the time of Ezekiel (viii. 16). Connected with this form of idolatry were *the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun* (2 K. xxiii. 11), and probably, the *altars which were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz* (2 K. xxiii. 12) and the *images* (marg. sun-images) of Ezek. vi. 4, 6, which were columns set up in honour of the sun, not images in human form. See note on 2 K. xxi. 3. But this simpler mode of sun-worship was soon changed. The sun, or the god supposed to preside over it, was represented as a person, whose image was set up and adored. Thus we find in Egypt the god *Ra*, in Phœnicia *Baal*, in Greece *Apollo*, and the like. But, although *Baal-worship* was in its inner meaning identical with *sun-worship*, it by no means follows that the people who practised it recognized it as such. Among the Phœnicians *nature-worship* and *planet-worship*, though origi-

nally distinct, were mixed up together, and the common people at least lost any symbolical meaning there might be in either, and recognized only either a being with human passions and human form (as especially in Greece) or looked upon the stocks and stones, the work of their own hands, as the very gods whom they were to propitiate and serve.

6. *Thammuz-worship.* The word *Thammuz* occurs in Ezek. viii. 14, and nowhere else in Holy Scripture—but *Thammuz* is found among the names of the months in use among the Jews after the return from Babylon. The month *Thammuz* was that of the summer solstice. The name as it occurs in Ezekiel is literally *The Thammuz*. This was probably a contemptuous form of expression as designating a thing rather than a person. The word is acknowledged to be Semitic, and various derivations have been suggested, none of which are very satisfactory. The more ancient Versions (among which is the LXX.) simply reproduce the word itself. The Vulgate renders it by *Adonis*, and Jerome expressly says that the festival of *Thammuz* was identical with the Greek *Adoniacs*. This may be accepted as the most ancient tradition, for other legends of Thammuz given in Rabbinical writers seem rather to be inventions of commentators upon this passage in Ezekiel. We know indeed for certain that the worship of Adonis had its head-quarters at Byblos, where at certain periods of the year the stream, becoming stained by mountain floods, was popularly said to be red with the blood of Adonis. From Byblos it spread widely over the East and was thence carried to Greece. Zedekiah had endeavoured to engage the Moabites, the Syrians and other peoples in a league against Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxvii. 3) and the intercourse thus opened with heathen nations may very well have led to the introduction of an idolatry which at this time was especially popular among the eastern nations. This solemnity was of a twofold character, first, that of mourning, in which the death of Adonis was bewailed with extravagant sorrow; and then, after a few days, the mourning gave place to wild rejoicings for his restoration to life. This was a revival of nature-worship under another form—the death of Adonis symbolized the suspension of the productive powers of nature, which were in due time revived. Accordingly the time of this festival was the summer solstice, when in the East nature seems to wither and die under the scorching heat of the sun, to burst forth again into life at the due season. At the same time there was a connection between this and the sun-worship, in that the decline of the sun and the decline of nature might be alike represented by the death of Adonis, and so we are told by some that Adonis was the sun. But although in this way mystical interpretations might bring together the two forms of idolatry, nature-worship and planet-worship, the essence of the Adoniac rites was nature-worship. The excitement attendant upon these extravagances of alternate wailing and exultation were in complete accordance with the character of nature-worship, which for this reason was so popular in the East, especially with women, and led by inevitable consequence to unbridled licence and excess. Such was in Ezekiel's day one of the most detestable forms of idolatry.

In an ancient tablet recently deciphered, there is a Babylonian legend of a goddess Istar, *widow* of the "Son of Life," descending through the seven circles "of the land of immobility": the same as the Greek Hades, and ascending again after various vicissitudes. The supposed point of contact between this legend and that of Thammuz lies in the name of the "Son of Life," Du-zi or Duv-zi, which according to Lenormant who observes the constant interchange of the letters D and T, and of V and M, was transformed by the people of Syria and Palestine into TMZ, Hebraized into Thammuz. Maimonides records a curious legend, that one Thammuz invited a certain king to adore the seven planets, and the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and was by this king cruelly put to death; and that all the idols of the different countries assembled themselves in the temple of Babylon, near the golden statue of the Sun to mourn for Thammuz (Lenormant, 'Premières Civilisations,' vol. II. pp. 82—99). Both here and in the legend of Du-zi, there is a manifest reference to celestial phenomena. The precise purport of the legends is not explained, but the widow weeping for the loss of Du-zi is not unlike the Egyptian Isis mourning for Osiris, the Greek Venus for Adonis, and the Syrian women for Thammuz.

7. *Enchantments.* These in various shapes were the natural accompaniments of superstition, and so we find them rife at all times in the history of the rebellious children of Israel, and against them Ezekiel had continually to lift up his voice (xiii. 17).

8. *Profanation of the house of the Lord.* It was some time before false gods were actually brought into the courts of the Lord's house. Solomon's idol-temples were on a separate eminence, *the mount of corruption* (2 K. xxiii. 13). Athaliah seems not to have ventured to intrude into the sacred precincts, though she took vessels out of the temple for her house of Baal (comp. 2 K. xi. 18 and 2 Chro. xxiv. 7). It was reserved for Ahaz, one of the very worst of the kings of Judah, to interfere directly with the temple itself. He introduced a new altar after the pattern of one seen at Damascus, and made room for it by displacing the brazen altar of Solomon (2 K. xvi. 10). This invasion of holy ground was followed by yet worse and more daring sacrilege. Idols were set up and worshipped in the temple itself under Manasseh and Amon; and under

Zedekiah we have in addition to the transgression of the priests and people quoted under § 1 the record that they polluted the house of the Lord which He had hallowed in Jerusalem (2 Chro. xxxvi. 14).

9. It was characteristic of Jewish idolatry, that while new forms came in, the old forms never died out, and so in the abominations of Manasseh we find the various idolatries, summed up in one fearful catalogue, *He did after the abomination of the heathen whom the Lord cast out,...he built up again the high places,...he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove,... and worshipped all the host of heaven,...he built altars in the house of the Lord,...he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the Lord's house, he made his son pass through the fire and observed times and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards* (2 K. xxi. 2—6). This was the state of things which Josiah's zealous exertions interrupted for a time, but could not cure. Josiah died—the bow started back to its bent—and Ezekiel saw the idolatries of Manasseh in full sway over his infatuated countrymen.

NOTE B. (ON *v.* 11.)

a thick cloud of incense, עֲתַר עֲנַן־הַקְּטֹרֶת, Vulg. *vapor nebulæ de thure*. עֲתַר *vapor*, occurs only here and in Zeph. iii. 10, עֲתָרַי *my suppliants*. Many commentators however connect it with a Syriac word signifying smoke, so the LXX. and Vulg. which our A. V. follows, *thick cloud* being equivalent to smoke. But the rendering in Zephaniah follows that of the Hebrew verb עָתַר, which always means *intreat*. Gen. xxv. 21, and elsewhere. Hengsten. accordingly renders the words, "and the prayer of the cloud of incense;" the cloud of incense being called "prayer," because it was an embodied prayer. Rev. v. 8. *The odours* (Marg. *incense*) *are the prayers of saints*.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *A vision, whereby is shewed the preservation of some,* 5 *and the destruction of the rest.* 8 *God cannot be intreated for them.*

HE cried also in mine ears with a loud voice, saying, Cause them that have charge over the city to draw near, even every man *with* his destroying weapon in his hand.

2 And, behold, six men came from the way of the higher gate, † which lieth toward the north, and every man † a slaughter weapon in his hand; and one man among them *was* clothed

† Heb. *which is turned.*

† Heb. *a weapon of his breaking in pieces.*

CHAP. IX. The sin has been described. This chapter portrays the punishment of the dwellers in Jerusalem.

1. *Cause...to draw near*] See on iv. 2, xliii. 3. *Them that have charge over*, the word thus rendered is a noun; rendered *oversight*, Num. iii. 32; *offices*, 1 Chro. xxiv. 3; *charge* (xliv. 11);—hence "those who have the oversight," *officers*, 2 K. xi. 18; 1 Chro. xxvi. 30; Isai. lx. 17. In Jeremiah it is commonly translated *visitation*, Jer. viii. 12 and elsewhere.—If we adopt the translation in our text, *they that have charge* must be the angels who have charge to execute God's sentence.

every man] *Angels*, not *men*, are spoken of. Comp. Rev. ix. 15.

2. *six men*] Angels of wrath—figurative of destruction. They come from the north, the quarter from which invading armies entered the Holy Land. Some say that this number denoted *six* divisions in which the Chaldæan army came upon the city; but we do not know that there were six divisions. These *six* angels, with the *one among them*, a superior over the six (not one of the six), make up the number *seven*, a number symbolical of God's covenant with His people. See on xliv. 17. (Comp. Rev. viii. 2, xv. 6.)

the higher gate] The north gate of the court of the priests. The temple rose by platforms; as there was a north gate to the outer and also to the inner court, the latter was properly distinguished as *the higher gate*. See Note at end of ch. xli. This *higher gate* was built by Jotham (2 K. xv. 35).

clothed with linen] This was the priestly garment (Exod. xxviii. 6, 8; Lev. xvi. 4). In Dan. x. 5 we have the appearance of a man *clothed in linen*, who is manifestly the same as He whom St John describes as *the Son of man clothed with a garment down to the foot* (Rev. i. 13). This *One Man* then was the *Angel of the covenant*, the great High Priest, superior to those by whom He was surrounded, receiving direct communication from the Lord, taking the coals of vengeance from between the cherubim (x. 2), but coming with mercy to the contrite as well as with vengeance to the impenitent;—who *took upon Him the form of a man*, who *sought not His own will but the will of His Father* (John v. 30), who was *set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel* (Luke ii. 34), who

with linen, with a writer's inkhorn † Heb. upon his loins. †by his side: and they went in, and stood beside the brazen altar.

3 And the glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub, whereupon he was, to the threshold of the house. And he called to the man clothed with linen, which *had* the writer's inkhorn by his side;

4 And the LORD said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and †set [a]a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof. † Heb. *mark a mark.* [a] Exod. 12. 7. Rev. 7. 3.

5 ¶ And to the others he said in †mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity: † Heb. *mine ears.*

6 Slay †utterly old *and* young, both maids, and little children, and women: but come not near any man upon whom *is* the mark; and begin † Heb. *to destruction.*

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came to send fire upon the earth (Luke xii. 49), but also *to call sinners to repentance* (Matt. ix. 13), who shall *lose none of those whom the Father hath given Him* (John vi. 39). All these attributes are exhibited in the Person here revealed to Ezekiel.

with a writer's inkhorn by his side] "It is still customary in the East to wear the *inkhorn* in the girdle. Scribes wear them constantly in their girdles, and ministers of state wear them in the same manner as symbols of their office. The form in most general use is a flat case about nine inches long, by an inch and a quarter broad, and half an inch thick, the hollow of which serves to contain the reed pens and penknife. It is furnished at one end with a lid attached by a hinge. To the flat end of the shaft toward the end furnished with the lid is soldered the ink-vessel which has at the top a hinge and a clasp fitting very closely. The ink-vessel is usually twice as heavy as the shaft. The latter is passed through the girdle and prevented from slipping through by the projecting ink-vessel. The whole is usually of polished metal, brass, copper or silver." Kitto.

The *man with the inkhorn* has to write in the Book of Life the names of those who shall be marked. The metaphor is from the custom of registering the names of the Israelites in public rolls. See on xiii. 9. Comp. Exod. xxxii. 33; Ps. lxix. 28; Isai. iv. 3; Philip. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, and xxi. 27.

3. *the glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub*] The *cherub* is that upon the mercy-seat of the ark in the Holy of Holies, the proper seat of the glory of the Lord in the midst of Israel. See Note at end of ch. i. And now God is represented as *arising* from between the cherubim to scatter his enemies (Num. x. 35). So below, x. 4, 18, 19.

4. Mercy precedes judgment. So in the case of Sodom, Gen. xix. Compare the sign on the door-posts in Egypt, Exod. xii. There the exemption is *national*, here *personal*. So our Lord predicts that it shall be in the last day (Luke xxi. 18, 28), and so in Rev. vii. 1. This accords with the eschatological character of the predictions in this chapter. (See Introduction, § 8). *A mark*, Hebr. *Tau*, the name of the last letter of the alphabet. The old form of the letter was that of a cross. Origen tells us that in his day the Jews interpreted this sign variously, some considering that *Tau*, being the last of the Hebrew letters, and so closing the alphabet, denoted completeness, and thus the mark indicated the completeness of the sorrow for sin in those upon whom it was placed. Others again observed that *Tau* was the first letter of Thorah (*the Law*) and that the foreheads were marked as of men obedient to the law. Christians again, he tells us, noting the resemblance of this letter in its most ancient form to a cross, saw herein a reference to the cross with which Christians were signed. (Origen, quoted by Rosenmüller.) It is worthy of observation that it was customary for heathen gods and their votaries to bear certain marks. "The Egyptian Apis was distinguished by a white triangle (or square), the signature of the power of nature (or of the world). On the forehead of the Indian Schiva is the image of the Ganges river. Schiva's, or Vishnoo's sign, was imprinted on the forehead of the Hindoo, who was purified in the holy water. The Japanese who undertakes a pilgrimage to the Temple of Teusjo Dai Sin, receives as a farewell token a small box on which is written the name of the god, and which he carries home bound to his forehead. Marking on the forehead was in use in the Mithra mysteries" (Schroeder).

These are remarkable instances, in which God was pleased to employ symbolism, generally in use, to express higher and diviner truth. The sign of the cross in baptism is an outward sign of the designation of God's elect, who at the last day shall be exempted from the destruction of the ungodly (Matt. xxiv. 22, 31).

6. *begin at my sanctuary*] The first to be punished were those who had brought idolatry nearest to the holy place. The twenty-five men who had stood with their backs to the altar were the first to be slain.

at my sanctuary. Then they began at the ancient men which *were* before the house.

7 And he said unto them, Defile the house, and fill the courts with the slain: go ye forth. And they went forth, and slew in the city.

8 ¶ And it came to pass, while they were slaying them, and I was left, that I fell upon my face, and cried, and said, Ah Lord GOD! wilt thou destroy all the residue of Israel in thy pouring out of thy fury upon Jerusalem?

9 Then said he unto me, The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah *is* exceeding great, and the land is †full of blood, and the city full of ‖perverseness: for they say, [b]The LORD hath forsaken the earth, and the LORD seeth not.

10 And as for me also, mine [c]eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity, *but* I will recompense their way upon their head.

11 And, behold, the man clothed with linen, which *had* the inkhorn by his side, †reported the matter, saying, I have done as thou hast commanded me.

† Heb. *filled with.*
‖ Or, *wresting of judgment.*
[b] chap. 8. 12.
[c] chap. 5. 11. & 7. 4. & 8. 18.
† Heb. *returned the word.*

CHAPTER X.

1 *The vision of the coals of fire, to be scattered over the city.* 8 *The vision of the cherubims.*

THEN I looked, and, behold, in the [a]firmament that was above the head of the cherubims there appeared over them as it were a sapphire stone, as the appearance of the likeness of a throne.

[a] chap. 1. 22.

2 And he spake unto the man clothed with linen, and said, Go in between the wheels, *even* under the cherub, and fill †thine hand with coals of fire from between the cherubims, and scatter *them* over the city. And he went in in my sight.

† Heb. *the hollow of thine hand.*

3 Now the cherubims stood on the right side of the house, when the man went in; and the cloud filled the inner court.

4 Then the glory of the LORD †went up from the cherub, *and stood*

† Heb. *was lifted up.*

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the ancient men] are those who were at the door of the temple in viii. 16, not the seventy ancients, viii. 12.

7. *Defile the house*] The presence of a dead body was a *defilement* (Num. xix. 11 foll.). Even to touch a dead body and then to join in the common worship, without being first purified, was to *defile the tabernacle of the Lord*, so that the angels of wrath were to *defile the house* by filling the temple and its courts with the bodies of the slain. See xliii. 7.

8. *and I was left*] The protecting mark was set upon some in the city, upon none in the temple itself. The prophet was left alone, all who had been around him were slain.

I fell upon my face] in the attitude of a suppliant. The intercession was in vain for all such as had not the mark upon them. Christ's intercession alone is effectual for all.

11. *reported the matter*] *i.e.* "brought him word," Gen. xxxvii. 14; Num. xiii. 26.

CHAP. X. The prophet's eye has been directed in the two preceding chapters to the sinning people, and to the ministers of divine wrath. It is now bent, as in ch. i., on the vision of the glory of the Lord, the particulars given identifying the two visions.

1. *the cherubims*]—this anticipates *v.* 20. See Note on ch. i.

2. *he spake*] The Person enthroned, as ix. 3, *he called.*

the cherub] Not as in ix. 3, but the particular cherub who was to hand the coals to the man clothed with linen, *v.* 7.

coals of fire] Not to purge, as Isai. vi. 7, but to destroy, Ps. cxx. 4; Isai. x. 16; Rev. viii. 5, xv. 7.

3. *on the right side*] On the south, so xlvii. 2. The idolatries had been seen on the north side. On the south stood the *cherubim* ready to receive and bear away the glory of the Lord.

4. A repetition of ix. 3. This is not a new act, but a recurrence to what has already been described. *Then*, lit. "and," translated in i. 1 *now*. The same tense is used in Hebr. to express the perfect or pluperfect. The particle rendered *over* is often equivalent to *to*. **Now the glory of the Lord had gone up from the cherub to the threshold of the house.** *Stood* is not in the original. The *threshold* was holy, Zeph. i. 9; so in Dagon's temple (1 S. v. 5) *the house was filled*. Comp. 1 K. viii. 10, 11.

Verses 4—6 describe what had occurred before the *man went in;* the rush of the wings of the cherubim had been heard, and therewith they had come to take their position, where they were to receive the glory of the

over the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the LORD's glory.

[b] chap. i. 24. 5 And the [b]sound of the cherubims' wings was heard *even* to the outer court, as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh.

6 And it came to pass, *that* when he had commanded the man clothed with linen, saying, Take fire from between the wheels, from between the cherubims; then he went in, and stood beside the wheels.

[†] Heb. *went forth.* 7 And *one* cherub [†]stretched forth his hand from between the cherubims unto the fire that *was* between the cherubims, and took *thereof*, and put *it* into the hands of *him that was* clothed with linen: who took *it*, and went out.

8 ¶ And there appeared in the cherubims the form of a man's hand under their wings.

9 And when I looked, behold the four wheels by the cherubims, one wheel by one cherub, and another wheel by another cherub: and the appearance of the wheels *was* as the colour of a [c]beryl stone.

[c] chap. i. 16.

10 And *as for* their appearances, they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel.

11 When they went, they went upon their four sides; they turned not as they went, but to the place whither the head looked they followed it; they turned not as they went.

12 And their whole [†]body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, *were* full of eyes round about, *even* the wheels that they four had.

[†] Heb. *flesh.*

13 As for the wheels, [‖]it was cried unto them in my hearing, O wheel.

[‖] Or, *they were called in my hearing, wheel,* or, *galgal.*

14 And every one had four faces: the first face *was* the face of a cherub,

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Lord—*v.* 6 brings us to the same point as *v.* 3, *the man went in.*

6. *beside the wheels*] Lit. "the wheel," the particular wheel, by which he went in.

7. *one cherub*] **The** *cherub*, the cherub who stood next the wheel by the side of which the man stood.

him that was clothed with linen] The representative of the priestly office gives up his post of reconciliation, and becomes simply a minister of wrath; another sign that God will turn from Jerusalem.

8. An explanation following upon the mention of the *hand*. It is characteristic of this chapter that the narrative is interrupted by explanatory comments. The *narrative* is contained in *v.* 1—3, 6, 7, 13, 15 (first clause), 18, 19. The other verses contain the *interposed explanations*.

9. *one wheel...another cherub*] Lit., "one wheel by the one cherub and the one wheel by the one cherub," after the Hebrew manner, that is, "one wheel by each cherub."

as the colour of a beryl stone] **Like** *a beryl stone*. See i. 4.

11. *the head*] Hengst., Hitz. and Keil, "the leading wheel which the others followed." More likely, *the head* is the head of a cherub (one for all), the description passing from the wheels to the cherubim, *v.* 12.

12. In i. 18 *the rings* only are said to be *full of eyes*. Here, as in Rev. iv. 6, the whole bodies of the living creatures are also *full of eyes*. See on i. 18.

13. The two renderings of this verse, in the text and in the margin, both deserve notice. It is to be observed that in *vv.* 2, 6, the English word *wheels* represents not the usual Hebrew plural noun (*ophannim*), but a singular collective noun (*galgal*) = *a rolling thing*; so translated (Isai. xvii. 13). According to the marginal rendering the present verse refers back to *vv.* 2 and 6, and tells us that the name *galgal* was given to the wheels in the seer's hearing. This seems somewhat tame and out of place; for if the simple object be to explain the meaning of *galgal*, it would naturally have been introduced when the word was first used. But we must note the intermixture of narrative and description (see on *v.* 8); *v.* 14 is a description thus inserted. If *v.* 15 had followed immediately on *v.* 13 the meaning would have been clear. In the hearing of the seer a voice calls upon the wheels, and, obedient to the call, the cherubim are lifted up and the wheels roll on. This is the force of the translation in our text. It might, however, be an improvement if the word *galgal* were rendered "chariot" instead of *wheel*; "chariot" representing very well the collection of *wheels*. See Note on ch. i.

14. *the first face...*] **The face of the first was the face of the cherub, and the face of the second was the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and**

and the second face *was* the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle.

15 And the cherubims were lifted up. This *is* the living creature that I saw by the river of Chebar.

16 And when the cherubims went, the wheels went by them: and when the cherubims lifted up their wings to mount up from the earth, the same wheels also turned not from beside them.

17 When they stood, *these* stood; and when they were lifted up, *these* lifted up themselves *also:* for the spirit of the living creature *was* in them.

18 Then the glory of the LORD departed from off the threshold of the house, and stood over the cherubims.

19 And the cherubims lifted up their wings, and mounted up from the earth in my sight: when they went out, the wheels also *were* beside them, and *every one* stood at the door of the east gate of the LORD's house; and the glory of the God of Israel *was* over them above.

20 This *is* the living creature that I saw under the God of Israel by the river of Chebar; and I knew that they *were* the cherubims.

21 Every one had four faces apiece, and every one four wings; and the likeness of the hands of a man *was* under their wings.

22 And the likeness of their faces *was* the same faces which I saw by the river of Chebar, their appearances and themselves: they went every one straight forward.

CHAPTER XI.

1 The presumption of the princes. 4 Their sin and judgment. 13 Ezekiel complaining, God sheweth him his purpose in saving a remnant, 21 and punishing the wicked. 22 The glory of God leaveth the city. 24 Ezekiel is returned to the captivity.

MOREOVER the spirit lifted me up, and brought me unto the east gate of the LORD's house,

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the fourth the face of an eagle. Of the four faces of each cherub, the seer names only one—the face looking in the direction in which that cherub leads the motion of the chariot.

of a cherub] Lit. *of* **the** *cherub, i.e.* the cherub defined *vv.* 2, 7. The seer speaks of *the cherub* before which he stood, leaving us to infer from what follows that the face which presented itself to him was that of *an ox*. When the seer looking northward first saw the chariot the *ox-face* was on the left side (i. 10). This would make the *ox-face* look eastward, and it is not unlikely that the man might approach the chariot from the south-eastern part of the inner court.

15. *the living creature*] The four cherubim with the wheels are here spoken of as *one*. See Note at end of ch. i. and below, *v.* 17.

16, 17 are not a narration of what now occurred, but a repetition of the general description of the nature and connection of the various parts of the vision, and this is the more appropriate as shewing why they were regarded as *one living creature*. The attributes here assigned to them shew that they were pervaded by one will—*the spirit of the living creature* (not, as in margin, *the spirit of life*) *was in them*.

19. The cherubim (or chariot) had stood first on the threshold of the temple-door, and there received the glory of the Lord. They then lifted their wings, rose, and left the temple by *the east gate* of the outer court at *the entrance* of which they now for a time stood. It was by the east gate of the outer court that the glory of the Lord returned to the new temple, xliii. 4.

and every one stood] *Every one* is not in the original, and seems to have been inserted because the verb *stood* is *singular;* but this is so because the cherubim and wheels are viewed as *one living creature*. It would be better to avoid ambiguity by translating *and* **they** *stood*.

20. *I knew that they were the cherubims*] The glory of the Lord had now manifestly departed from the temple, and in this departure the seer recognizes for the first time the full meaning of the vision which he had seen on the banks of Chebar. When he saw it there, he doubtless understood that the symbolical forms and the glory which rested on them resembled the glory of the Lord seated between the cherubim in the temple. He knew it to be the manifestation of the same God. But this did not yet imply that Jehovah had forsaken His house. Now this is made clear: the Glory has left the Holy of Holies, has appeared in the court, has been enthroned on the Living Four, and with them has departed from the temple. It is now clear that these Four (in form similar to, yet differing from, the cherubim of the temple) are indeed the cherubim, in the midst of whom the Lord dwelleth. See Note on ch. i.

which looketh eastward: and behold at the door of the gate five and twenty men; among whom I saw Jaazaniah the son of Azur, and Pelatiah the son of Benaiah, princes of the people.

2 Then said he unto me, Son of man, these *are* the men that devise mischief, and give wicked counsel in this city:

3 Which say, [1]*It is* not [a]near; let us build houses: this *city is* the caldron, and we *be* the flesh.

4 ¶ Therefore prophesy against them, prophesy, O son of man.

5 And the Spirit of the LORD fell upon me, and said unto me, Speak; Thus saith the LORD; Thus have ye said, O house of Israel: for I know the things that come into your mind, *every one of* them.

6 Ye have multiplied your slain in this city, and ye have filled the streets thereof with the slain.

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Your slain whom ye have laid in the midst of it, they *are* the flesh, and this *city is* the caldron: but I will bring you forth out of the midst of it.

8 Ye have feared the sword; and I will bring a sword upon you, saith the Lord GOD.

9 And I will bring you out of the midst thereof, and deliver you into the hands of strangers, and will execute judgments among you.

10 Ye shall fall by the sword; I will judge you in the border of Israel;

[1] Or, It is not for us to build houses near.
[a] 2 Pet. 3. 4.

CHAP. XI. 1. *the door of the gate*] the gate of the temple court, not *the door of the temple*, as viii. 16. Observe that the *gate* was the place of judgment.

five and twenty men] The number carries us back to viii. 16, but they are not the same men. The five and twenty there were representatives of the *priests*, these of the *princes*. The number is, no doubt, symbolical, made up, probably, of twenty-four men and the king (Kliefoth). The number twenty-four points to the tribes of undivided Israel (see Introduction, § 2). In 1 Chro. xxvii. we read of twelve divisions of the army (containing each 24,000 men) with twelve captains over them, and it is remarkable that in some of these divisions the captain has a coadjutor. In the same chapter we have twelve chiefs of tribes; so that, whether we reckon that two captains are taken from each division of the army, or two rulers from each tribe, or twelve army captains and twelve tribe rulers, we arrive at the requisite number, twenty-four, fitly representative of the princes of the whole people.

Jaazaniah...Pelatiah] We know nothing more of these men. There is nothing inconsistent with the ideal character of the scene to suppose that two real personages were introduced. The death of *Pelatiah* seems clearly an historical event. The name of *Jaazaniah* was probably common at that time. We have another *Jaazaniah*, viii. 11. The Hebrew is fond of allusions discoverable in names. So in these two cases there is an allusion to the false hopes which they upheld. *Jaazaniah* (Jehovah listeneth) *son of Azur* (the Helper); *Pelatiah* (God rescueth) *son of Benaiah* (Jehovah buildeth). In the latter case death turns the allusion into bitter irony.

3. *It is not near*] in contradiction to vii. 2 and xii. 23.

let us build houses] *To build houses* implies a sense of security. Jeremiah bade the exiles *build houses* in a foreign land because they would not soon quit it (Jer. xxix. 5; comp. Jer. xxxv. 7). These false counsellors promised to their countrymen a sure and permanent abode in the city which God had doomed to destruction. No need, they said, to go far for safety; you are perfectly safe at home. It is, however, doubtful whether the Hebrew can bear the meaning given in our text. This has led to a marginal rendering which is far from satisfactory. The literal meaning of the original according to the best grammarians is, It is *not near to build houses*. If we accept this we may explain it as spoken in mockery of such counsel as that of Jeremiah: matters have not gone so far as to necessitate *house-building* in a foreign land. The same idea is expressed by the image of the *caldron:* whatever devastation may rage around the city, we are safe within its walls, as flesh within a caldron is unburnt by the surrounding fire. The same image is employed and further enlarged upon below, xxiv. 6. The *seething-pot* or *caldron* (for it is the same word in the original) is used figuratively by Jeremiah (i. 13) with a somewhat different application.

7. *Your slain...they are the flesh*] All that shall remain in the city are the buried dead. Bloodshed and murder were at this time rife in Jerusalem, and these were among the chief crimes that were bringing down judgment upon the city. All the inhabitants that should yet survive were destined to be carried away into exile.

10. *in the border of Israel*] *Hamath* was

and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

11 This *city* shall not be your caldron, neither shall ye be the flesh in the midst thereof; *but* I will judge you in the border of Israel:

12 And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD: [1]for ye have not walked in my statutes, neither executed my judgments, but have done after the manners of the heathen that *are* round about you.

Or, which have not walked.

13 ¶ And it came to pass, when I prophesied, that Pelatiah the son of Benaiah died. Then fell I down upon my face, and cried with a loud voice, and said, Ah Lord GOD! wilt thou make a full end of the remnant of Israel?

14 Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

15 Son of man, thy brethren, *even* thy brethren, the men of thy kindred, and all the house of Israel wholly, *are* they unto whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem have said, Get you far from the LORD: unto us is this land given in possession.

16 Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Although I have cast them far off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them as a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.

17 Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even gather you from the people, and assemble you out of the countries where ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel.

18 And they shall come thither,

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the northern border of Israel (1 K. viii. 65; 2 K. xiv. 25). At Riblah in Hamath the king of Babylon judged and condemned Zedekiah, *and slew also all the princes of Judah*, Jer. lii. 9, 10.

13. *Pelatiah...died*] See *v.* 1. The death of Pelatiah was communicated in this vision, which represented ideally the idolatry in which Pelatiah had actually been foremost.

15. *thy kindred*] The LXX., "thy captives;" the two words in the original differing by only one letter. There was probably a play upon the words, as is common in Hebrew. The fundamental meaning of the root-verb is to *unloose* or *release*. Hence to *redeem* a property by purchase, or a wrong by vengeance. Thus it was the duty of the next of kin to *redeem* the inheritance of a deceased possessor (especially by a marriage with the widow, see Ruth, ch. iv.), and to *avenge* the murder of his kinsman (Num. xxxv. 19). The original word for *kindred* is derived from this root, suggesting thereby the ideas of *redeeming* and *avenging* as connected with the bond of *kindred*. The word here conveys therefore a peculiar reproach to the proud Jews, who have been so ready to cast off the claims of blood-relationship, and at the same time a hope of restoration to those who have been rudely thrown aside.

The word *are* is not in the original, and would be better away. The sentence is broken off, the true apodosis being found in the words of Jehovah entrusted to the prophet's utterance:—"Thy brethren, thy brethren, the men of thy kindred, and all the house of Israel wholly, they unto whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem have said, Get you far from the Lord; unto us is this land given in possession. ...Although I have cast them far off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them as a little sanctuary," &c. The prophet here identifies the exiles of Judah with those of Israel, see Introduction, § VI.

16. *as a little sanctuary*] Rather, **I will be to them for a little while a sanctuary.** The blessing was provisional, they were to look forward to a blessing more complete. Canaan was still the Holy Land, the proper place of God's presence. For a little while they were to be satisfied with His special presence in a foreign land, but they were to look forward to a renewal of His presence in the restored temple of Jerusalem. *Sanctuary* does not mean here *refuge* or *asylum*, but strictly the Holy Place, the Tabernacle of the Most High: Jehovah will Himself be to the exiles in the place of the local sanctuary, in which the Jews of Jerusalem so much prided themselves. "We have here the germ from which is developed xl—xlviii., the picture of the kingdom of God in its new form, in its majestic perfection, with its boughs, branches, leaves, and blossoms. The Lord is set forth as the Sanctuary of Israel in Isai. viii. 14 and in many passages in the Psalms, which shew how universal was the spiritual view of the temple, which looking through the husk, fixed its regard upon the kernel, and upon the All-merciful Presence of the Lord Himself." Hengstenberg.

18. *they shall come thither*] *They*, the children of Israel, a transition from the second to the third person.

and they shall take away all the detestable things thereof and all the abominations thereof from thence.

[a] Jer. 32. 39. chap. 36. 26.

19 And [a]I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony [b] heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh:

20 That they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.

21 But *as for them* whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord GOD.

22 ¶ Then did the cherubims lift up their wings, and the wheels beside them; and the glory of the God of Israel *was* over them above.

23 And the glory of the LORD went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain which *is* on the east side of the city.

24 ¶ Afterwards the spirit took me up, and brought me in a vision by the Spirit of God into Chaldea, to them of the captivity. So the vision that I had seen went up from me.

25 Then I spake unto them of the captivity all the things that the LORD had shewed me.

CHAPTER XII.

1 The type of Ezekiel's removing. 8 It shewed the captivity of Zedekiah. 17 Ezekiel's trembling sheweth the Jews' desolation. 21 The Jews' presumptuous proverb is reproved. 26 The speediness of the vision.

THE word of the LORD also came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, thou dwellest in the midst of a rebellious house, which have eyes to see, and see not; they have ears to hear, and hear not: for they *are* a rebellious house.

3 Therefore, thou son of man, prepare thee [1]stuff for removing, and remove by day in their sight; and thou shalt remove from thy place to another

[1] Or, *instruments.*

19—21. Light is thrown upon this passage, by a reference to Rev. xxi. In that, the closing vision of the Revelation, we can have no doubt, that the seer contemplates the final consummation, and we observe the same phraseology and the same order. *Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them and be their God* (*v.* 3). *And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold I make all things new* (*v.* 5), and then follows the same counterpart of the picture, *But the fearful and unbelieving*, &c. (*v.* 8). This identity of thought and language in Ezekiel, predicting the new kingdom of Israel, and in St John, foretelling the kingdom of heaven, forces upon us the conclusion that the prophecy of Ezekiel has an ultimate reference to that climax which St John plainly indicates. See Introd. § X.

19. *one heart*] Unity is to be characteristic of the new spirit. So long as the Israelites were distracted by the service of many gods, such unity was impossible, but now, when they shall have taken away the *abominations* from the land, they shall be united in heart to serve the true God.

stony heart...heart of flesh] The phraseology is peculiar to Ezekiel; the contrast is not, as usual, between the spirit and the flesh, but between the heart unnaturally hardened, and the heart re-awakened to feeling proper to man.

23. *the mountain which is on the east side of the city*] Afterwards known as the Mount of Olives. The Rabbis commenting on this passage said that the Shechinah retired eastward to the Mount of Olives, and there for three years called in vain to the people with human voice that they should repent. Stanley's 'Palestine,' p. 186. On that mountain Christ stood, when He wept over the fair city so soon to be utterly destroyed. From that mountain He descended amid loud Hosannas to enter the city and temple as a Judge.

CHAP. XII. 2. Comp. Deut. i. 26; Isai. vi. 9; Jer. v. 21; Matt. xiii. 14; Rom. x. 21. The repetition of such words from age to age, shews that the prophet's words are intended to reach beyond the generation in which he lived. See Introd. § VII.

3. *stuff*] Lit. as in marg. *instruments*, that is, all such things as are to be prepared by those who were about to go into exile, raiment, vessels, and the like.

removing] The word is commonly translated *captivity* (as in *v.* 4) (=*exile*, see on i. 1). The whole phrase, *prepare thee stuff for removing*, occurs in Jer. xlvi. 19, where it is translated, *furnish thyself to go into captivity*, marg. *make thee instruments of captivity*. This *removing* was to be of the kind that accompanied *exile*, which the action is intended to portend.

place in their sight: it may be they will consider, though they *be* a rebellious house.

4 Then shalt thou bring forth thy stuff by day in their sight, as stuff for removing: and thou shalt go forth at even in their sight, † as they that go forth into captivity.

† Heb. *as the goings forth of captivity.*

5 † Dig thou through the wall in their sight, and carry out thereby.

† Heb. *Dig for thee.*

6 In their sight shalt thou bear *it* upon *thy* shoulders, *and* carry *it* forth in the twilight: thou shalt cover thy face, that thou see not the ground: for I have set thee *for* a sign unto the house of Israel.

7 And I did so as I was commanded: I brought forth my stuff by day, as stuff for captivity, and in the even I † digged through the wall with mine hand; I brought *it* forth in the twilight, *and* I bare *it* upon *my* shoulder in their sight.

† Heb. *digged for me.*

8 ¶ And in the morning came the word of the LORD unto me, saying,

9 Son of man, hath not the house of Israel, the rebellious house, said unto thee, What doest thou?

10 Say thou unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; This burden *concerneth* the prince in Jerusalem, and all the house of Israel that *are* among them.

11 Say, I *am* your sign: like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them: † they shall remove *and* go into captivity.

† Heb. *by removing go into captivity.*

12 And the prince that *is* among them shall bear upon *his* shoulder in the twilight, and shall go forth: they shall dig through the wall to carry out thereby: he shall cover his face, that he see not the ground with *his* eyes.

13 My [a]net also will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare: and I will bring him to Baby-

[a] chap. 17. 20.

The whole account of this transaction marks it as a real act (see Note on iii. 24). The prophet was to be *a sign* to his countrymen, and the *exiles* as well as those that remained in Judæa had need to be taught this lesson, for though themselves far away, they looked to Jerusalem as their home, and were scarcely less eager for its safety than the inhabitants themselves.

4. Compare the account of Zedekiah's flight; 2 K. xxv. 4 and Jer. xxxix. 4. All the particulars which Ezekiel here foretold then actually occurred, but at this time Zedekiah seemed to be prosperous, and the Jews at Jerusalem expected, it is clear, a long continuance of his prosperity. See on ch. xvii.

The prophetical character of the passage is undoubted (the prophet is declared to be *a sign*)—the genuineness of the book and of the passage, and the position of the passage in the book, are beyond dispute; in the historical event we have an exact fulfilment. The only legitimate inference is that the prophet received his knowledge from above.

6. *shalt thou bear it*] Rather, *thou shalt bear* **a burden** *upon thy shoulder.* That which was borne was not *the stuff* beforementioned, but some other portion of the goods; the household goods in general were to be carried forth in the day: at night, the prophet was to go forth himself with a load upon his shoulders, as is usual when persons quit their homes in flight.

in the twilight] **In the dark.** The original word occurs only here and Gen. xv. 17. Though it was dark, the neighbours might observe the act.

thou shalt cover thy face] A sign of mourning (see xxiv. 17); also of Zedekiah's blindness (*v.* 12).

for a sign] Comp. Zech. iii. 8, *men wondered at*, lit. "men of a sign." Ezekiel, like those to whom Zechariah refers, was, by his actions, to be *a sign* to his countrymen.

10. *burden*] A word used to indicate a prediction of woe to be borne by some individual or people (Isai. xiii. 1; Mal. i. 1). Ezekiel, bearing his *stuff* on his shoulder, was a sign of the weight of calamity coming upon king and people.

all the house of Israel] All the children of Israel, including such remnants of the sister kingdom as had in later days joined their brethren in Jerusalem.

13. *My net also will I spread*] Comp. Lam. i. 13. Josephus tells us ('Antiq.' x. 10) that Ezekiel sent this prophecy to Jerusalem in order to support Jeremiah, to whom Zedekiah was half inclined to listen; but that the king on comparing the prophecies, and finding that Ezekiel predicted that he should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah foretold that he should be carried captive thither, disbelieved them both, though they agreed in all other particulars. Both prophets were in fact justified, when Zedekiah was carried to Babylon with his eyes put out. Ezekiel had indeed, in

lon *to* the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there.

14 And I will scatter toward every wind all that *are* about him to help him, and all his bands; and I will draw out the sword after them.

15 And they shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I shall scatter them among the nations, and disperse them in the countries.

† Heb. *men of number.*

16 But I will leave †a few men of them from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence; that they may declare all their abominations among the heathen whither they come; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

17 ¶ Moreover the word of the LORD came to me, saying,

18 Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling and with carefulness;

19 And say unto the people of the land, Thus saith the Lord GOD of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, *and* of the land of Israel; They shall eat their bread with carefulness, and drink their water with astonishment, that her land may be desolate from †all that is therein, because of the violence of all them that dwell therein.

† Heb. *the fulness thereof.*

20 And the cities that are inhabited shall be laid waste, and the land shall be desolate; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

21 ¶ And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

22 Son of man, what *is* that proverb *that* ye have in the land of Israel, saying, The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth?

23 Tell them therefore, Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will make this proverb to cease, and they shall no more use it as a proverb in Israel; but say unto them, The days are at hand, and the effect of every vision.

24 For there shall be no more any vain vision nor flattering divination within the house of Israel.

25 For I *am* the LORD: I will

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this verse, pointed to the solution of the discrepancy.

16. *few*] Literally, as in margin, *men of number*, so few, that they can easily be counted. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Isai. x. 19.

that they may declare] Lit. "number," that is, "recount," a play upon the word "number." One purpose to be effected by this severe punishment, was to justify God's ways to men,—the few who should escape destruction should make known to all among whom they should dwell how great had been the wickedness of the people, how just their punishment. The same thought is expanded in xiv. 22, 23.

18. Comp. iv. 9. Here the sign is to be found in the exhibition of such terror as men in the danger of a siege entertain.

19. *unto the people of the land*] the people resident in the land of Chaldæa, to whom the prophecy is addressed.

Thus saith the Lord GOD of the inhabitants] *The Lord God saith thus of* (in respect to) *the inhabitants.*

desolate from all that is therein] Lit. "from the fulness thereof," *i.e.* stripped of all its inhabitants and of all its wealth.

19, 20. "It is to be noted that at one and the same time, Jeremiah was prophesying in Jerusalem, and Ezekiel in Babylon (or rather Chaldæa); the prophecies of the former were sent to the exiles, and those of Ezekiel to the dwellers at Jerusalem, that the guiding hand of One God in different places might be made clear, and that all who heard might understand that what befel the people happened not by the power of false gods, but by the command of the true Lord." Jerome.

21—28. The former part of the chapter carries back to the signs in iv., v. and the prophecy in vi. Now, as in vii., the nearness of the judgment is foretold.

22. *the land of Israel*, put generally for the land where the children of Israel dwelt, whether at home, or in exile. There was prevalent a disregard for the true prophets, which is ever followed by a recognition of the false. First, the true prophet is rejected because it is thought that his prophecies fail. Men will not wait God's time for accomplishing His own decrees. Then they persuade themselves that if the prophecy be true it respects some distant time, and that the men of the present generation need not disturb themselves about it. Comp. Jer. i. 11; Amos vi. 3; Matt. xxiv. 43; 1 Thess. v. 2; 2 Pet. iii. 4. Against both these delusions Ezekiel is commissioned to protest, and so to lead the way to his condemnation of his countrymen for their blind reliance on false prophets.

speak, and the word that I shall speak shall come to pass; it shall be no more prolonged: for in your days, O rebellious house, will I say the word, and will perform it, saith the Lord GOD.

26 ¶ Again the word of the LORD came to me, saying,

27 Son of man, behold, *they of* the house of Israel say, The vision that [b] 2 Pet. 3. 4. he seeth *is* [b] for many days *to come*, and he prophesieth of the times *that are* far off.

28 Therefore say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; There shall none of my words be prolonged any more, but the word which I have spoken shall be done, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The reproof of lying prophets,* 10 *and their untempered morter.* 17 *Of prophetesses and their pillows.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel that prophesy, and say thou unto [†] them that prophesy out of their own [a] hearts, Hear ye the word of the LORD;

[†] Heb. *them that are prophets out of their own hearts.*
[a] Jer. 23. 16.

3 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe unto the foolish prophets, that [†] follow their own spirit, [‖] and have seen nothing!

[†] Heb. *walk after.*
[‖] Or, *and things which they have not seen.*

4 O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts.

5 Ye have not gone up into the [‖] gaps, neither [†] made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle in the day of the LORD.

[‖] Or, *breaches.*
[†] Heb. *hedged the hedge.*

6 They have seen vanity and lying divination, saying, The LORD saith: and the LORD hath not sent them: and they have made *others* to hope that they would confirm the word.

7 Have ye not seen a vain vision, and have ye not spoken a lying divination, whereas ye say, The LORD saith *it;* albeit I have not spoken?

8 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye have spoken vanity, and seen lies, therefore, behold, I *am* against you, saith the Lord GOD.

9 And mine hand shall be upon the prophets that see vanity, and that divine lies: they shall not be in the [‖] assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writing of the

[‖] Or, *secret,* or, *council.*

CHAP. XIII. This chapter must be read together with the 23rd of Jeremiah. The identity of phrases and ideas force upon us the conclusion that the author of the one must have had the other before him. We know that Jeremiah's writings were forwarded to the Jews in Chaldæa (Jer. xxix.), and there is therefore no reason to doubt that Ezekiel took up a well-known prophecy to enforce and apply it to his companions in exile. They probably had read Jeremiah's words as referring to others than themselves. Ezekiel now would teach them that it is not at Jerusalem alone that false prophets are to be discovered and reproved. The present chapter therefore must be taken as addressed to *the Jews in exile*, which agrees with the whole tenor, see for instance *v.* 9.

3. *the foolish prophets*] Lit. "the prophets, the fools," the prophets (so-called), the fools (in truth), fools because they are godless, Ps. xiv. 1.

that follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing] The marginal renderings are more exact. A *true* prophet (like Ezekiel) spoke *the word of the Lord*, and declared what he had seen *in the visions of God*. These pretenders are stigmatized in scorn "prophets out of their own hearts," "seers of what they have not seen."

4. *foxes*] False prophets are also called *wolves* (Matt. vii. 15; Acts xx. 29).

in the deserts] Foxes find a shelter and home among the ruins in a land which has been made desolate. *Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it* (Lam. v. 18), (Neh. iv. 3). So the prophets find their profit in the ruin of their country. Some have found herein an allusion to Israel as *a vine* (Isai. v.), on which *the foxes prey* (Song of Sol. ii. 15).

5. In a time of siege when there are *gaps* or *breaches* in the walls, it is the part of the leaders to go up to defend them (comp. below xxii. 30; Ps. cvi. 23), and to throw up works to stop the inroad of the enemy. Jehovah is now assailing His people as an enemy (comp. Isai. lxiii. 10 and Job xvi. 11—14), and where are those who claim to be prophets, leaders of the people?

6. *and they have made others to hope that they would confirm the word*] Rather, "and they hope for the confirmation of their word." They come to believe their own lies. Or, *the Lord hath not sent them*, "that they should hope," *i.e.* so that they should have grounds to hope that their words will be confirmed.

9. *assembly*] The original word means

house of Israel, neither shall they enter into the land of Israel; and ye shall know that I *am* the Lord GOD.

10 ¶ Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, [b] Peace; and *there was* no peace; and one built up [1] a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered *morter:*

[b] Jer. 6. 14.

[1] Or, a slight wall.

11 Say unto them which daub *it* with untempered *morter*, that it shall fall: there shall be an overflowing shower; and ye, O great hailstones, shall fall; and a stormy wind shall rend *it*.

12 Lo, when the wall is fallen, shall it not be said unto you, Where *is* the daubing wherewith ye have daubed *it?*

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even rend *it* with a stormy wind in my fury; and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger, and great hailstones in *my* fury to consume *it*.

14 So will I break down the wall that ye have daubed with untempered *morter*, and bring it down to the ground, so that the foundation thereof shall be discovered, and it shall fall, and ye shall be consumed in the midst thereof: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

15 Thus will I accomplish my wrath upon the wall, and upon them that have daubed it with untempered *morter*, and will say unto you, The wall *is* no *more*, neither they that daubed it;

16 *To wit*, the prophets of Israel which prophesy concerning Jerusalem, and which see visions of peace for her, and *there is* no peace, saith the Lord GOD.

17 ¶ Likewise, thou son of man, set thy face against the daughters of thy people, which prophesy out of their own heart; and prophesy thou against them,

18 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe to the *women* that sew pillows to all [1] armholes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls! Will ye hunt the

[1] Or, *elbows.*

"a company of persons sitting together" whether for *counsel* (as Jer. xxiii. 18), or for friendly intercourse. It is also used for a *secret*, devised in such a meeting (Prov. xi. 13). Here "the congregation of the people." These false prophets were to be struck off from the rolls, in which the names of all Israelites were registered (comp. Ps. lxxxvii. 6; Exod. xxxii. 32), and so when the restoration (foretold xi. 17) shall take place, these men shall not have part in it. See Ezra ii. 62.

10. *wall*] (Heb. *Chayitz*) a partition wall: but in *v.* 12, the Hebrew is *Kir*, the usual word for the outer wall of a house or city. It may be because the fall of the partition wall involves the fall of the whole house, and therefore in *v.* 12 the general word for wall is used.

untempered morter] Heb. *Taphel*. This word occurs only in this passage and xxii. 28. Another *Taphel*, identical in the Hebr. but shewn by Arabic to be of a different origin, is found in Job vi. 6, where it is rendered *unsavoury*, and in Lam. ii. 14 *foolish things*. From this second *Taphel* comes *Tiphlah* (Jer. xxiii. 13), *folly* (marg. *an absurd thing*). It seems probable that Ezekiel is referring to the passage in Jeremiah (see note at head of chap.) by a word-play not uncommon in Hebrew. The word itself here means *plaster*, employed to patch up a wall, so as to give it an appearance (without the reality) of strength and beauty, compare the *whited sepulchres* of Matt. xxiii. 27, and *whited wall*, Acts xxiii. 3. We are also carried back to *v.* 5; while the wrath of the Lord is storming the city, the people hedge themselves in with false worship and false confidence, *they build a wall*, and then, lest the rottenness of the bulwark should be too apparent, the prophets disguise its unsoundness by pretended visions and false predictions.

11. *that it shall fall*] The ruin is precisely that which our Lord describes (Matt. vii. 27), such as might naturally occur amid the violent rain and hailstorms of southern countries.

17—23. A rebuke to the false prophetesses, and a declaration that God will confound them, and deliver their victims from their snares. Women were sometimes inspired by the true God, as Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Huldah. But an order of prophetesses was unknown among the people of God, and the existence of such a class in the last days of the kings of Judah was a fresh instance of declension into heathen usages.

18. *sew pillows to all armholes*] Some have supposed a reference to a magical rite, but we have no knowledge of any such rite. On the meaning of the words *pillows* and *armholes*, see Note at end of the Chapter. The

souls of my people, and will ye save the souls alive *that come* unto you?

19 And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people that hear *your* lies?

20 Wherefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls ‖ to make *them* fly, and I will tear them from your arms, and will let the souls go, *even* the souls that ye hunt to make *them* fly.

‖ Or, *into gardens.*

21 Your kerchiefs also will I tear, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand to be hunted; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

22 Because with lies ye have made the heart of the righteous sad, whom I have not made sad; and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, ‖ † by promising him life:

23 Therefore ye shall see no more vanity, nor divine divinations: for I will deliver my people out of your hand: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

‖ Or, *that I should save his life.*
† Heb. *by quickening him.*

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arm-holes and the *heads* were certainly those of the prophetesses themselves. *Kerchief* or veil. The veil was a conspicuous ornament in the East, and was worn by magicians in order to make them seem more mysterious and awful.

the head of every stature] Women whatever be their height put on these veils.

to hunt souls] to ensnare men. *Soul* in the Old Testament means either "the breath of life" or simply "a living person." See note on xvi. 5.

the souls alive that come unto you] Rather, "the souls which belong to you," *i.e.* your own persons. The substance of the clause is this, Will ye entrap others to make a living for yourselves?

19. *pollute my name*, profane it by your false words, which ye pretend to be from me.

handfuls of barley] Such were the gifts with which men used to approach a seer. Comp. 1 S. ix. 7, 8; 1 K. xiv. 3.

to slay...] To destroy (by corrupting) My people that should not be destroyed, and to keep yourselves alive that do not deserve to live.

hear your lies] Listen to lies, they not only *hear* lies, but greedily take them in.

20. *I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there*] The Hebrew words here rendered *wherewith...there* are equivalent to the single word **Where**. The preposition rendered *against* is either *to* or *upon* with a motion towards. Hence the verb to be supplied is not *am*, but **am coming. I am coming upon your charms, where ye...**

to make them fly] See Note at the end of the Chapter. If the marginal reading *into gardens* be adopted, it must mean, Ye entice men to the gardens or groves, where magical arts are practised. That groves were used for this purpose is notorious.

NOTE on CHAP. XIII. 17—23.

The section stands alone, and little or no light is thrown upon it by the surrounding prophecies. We are therefore left to discover the meaning from a careful examination of the passage itself. Some difficulty arises from words which are found in no other part of Holy Scripture and from others which here occur in an unusual sense. These must be first explained. *Them that sew.* The word (תִּפֵּר) is found in three other places, Gen. iii. 7; Job xvi. 15; Eccles. iii. 7. In all it is rendered in the A.V. by *sew*, and in the LXX. and Vulg. by words equivalent to the English word. Some think that it should rather be "bring near" or "bind," and all the passages admit equally of this sense. The Piel form, a modification of the verb, not expressible in English, throws a kind of ironical contempt upon the actions, as we might say *tattle* instead of *tell*, or *scribbler* for *scribe*. *Pillows* (כְּסָתוֹת). The word is not found elsewhere. The LXX. and Vulg. render it by words equivalent to *pillows* or *cushions*. The English word *pillow* is wide enough to denote that which may be either used on a couch or fastened to a dress for various purposes. Some render it "cases," *i.e.* cases of leather or parchment containing amulets or charms attached to the sleeves, like the phylacteries of the Jews in our Saviour's time. All we know of the original word is that it is apparently derived from a verb meaning *to cover*. *Arm-holes* (אַצִּילֵי יָדַי), literally "joints of the two hands:" hand may be the whole arm, so that the word may mean "the shoulders," "the elbows," or "the wrists," or "the fingers," or "the knuckles." The same

word in Jer. xxxviii. 12, is used for *arm-pits*. *That make* may be "that put on." *Kerchiefs* (מַטְפָּחוֹת). The word occurs only here. Its etymology merely shews that it is something which hangs down. It may be "a head-dress," "a veil," or "a mantle;" it has also been thought to be some appendage to the neck, "tippet," "collar," or "cushion." *Stature* (קוֹמָה). The English word seems suitable only to the whole figure, in the original "elevation," a proper adjunct of *head*, to express the height of a person. *Hunt* (צוֹדֵד), more properly "ensnare," or "entrap," as a bird-catcher secures his prey. *To make them fly* (לְפָרְחוֹת). The word thus rendered might come from a Hebrew verb (פָּרַח) *break forth, or blossom*, and this has led to the marginal rendering *gardens*, or blossoming places. It seems however more probable that it comes from an Aramaic verb (פָּרַח) *fly*. Following this derivation some have interpreted it "to make them fly to you," others, "to make them fly to destruction." The latter was probably the notion of our Translators. Ewald however and other good Hebrew scholars interpret the word "like birds," ye ensnare souls as if they were birds, and this gives the best sense. Hävernick by a pure conjecture, following up the idea of sprouting, blossoming, flourishing luxuriance, renders the word "to wantonness," or "to wanton pleasures,"—ye entice souls to wantonness.

Having examined the principal words on which the explanation of the passage turns, we are now prepared to enter upon its various interpretations. It will be sufficient to mention these under three heads.

1. Most ancient interpreters and many modern have understood the *pillows* and *kerchiefs*, or whatever else these words may denote, as appliances to which the sorcerers had resort in order to attract notice. Among these interpreters there has been much difference whether *pillows* were used for padding or for ornament or whether amulets and charms were not the things put on—whether these pillows or charms were worn on the shoulder, the elbow, or the wrist—whether again they put on a peculiar head-dress, or a veil, or a mantle, or even a band round the neck. But these questions, for the solution of which we have no certain data, are really immaterial. It is the purpose, not the exact nature of the appliances with which we have to do.

2. Others taking the *pillows* and *kerchiefs*, or, as they would say, "neck-cushions," to be used figuratively, conceive that here a rebuke is intended to such as lull God's people to false security by whispering, Peace, where there is no peace. This view is well expressed by Theodoret (quoted by Rosenmüller): "By these words are reproved in a figure smooth and easy addresses. For soft cushions for the neck or for the arms bring indeed to the limbs which they support a certain kind of rest and relief, and so smooth addresses being at the same time false, for a season indeed tickle the ear, but in the end weaken and distort the soul." Those who espouse this view appeal to the description of *the wall daubed with untempered morter*, as a figure of the same kind. But this figurative interpretation, in itself forced and unnatural, falls to the ground at once, when it is observed that from *vv.* 20, 21 it is clear that the *pillows* and *kerchiefs*, or whatever we may call them, certainly were used by, and were to be torn away from, not the people, but the prophetesses themselves.

3. Hävernick sees in this passage a reference not to the modes of divining but to the licentious habits of these women luring men to their ruin like the *strange woman* in Prov. vi. and vii. According to him the *pillows* are the soft cushions which they arrange upon their beds of luxury, the *kerchiefs* or rather "veils" are the rich attire with which they deck themselves to catch men. But, as in the case of the false prophets rebuked in an earlier part of the chapter, it is against the falseness of their words, not against the immorality of their lives, that the condemning voice is raised. Moreover the very strangeness of the words employed seem to suit better strange arts (such as those of divination) than habits which, being elsewhere described, would in all probability have been spoken of here in some at least of the same words. But while in the Proverbs we have *the decking of the bed with tapestry*, the words used in this chapter do not occur. There is only one word common to the two passages, viz. to *hunt* (or *ensnare*), Prov. vi. 26.

On the whole the first way of explaining the passage seems the best. It has the support of the greater number of early interpreters (including apparently the LXX. and the Vulgate) and is adopted by Ewald, Fürst, Karlsruhe translator, and Benisch, and it is in accordance with the general spirit of our Authorized Version, which however can scarcely be said to be as happy as usual in some parts of this section. *vv.* 18—21 may be better rendered thus:—*Woe to the women that* **put charms on every finger-joint, that set veils upon heads of every height to ensnare souls.** *Will ye* **ensnare** *the souls of my people,* **and keep your own souls alive, and will ye profane my name** *among my people for handfuls of barley and pieces of bread,* **to** *slay the souls that should not die, and to* **keep alive** *the souls that should not live, by lying to my people* **who listen to** *a lie? Wherefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold* **I will come upon your charms, where ye are ensnaring the souls like birds;** *and I will tear them from your arms and will*

let the souls go **free**, *even the souls* **which ye are ensnaring like birds**. *Your* **veils** *also will I tear, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand to be* **ensnared**; *and ye shall know that I am the Lord.*

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *God answereth idolaters according to their own heart.* 6 *They are exhorted to repent, for fear of judgments, by means of seduced prophets.* 12 *God's irrevocable sentence of famine,* 15 *of noisome beasts,* 17 *of the sword,* 19 *and of pestilence.* 22 *A remnant shall be reserved for example of others.*

THEN came certain of the elders of Israel unto me, and sat before me.

2 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

3 Son of man, these men have set up their idols in their heart, and put the stumblingblock of their iniquity before their face: should I be inquired of at all by them?

4 Therefore speak unto them, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Every man of the house of Israel that setteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth the stumblingblock of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to the prophet; I the LORD will answer him that cometh according to the multitude of his idols;

5 That I may take the house of Israel in their own heart, because they are all estranged from me through their idols.

6 ¶ Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Repent, and turn [1]*yourselves* from your idols; and turn away your faces from all your abominations.

[1] Or, others.

7 For every one of the house of Israel, or of the stranger that sojourneth in Israel, which separateth himself from me, and setteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth the stumbling-

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CHAP. XIV. 1—11. A distinct event gave occasion to the following prophecy. But in subject it is closely connected with the preceding. That was a reproof of false prophets, this of those who consult them. The claims of Ezekiel as a prophet are now recognized by his countrymen. Some of the chief exiles come to him as to one who has authority. They look for encouragement and comfort. But Ezekiel with the genuine prophetic spirit sees deep into their hearts, and finds them at variance with devotion to the true God. The idols of self-will and unsubmissiveness are set up therein. The prophet warns them that God will not be inquired of in such a spirit as this.

elders of Israel] Comp. viii. 1, *elders of Judah*. Some have thought that this was a deputation from the inhabitants of Palestine; others that they came from the earlier exiles of the ten tribes—but it is far more probable that these were of the fellow-exiles of Ezekiel, among whom he ministered. Comp. xx. 1 and Introduction, § VI.

3. *the stumblingblock of their iniquity*] Comp. above, vii. 19.

4. *will answer him that cometh*] The words *that cometh* should be omitted.

answer] The form of the verb in the original rather expresses, "I will have him answered"—as we should say, He shall have his answer—but it is not worth while to attempt to express this nice distinction in English.

according to the multitude of his idols]—Either, I will answer him by punishing his idolatry, as in *vv.* 7, 8, or, I will give him an answer as delusive as the idols which he serves (as Micaiah answered Ahab, 1 K. xxii. 15). The latter interpretation is to be preferred, see on *v.* 7.

5. *That I may take the house of Israel in their own heart*] Either, that I may lay hold of their heart and win them unto Myself by means of the punishments which I shall inflict, or, which seems better, that I may take them, as in a snare, deceived by their own heart. (See Isai. xliv. 20.)

6. *turn yourselves*] Probably, "your faces" should be supplied from the following clause instead of *yourselves*, not as in the marginal rendering *others*. See xviii. 30.

7. *or of the stranger*] Those who sojourned among Israel though they were not of Israel were bound to abstain from idol-worship (Lev. xvii. 10, xx. 2).

I...will answer him by myself] The construction is precisely the same as in *v.* 4, the particle there rendered *according to*, being here *by*. He who comes to inquire with a heart full of idolatry shall have his answer, (1) *according to the multitude of his idols*—in delusion, (2) *according to the holiness of God*—in punishment. The inquiry was hypocritical and unreal—but God will answer not by the mouth, but by

block of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to a prophet to inquire of him concerning me; I the LORD will answer him by myself:

8 And I will set my face against
[a] Deut. 28. 37. chap. 5. 15. that man, and will make him a [a]sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

9 And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the
[b] 1 Kin. 22. 23. LORD [b]have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand upon him, and will destroy him from the midst of my people Israel.

10 And they shall bear the punishment of their iniquity: the punishment of the prophet shall be even as the punishment of him that seeketh *unto him;*

11 That the house of Israel may go no more astray from me, neither be polluted any more with all their transgressions; but that they may be my people, and I may be their God, saith the Lord GOD.

12 ¶ The word of the LORD came again to me, saying,

13 Son of man, when the land sinneth against me by trespassing griev-

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the hand, not by word but by deed, not by speech but by a scourge.

8. *will make him*] This is a translation of a correction of reading made in the margin of the Hebrew Bible. The word in the original text means "I will make thee amazed" as below ch. xxxii. 10. From the same verb comes the word rendered *astonishment* in Deut. xxviii. 37, *thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword.* This seems to confirm the original reading which is to be translated, "will make him astonished, [so as to be] a sign and a proverb."

9. *I the LORD have deceived that prophet*] Some have explained these words, "I have *permitted* that prophet to be deceived," on the ground that God does not cause but permit the iniquity which He will punish. But a deeper truth lies beneath these words, viz. that evil as well as good is under His direction who turns it as He will, employing it to test the sincerity of men, and thus making it ultimately contribute to the purification of His people, to the confirmation of the righteous, to the increase of their glory and felicity. This principle of divine government may be traced elsewhere. In Deut. xiii. it is declared that those who listen to false prophets are responsible, even though the prophets confirm their words by wonders that come to pass. God's people were tried by the presence among them of false prophets just as they were by the presence of idolaters. So St John bids men *try the spirits because many false prophets are gone out into the world* (1 John iv. 1), and it is of the days of the Messiah that Zechariah predicts, *I will cause the* [false] *prophets and unclean spirit to pass out of the land*, Zech. xiii. 2. The case of the false prophets who deceived Ahab (1 K. xxii.) is a striking representation of this principle. The Lord sends forth an evil spirit to persuade him to his ruin.

Towards the close of the kingdom of Judah false prophets were especially rife, the sign and the punishment of corruption. In this way the thoughts of men's hearts were revealed, the good separated from the bad, and the people (the remnant of them) purged from the sins by which of late years the whole nation had been defiled. So St Paul makes the sending of *false prophets* a leading part of the divine dispensations in the last days—*God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie* (2 Thess. ii. 11). Yet this delusion does not operate by a magic irresistible force—they who listen to the false prophets do so of their own will, and will therefore be justly liable to the wrath of the true God. Prophet and inquirer alike shall bear the punishment of their iniquity.

11. "God," it has been said, "punishes sins by means of sins," but the end is the re-establishment of righteousness. His people, purified by trials, will cleave to Him whom they have forsaken and become a converted, sanctified people joined unto their God by a covenant which they will not break.

12—22. In Jer. xiv. xv. we have a remarkable parallel to this prophecy. We find there the people inquiring and the Lord answering, a warning to false prophets, and to those who consult them, a threatening of the *four kinds* of judgment, and a declaration *if Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people.* Here, as elsewhere, Ezekiel is commissioned to deliver to the exiles the same message which Jeremiah conveys to the inhabitants of Judæa. The answer discovers the nature of the questions which had been expressed or implied. 1. Can God cast out a people who are holy unto Himself? 2. Is it just to punish them with utter desolation? The prophet answers; 1. That when a people is so corrupt as to call down national judgment, individual piety shall save none but the individuals themselves. God will no longer regard Jerusalem as a whole, but each individual must stand or fall accord-

ously, then will I stretch out mine
[c] Lev. 26. 26. chap. 4. 16. & 5. 16. hand upon it, and will break the [c]staff of the bread thereof, and will send famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from it:

[d] Jer. 15. 1. 14 [d]Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver *but* their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord GOD.

15 ¶ If I cause noisome beasts to
[f] Or, bereave. pass through the land, and they [f]spoil it, so that it be desolate, that no man may pass through because of the beasts:

16 *Though* these three men *were*
[f] Heb. *in the midst of it.* [f]in it, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters; they only shall be delivered, but the land shall be desolate.

17 ¶ Or *if* I bring a sword upon that land, and say, Sword, go through the land; so that I cut off man and beast from it:

18 Though these three men *were* in it, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters, but they only shall be delivered themselves.

19 ¶ Or *if* I send a pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood, to cut off from it man and beast:

20 Though Noah, Daniel, and Job, *were* in it, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they shall *but* deliver their own souls by their righteousness.

21 For thus saith the Lord GOD;
[f] Or, *Also when.* [f]How much more when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?

22 ¶ Yet, behold, therein shall be left a remnant that shall be brought forth, *both* sons and daughters: behold, they shall come forth unto you, and ye shall see their way and their doings: and ye shall be comforted concerning the evil that I have brought

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ing to his own doings. 2. That utter destruction shall come upon the city, and that then the corrupt condition of the people shall be made so manifest, that none will be able to question the justice of God in dealing thus severely with them.

13. *when the land*] Not *the* but a *land*. The case is first put in a general form, and then is brought with increased force home to Jerusalem. The whole of *v.* 13 is the supposed case, *v.* 14 is the consequence. The 13th verse should be rendered thus:—*When* a *land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously*, **and I stretch out** *mine hand upon it*, **and break the staff of bread** *thereof*, **and send famine** *upon it and* **cut off** *man and beast:—though these three men*, &c.

the staff of the bread] The metaphor is from a stick on which one leans for support, Jer. xlviii. 17. The prophet adopts the threatenings already pronounced in the Law against the disobedient. See Lev. xxvi. 21 foll., and Deut. xxviii. 25 foll.

14. *Noah, Daniel, and Job*] Three striking instances of men who, for their integrity, were delivered themselves from the ruin which fell upon others. Noah, preserved amidst a perishing world—Daniel, advanced to honour among exiles in the most prostrate condition—Job, survivor of a once numerous and flourishing race. Some have thought it strange that Daniel, a contemporary, and still young, should have been classed with the two ancient worthies: and have suggested that some other person (not elsewhere named in Scripture) than Daniel the prophet was intended; others that this name of Daniel has been interpolated in the text. But neither of these conjectures has any ground of support. Others again have found herein an argument against the genuineness of the Book of Ezekiel. But the account in Dan. ch. ii. shews, that by this time Daniel was a very remarkable man (his wisdom is referred to below, xxviii. 3), and the introduction of the name of a contemporary gives force and life to the illustration: "Were there in it the most perfect of all men that have been or that are still living, they should avail nothing towards interceding for a land already doomed to destruction" (Calvin). There is in the order in which the names occur a kind of climax. Noah rescued not the guilty world, but did carry forth with him his wife, sons and sons' wives. Daniel raised only a few, but he did raise three of his countrymen with him to honour. To Job was spared neither son nor daughter. And the failure is the more striking in Job's case because we are told that he daily interceded for them (Job i. 5). (Hävernick.)

22, 23. *ye shall be comforted*, &c.] Ye shall have your minds settled in a truer es-

upon Jerusalem, *even* concerning all that I have brought upon it.

23 And they shall comfort you, when ye see their ways and their doings: and ye shall know that I have not done without cause all that I have done in it, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *By the unfitness of the vine branch for any work* 6 *is shewed the rejection of Jerusalem.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, What is the vine tree more than any tree, *or than* a branch which is among the trees of the forest?

3 Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will *men* take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?

4 Behold, it is cast into the fire for fuel; the fire devoureth both the ends of it, and the midst of it is burned. †Is it meet for *any* work?

† Heb. *Will it prosper?*

5 Behold, when it was whole, it was †meet for no work: how much less shall it be meet yet for *any* work, when the fire hath devoured it, and it is burned?

† Heb. *made fit.*

6 ¶ Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; As the vine tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

7 And I will set my face against them; they shall go out from *one* fire, and *another* fire shall devour them; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I set my face against them.

8 And I will make the land desolate, because they have †committed a trespass, saith the Lord GOD.

† Heb. *trespassed a trespass.*

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timate of the dispensations of the Almighty. Those unsettling and distracting doubts of God's purpose, and of His justice, shall be at an end. You shall recognize the true character of those whom He has visited, and shall understand that this visitation was inevitable and was just. There is a question whether this passage is intended to express a mitigation or an aggravation of the impending calamity. Benisch taking the former view translates thus:—(*v.* 21) "Although I have sent forth my four sore judgments..... (*v.* 22) yet behold there was left therein a remnant that was brought forth, both sons and daughters: behold, they shall come forth....." Though in ordinary cases the rule of national judgments is so severe, it shall be moderated in the case of Jerusalem, a remnant shall be left, the exiles shall be comforted, and shall discover the gracious purpose of God, afflicting them in order to their restoration. But the tenor of the whole prophecy seems to require the other explanation. There will indeed be a remnant when Jerusalem shall be destroyed, but they will be left as *a sign and proverb* to shew men, by their degradation and misery, how severely and yet how justly God has dealt with the transgressors. It is not quite clear in which sense our translators understood the passage; the heading "a remnant shall be left for the example of others" seems to incline to the latter view; and the expression *comforted* to the former.

CHAP. XV. **2.** *the vine...*] The image is grounded on the well-known figure representing the chosen people as a vine (Ps. lxxx. 8 foll.; Isai. v.). The comparison here is not between the *vine* and other *trees*, but between the *wood* of the vine and the *wood* of other trees.

4. *Behold, it is cast into the fire*] The wood is in itself useless for any purpose (such as making an implement or even a tent-peg), but what if it have been cast into the fire, and half burnt, what of it then?

7. *they shall go out from one fire, and another fire shall devour them*] Rather, **they have gone forth from the fire, and the fire shall devour them.** The comparison must be carefully attended to. The condition of the people is here depicted. The people of Israel had already become worthless, useless as instruments for carrying out God's work. The separated kingdoms had, in turn, been laid waste. Israel was entirely broken up. Judah had suffered the captivity of her king (Jeconiah), and with him no inconsiderable part of the commonalty. The branch torn from the living stem had truly been cast into the fire, which had devoured both ends of it; what remained was a brand plucked from the burning. Those who had escaped the general calamity were reserved for a like fate. *They had gone forth from the fire*, so they deemed, but *the fire should yet devour them*, so God had decreed. Compare the Parable of the Vine in John xv., where the worthlessness of the vine-branch severed from the true stock, and the consequent casting of it in the fire, illustrates this prophecy of Ezekiel.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Under the similitude of a wretched infant is shewed the natural state of Jerusalem.* 6 *God's extraordinary love towards her.* 15 *Her monstrous whoredom.* 35 *Her grievous judgment.* 44 *Her sin, matching her mother, and exceeding her sisters, Sodom and Samaria, calleth for judgments.* 60 *Mercy is promised her in the end.*

AGAIN the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, cause Jerusalem to know her abominations,

3 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD unto Jerusalem; Thy † birth and thy nativity *is* of the land of Canaan; thy father *was* an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite.

† Heb. *cutting out*, or, *habitation.*

4 And *as for* thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water ‖ to supple *thee;* thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all.

‖ Or, *when I looked* upon thee.

5 None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion upon thee; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the lothing of thy person, in the day that thou wast born.

6 ¶ And when I passed by thee, and saw thee ‖ polluted in thine own

‖ Or, *trodden under foot.*

CHAP. XVI. 1—43. Idolatry is frequently represented by the prophets under the figure of a wife's unfaithfulness to her husband. This image is here so portrayed, as to exhibit the aggravation of Israel's guilt by reason of her origin and early history. The original abode of the progenitors of the race, the land of Canaan, defiled with idolatry and moral corruption, is introduced to heighten the picture. The prophet's first aim is to shew how utterly destitute the people was from the first of any claim to the kindness lavished upon it. Israel was like a child born in a polluted land, abandoned from its birth, left by its parents in the most utter neglect to the chance regard of any passer-by. (Such was the state of the people in Egypt.) (*v.* 3—5.) On such a child the Lord looked with pity, tended, adopted it, decked it with all that could grace and adorn it. Under such care it grew up to be comely and beautiful, and the Lord joined it to Himself in that close union, which is figured by the bonds of wedlock. The Lord adopted her not only as His child but as His spouse. (The covenants made under Moses and Joshua represent this alliance.) (*v.* 6—8.) The prophet does not dwell upon the sins and punishments of Israel which followed so close upon the first covenants, but passes on to the season of greatest prosperity, the reigns of David and Solomon, when Israel shone with all the glory of temporal prosperity, and became a kingdom mighty and prosperous (*v.* 9—14). The remainder of the history of the people now divided is, in the prophet's eye, a succession of defection and degradation marked by the erection of high places (*v.* 16), by the worship of household idols (*v.* 17), by the abominable rites of Molech (*v.* 20). And all this was followed by unholy alliances with foreign nations: Egypt (*v.* 26), Assyria (*v.* 28), Chaldæa (*v.* 29), which nations the people courted with presents and called in to their ruin (*v.* 33). Such sins were soon to meet their due punishment. As an unfaithful wife was brought before the people, convicted, cast out of her home, and stoned, so should the Lord make His people a gazing-stock to all the nations round about, deprive them of all their possessions, and of their city, and cast them forth as exiles to be spoiled and destroyed in a foreign land (*v.* 35—43).

3. *Thy birth*] The Hebrew word occurs only here and xxi. 30, *nativity*, and in xxix 14, *habitation*, marg. *birth*: it is probably connected with a word signifying to *cut* or *dig out*, and represents *origin* under the figure of *the cutting stone from a quarry*. Comp. Isai. li. 1.

thy father was an Amorite] **the** *Amorite*, a term denoting the whole people. The Amorites, being a principal branch of the Canaanites, are often taken to represent the whole stock (Gen. xv. 16; 2 K. xxi. 11).

an Hittite] There may be a covert allusion to *the daughters of Heth* which were *a grief of mind* to Rebekah, Gen. xxvi. 35. But the main idea is that the Israelites by their doings proved themselves to be very children of the idolatrous nations who once occupied the land of Canaan. In the enumeration of these nations in Deut. xx. 17, *the Hittite* and *the Amorite* staud at the head of the list. That deeds indicate paternity, comp. Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 44. Also comp. Isai. i. 10.

6. **Then I passed by thee...and I said.** Lit. "And I passed by thee...and said." The deviation from the literal rendering in this case rather diminishes than adds to the force of the picture. The first *and* might be better rendered, as it often is, *then.*

polluted] **wallowing.** The same word occurs in *v.* 22, where it is also rendered *polluted.* The root verb signifies *to tread under foot.* Hence the marg. rendering. But the form used here implies rather a reflexive action, "treading upon one's self."

blood, I said unto thee *when thou wast* in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee *when thou wast* in thy blood, Live.

† Heb. *made thee a million.*

7 I have †caused thee to multiply as the bud of the field, and thou hast increased and waxen great, and thou

† Heb. *ornament of ornaments.*

art come to †excellent ornaments: *thy* breasts are fashioned, and thine hair is grown, whereas thou *wast* naked and bare.

8 Now when I passed by thee, and looked upon thee, behold, thy time *was* the time of love; and I spread my skirt over thee, and covered thy nakedness: yea, I sware unto thee, and entered into a covenant with thee, saith the Lord GOD, and thou becamest mine.

9 Then washed I thee with water; yea, I throughly washed away thy †blood from thee, and I anointed thee with oil. † Heb. *bloods.*

10 I clothed thee also with broidered work, and shod thee with badgers' skin, and I girded thee about with fine linen, and I covered thee with silk.

11 I decked thee also with orna-

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yea, I said...Live] In the original the words are simply repeated.

in thy blood] may be connected either with *I said* or with *Live*. In the latter case, the state of blood and defilement is made the very cause of life, because it called forth the pity of Him who gave life. Hitzig supposes the one connection in the first clause, the other in the second. "And I said in thy blood, Live; yea, I said, In thy blood live." As in the Mosaic Law *blood* was especially defiling, so was it also the special instrument of purification. The Chaldee paraphrast (quoted by Rosenmüller) introduces this notion, "and the memory of my covenant with your fathers came upon me, and I revealed myself that I might redeem you, because I saw that you were afflicted in your bondage, and I said unto you, In the blood of circumcision I will pity you, and I said unto you, In the blood of the passover I will redeem you."

7. *I* **caused** *thee to multiply as the bud of the field, and thou* **didst increase** *and* **wax** *great, and thou* **didst come** *to excellent* **beauty**; *thy breasts* **were** *fashioned and thine hair* **was grown, yet wast** *thou naked and bare.*

The change of tense in the English A.V. is not according to the Hebrew, which expresses as before and after *past time*. The prophet has now arrived at the time at which the child grew up to maturity. God preserved the life of the infant which must without His help have died (*v.* 6); and now the child grew up to womanhood, but was still desolate and unprotected. This represents the sojourn in Egypt, during which the people increased, but were not bound, as a nation, to God by a covenant.

caused thee to multiply] For a moment the prophet passes from the figure to the reality. Comp. Exod. i. 7.

excellent ornaments] This cannot refer to the fair dress and jewels with which God invested the damsel when He chose her for His bride. That is described in *vv.* 10, 11. The Hebrew words=*ornament of ornaments* (marg.) have been variously rendered. See Note at end of Chapter.

whereas thou wast naked] Our translators, misled, as it seems, by the word *ornaments*, have so rendered the words as to represent the *nakedness* as passed away—but the original does not bear this out.

8. *Now when I passed by thee*] The same unnecessary change of construction is made by our translators here as in *v.* 6. Perhaps (misled by the words *ornament of ornaments*) they did not see that two visits are indicated, (1) in Egypt, *v.* 6; (2) at Mount Sinai, *v.* 8. **Then I passed by thee...and behold.**

spread my skirt over thee] Comp. Ruth iii. 9.

thou becamest mine] Ruth iv. 13, *she was his wife*, lit. "she became his." Hos. iii. 3, *thou shalt not be for another man*=thou shalt not become a man's wife. The espousal of the damsel represents God's entering into covenant with the people in the wilderness. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

9 describes the usual purifications for marriage. Comp. Ruth iii. 3; Esth. ii. 12.

10. *broidered work* (Ps. xlv. 14)...*badgers' skin*] Probably the skin of the dolphin or dugong. See note on Exod. xxv. 5.

fine linen] See notes on Gen. xli. 42 and Exod. xxv. 4.

silk] Hebr. *meshi* occurs only here and in *v.* 13. The LXX. translate it as *a garment of hair*, probably only because the threads were so fine as to resemble *hair* in this respect. The word in the Vulg. expresses fineness of texture. There can be little doubt that the word is properly represented by our word *silk*, whether for a robe, a turban, or (as gauze) for a transparent veil; but the derivation of the word *meshi* is much disputed.

ments, and I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain on thy neck.

12 And I put a jewel on thy forehead, and earrings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thine head.

13 Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; and thy raiment *was of* fine linen, and silk, and broidered work; thou didst eat fine flour, and honey, and oil: and thou wast exceeding beautiful, and thou didst prosper into a kingdom.

14 And thy renown went forth among the heathen for thy beauty: for it *was* perfect through my comeliness, which I had put upon thee, saith the Lord GOD.

15 ¶ But thou didst trust in thine own beauty, and playedst the harlot because of thy renown, and pouredst out thy fornications on every one that passed by; his it was.

16 And of thy garments thou didst take, and deckedst thy high places with divers colours, and playedst the harlot thereupon: *the like things* shall not come, neither shall it be *so*.

17 Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and of my silver, which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images †of men, and didst commit whoredom with them,

† Heb. *of a male.*

18 And tookest thy broidered garments, and coveredst them: and thou hast set mine oil and mine incense before them.

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11. *bracelets*] Gen. xxiv. 22; Num. xxxi. 50.

a chain] This was a sign of dignity, Gen. xli. 42.

12. *a jewel on thy forehead*] Lit. "a nose-ring on thy nostril." The alteration was made to accommodate the passage to modern customs. It is, however, to be observed that Jerome tells us that in his day women wore on the forehead jewels hanging down to the nose. See note on Gen. xxiv. 22, where the word here rendered *jewel* is translated *earring*, no doubt for the same reason as the change is made here, where, as *earrings* follow, another word had to be substituted.

13. *fine flour, and honey, and oil*] These were the choicest kinds of food—*fine flour and oil* constituted the *meat-offering*, Lev. ii. 1; *honey* is constantly mentioned in Scripture as a delicacy (Exod. iii. 8; Ps. lxxxi. 16), and as an offering. See note on Lev. ii. 11. Cakes made of a mixture of honey and flour were in use among the Greeks (Athenæus, XIV. p. 647).

into a kingdom] It is plain that this part of the description refers to the reigns of David and Solomon, when the kingdom of Israel (still undivided) attained its highest pitch of grandeur.

14. *perfect*] Comp. xxvii. 3, 4.

my comeliness] The comeliness was not natural, but the gift of God.

15. The prophet now describes the idolatries of the time of the Kings. The earlier offences in the time of the Judges are not noticed, that being an unsettled time. The conduct of the people after they had *prospered into a kingdom* is to be described.

because of thy renown] Thou didst make use of thy renown to court idolatrous nations. The marriages of Solomon with heathen wives, and his consequent idolatries, are a clear instance of such misuse of glory.

his it was] The Hebrew more exactly means, "his it would be," as we use *would be* to express an habitual condition. Thy beauty would be at the disposal of every passer-by.

16. In 2 K. xxiii. 7, we read of women *weaving hangings for the grove*, and curtains were constantly employed in the decoration of heathen temples. Such curtains were woven with figures representing actions of the gods or heroes (Smith's 'Dict. of Antiq.' Art. *Veil*). The famous veil of Athene is a notable instance (Aristoph. 'Eq.' 523). Such decoration of idol-temples in the Holy Land shewed how the ungrateful people were devoting the wealth and energies which Jehovah had given them to the service of those false gods, in whose worship He was especially dishonoured.

the like things shall not come, neither shall it be so] The abominations reached the very utmost—nothing will ever hereafter be so bad as these have been.

17. Some suppose that there is an allusion to the custom of bearing about tabernacles or shrines. Comp. Amos v. 26; Acts vii. 43.

18. *mine oil and mine incense*] Comp. xxiii. 41. The oil was the product of the land, the *incense* received in exchange for such produce, and so both were the gifts of Jehovah and belonged to Him. Besides, the oil and the incense prepared for the service of God were used in idol-worship. *Oil* was a special ingredient in the offerings prescribed in the service of the temple; for anointing, for lights (Exod. xxv. 6), and for the meat-offering (Exod. xxix. 40). Special directions for the preparation of the

19 My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, *wherewith* I fed thee, thou hast even set it before them for †a sweet savour: and *thus* it was, saith the Lord GOD.

† Heb. *a savour of rest.*

20 Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast borne unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them †to be devoured. *Is this* of thy whoredoms a small matter,

† Heb. *to devour.*

21 That thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through *the fire* for them?

22 And in all thine abominations and thy whoredoms thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, when thou wast naked and bare, *and* wast polluted in thy blood.

23 And it came to pass after all thy wickedness, (woe, woe unto thee! saith the Lord GOD;)

24 *That* thou hast also built unto thee an ‖eminent place, and hast made thee an high place in every street.

‖ Or, *brothel house.*

25 Thou hast built thy high place at every head of the way, and hast made thy beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy whoredoms.

26 Thou hast also committed fornication with the Egyptians thy neighbours, great of flesh; and hast increased thy whoredoms, to provoke me to anger.

27 Behold, therefore I have stretched out my hand over thee, and have diminished thine ordinary *food*, and delivered thee unto the will of them

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holy incense, Exod. xxx. 34. In nature-worship the worshippers were specially lavish in vegetable products like incense. The Babylonians at the annual festival of Bel consumed 1000 talents of incense (Herod. I. 183).

18, 19. Allusion is here made to some rite like the *Lectisternia*, common in later times among the Romans, in which public tables were set forth for feasts in honour of idols: Hor. I. 37. 3; Virg. 'Æneid,' VII. 109; Ovid, 'Fast.' III. 761. For *covering* of idols comp. Isai. xxx. 22.

20. 21. *borne unto me*] There is a strong emphasis on ME. The children of JEHOVAH have been devoted to *Molech*. The rites of Molech or Moloch were twofold. (1) The actual sacrifice of men and children as expiatory sacrifices to false gods. (2) The passing of them through the fire by way of purification (see Num. xxxi. 23), and dedication. Probably the first is alluded to in verse 20; the two rites together in *v.* 21. It is a curious illustration of the frequency of the latter rite that it is expressed in Hebrew simply by the word *cause to pass through*, it not being thought necessary to add *the fire*, which our translators have done to make it clear to English readers. See above, Note A, ch. viii.

23—25. These verses are the summing up of what has been previously stated: the erection of high places and the idol-worship thereon, including the rites of Moloch, were the home-growth so to speak of the land of Canaan. After all this, besides these things, was the introduction of other idolatrous rites from the nations with whom Israel had intercourse—from Egypt, from Assyria, and from Chaldæa. The connection of these with *v.* 26 would be more correctly represented thus: *And it came to pass—after all thy wickedness (woe, woe unto thee, saith the Lord God)*—**after that thou didst build** *unto thee an eminent place, and* **didst make** *thee an high place in every street*—**after that thou didst build** *thy high place at the head of every way and* **didst make**...*it came to pass, that thou* **didst** *also* **commit** *fornication*, &c.

24. *an eminent place*] Lit. "an arched building." Such places were used as brothels, and so the word is used for a place of idol-worship, pursuing the same metaphor as is employed throughout the chapter.

26. *the Egyptians...great of flesh*] Egyptian idolatry, a worship of the powers of nature, was eminently sensual. The idolatry here spoken of is not so much that which Israel brought with them from Egypt, though the calf-worship seems to shew that the remains of what they had learnt in Egypt clung to them throughout their national life, but is rather the idolatry which subsequent intercourse introduced, as in the time of Solomon and Rehoboam. See note on Exodus xxxii. 4.

27. *have diminished thine ordinary food*] Just as a husband deals with an unfaithful wife, lessening in the first instances the supply of such things as minister to her luxury—so did the Lord in consequence of her unfaithfulness cut Israel short, not giving to her the full power and strength which had been designed for her, had she remained stedfast in her allegiance.

that hate thee, the [1]daughters of the Philistines, which are ashamed of thy lewd way.

28 Thou hast played the whore also with the Assyrians, because thou wast unsatiable; yea, thou hast played the harlot with them, and yet couldest not be satisfied.

29 Thou hast moreover multiplied thy fornication in the land of Canaan unto Chaldea; and yet thou wast not satisfied herewith.

30 How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord GOD, seeing thou doest all these *things*, the work of an imperious whorish woman;

31 [1]In that thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makest thine high place in every street; and hast not been as an harlot, in that thou scornest hire;

32 *But as* a wife that committeth adultery, *which* taketh strangers instead of her husband!

33 They give gifts to all whores: but thou givest thy gifts to all thy lovers, and [†]hirest them, that they may come unto thee on every side for thy whoredom.

34 And the contrary is in thee from *other* women in thy whoredoms, whereas none followeth thee to commit whoredoms: and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given unto thee, therefore thou art contrary.

[1] Or, *cities.*

[†] Heb. *bribest.*

[1] Or, *In thy daughters is thine, &c.*

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daughters of the Philistines] The small cities are called *daughters*. See *v.* 53, and xxxii. 16, also note on *v.* 31. The Philistines have left a permanent record of their supremacy in the name of the Holy Land—Palestine. It was a peculiar shame to be subjected to so small a power as that of Philistia; but the very Philistines were ashamed of Judah's unfaithfulness, and were themselves truer to their false gods than Judah was to Jehovah.

The Philistines, occupying the southern borders of the land of Canaan, were from the first, and continued through the whole of Israel's history, thorns in the sides of the people; in the times of the judges, of Samuel, of Saul, of David, and in much later times (see Isai. xiv. 29), they were the instruments employed by the Lord to punish his disobedient people. See 2 Chro. xxviii. 18.

28. The Israelites had taken part in the idolatries of the surrounding nations. Finding little help from this, they courted the alliance, and in doing so gave themselves to the false worship, of the kingdom of Damascus, and then again, stretching further and further still, sought the friendship of the mighty Assyrian, and of his gods (2 K. xvi. 10). Idolatry, the spiritual adultery, invariably accompanied these unholy alliances, and brought with it disaster and ruin.

29. *the land of Canaan*] The word *Canaan* was originally applied to the low lands on the coast of the western sea; occupied by Phœnician colonies. It was afterwards extended to the whole land occupied by the children of Israel. The mention of the Philistines in *v.* 27 carries us back to the more restricted meaning of *the land of Canaan*. The children of Israel were brought into contact at first with heathens residing within their own borders. Then they extended their intercourse to foreign nations, trading and forming alliances with Chaldæa, and in so doing were attracted by the idolatries of those with whom they carried on commerce. The prophet wishes to depict idolatry in its worst aspect; and so, passing by all secondary motives, political or commercial, goes straight to the root of the evil,—unfaithfulness to the true Lord.

30. *weak*] Withered, wasted away; by an unusual construction, the Hebrew word for heart is feminine. Kimchi says that the heart is regarded as diminished in size, and is consequently spoken of in the fem. in consequence of its inferior nature.

31. *In that thou buildest*] This is the translation generally adopted. If for grammatical reasons (as some think) it is necessary to take the marginal rendering, *in thy daughters* must mean *in thy smaller cities or villages*. Comp. Num. xxi. 25, where *villages* is literally *daughters*. The tense in this verse should rather be the historic past, **didst build—didst make—wast not—scornedst.**

hast not been as an harlot, in that thou scornest hire] The false wife is worse than the harlot in that she does gratuitously what the harlot does for hire.

33. The picture is heightened by the contrast between one who as a prostitute receives hire for her shame, and one who as a wife is so utterly abandoned as to bestow her husband's goods to purchase her own dishonour. The conduct of Ahaz in purchasing aid from the king of Assyria with the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord (2 K. xvi. 8) is an exact illustration, and may perhaps be referred to in this very passage.

35 ¶ Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of the LORD:

36 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thy filthiness was poured out, and thy nakedness discovered through thy whoredoms with thy lovers, and with all the idols of thy abominations, and by the blood of thy children, which thou didst give unto them;

37 Behold, therefore I will gather all thy lovers, with whom thou hast taken pleasure, and all *them* that thou hast loved, with all *them* that thou hast hated; I will even gather them round about against thee, and will discover thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness.

† Heb. *with judgments of.*

38 And I will judge thee, †as women that break wedlock and shed blood are judged; and I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy.

39 And I will also give thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thine eminent place, and shall break down thy high places: they shall strip thee also of thy clothes, and shall take †thy fair jewels, and leave thee naked and bare.

† Heb. *instruments of thine ornament.*

40 They shall also bring up a company against thee, and they shall stone thee with stones, and thrust thee through with their swords.

41 And they shall [a] burn thine houses with fire, and execute judgments upon thee in the sight of many women: and I will cause thee to cease from playing the harlot, and thou also shalt give no hire any more.

[a] 2 Kin. 25. 9. Jer. 52. 13.

42 So will I make my fury toward thee to rest, and my jealousy shall depart from thee, and I will be quiet, and will be no more angry.

43 Because thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, but hast fretted me in all these *things;* behold, therefore I also will recompense thy way upon *thine* head, saith the Lord GOD: and thou shalt not commit this lewdness above all thine abominations.

35—43. The punishment of Judah is represented by the same figure as her sin. She has been portrayed as an adulteress, and a murderess. She is now represented as undergoing the punishment adjudged to an adulteress and murderess. The scene is a court of justice, before which the Lord Himself appears to arraign the guilty woman. There are present those who are now her lovers, and those whom she has loved and deserted (the idolatrous nations with whom Judah has had guilty intercourse), to witness, to share, or to exult in her disgrace. In proportion to her former honour, shall be her present shame. As a woman suspected of infidelity to her husband had her head uncovered, by way of disgrace, so this convicted adulteress shall be stripped bare, exposed to utter shame, shall be stoned and slain, and her house shall be made desolate. Only in her utter destruction shall the wrath of the Lord, the jealous God, cease.

36. *filthiness*] **brass.** The A.V. follows as usual the Rabbinical interpretation. The Hebrew (*nehusht*) is literally "brass," 2 K. xviii. 4. Brass here is money, *poured out*, that is, lavished. The Hebrews generally speak of money as *gold* (Isai. xlvi. 6), but brass coins were not unknown (Matt. x. 9; Mark xii. 41). Ezekiel may here have put *brass* for *gold* in order to give a contemptuous form to the expression (Isai. i. 22—25, xlviii. 10).

the blood of thy children] Comp. *v.* 20; Jer. ii. 34.

38. *I will give thee blood in fury*] Rather, I will make thee a bloody sacrifice to fury and jealousy. Comp. Prov. vi. 34. By the Law of Moses, death was the penalty for murder, Exod. xxi. 12; and for adultery, Lev. xx. 10; by stoning, *v.* 40, see John viii. 5. The circumstances of the siege of Jerusalem corresponded with the punishment of the adulteress; the company gathered round her to the surrounding armies, the fury of the jealous husband to the fury of the attacking army, the stripping off of her ornaments to the rapine of the siege, the stoning to the battering-rams, the bloody death to the slaughter in the battle.

42. See on v. 13. Here, as there, the prophet is not bringing comfort, but announcing utter ruin. So, and only so, when thou shalt have been utterly destroyed, and thy habitations made desolate, will I make my fury to rest. My fury shall not rest, till thou art utterly ruined. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 61.

44. The prophet recurs to the comparison of Judah with Sodom, and with Samaria. The Jews prided themselves on being under the especial protection of Jehovah. In the downfall of their neighbours, they found only additional grounds for confidence in their own

44 ¶ Behold, every one that useth proverbs shall use *this* proverb against thee, saying, As *is* the mother, *so is* her daughter.

45 Thou *art* thy mother's daughter, that lotheth her husband and her children; and thou *art* the sister of thy sisters, which lothed their husbands and their children: your mother *was* an Hittite, and your father an Amorite.

46 And thine elder sister *is* Samaria, she and her daughters that dwell at thy left hand: and † thy younger sister, that dwelleth at thy right hand, *is* Sodom and her daughters.

† Heb. *lesser than thou.*

47 Yet hast thou not walked after their ways, nor done after their abominations: but, ‡ as *if that were* a very little *thing*, thou wast corrupted more than they in all thy ways.

‡ Or, *that was lothed as a small thing.*

48 *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, Sodom thy sister hath not done, she nor her daughters, as thou hast done, thou and thy daughters.

49 Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy.

50 And they were haughty, and committed abomination before me: therefore [b] I took them away as I saw *good*.

[b] Gen. 19. 24.

51 Neither hath Samaria committed half of thy sins; but thou hast multiplied thine abominations more than they, and hast justified thy sisters in all thine abominations which thou hast done.

52 Thou also, which hast judged thy sisters, bear thine own shame for thy sins that thou hast committed more abominable than they: they are more righteous than thou: yea, be thou confounded also, and bear thy shame, in that thou hast justified thy sisters.

53 When I shall bring again their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, then *will I bring again* the captivity of thy captives in the midst of them:

54 That thou mayest bear thine own shame, and mayest be confounded in all that thou hast done, in that thou art a comfort unto them.

55 When thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, shall return to their former estate, and Samaria and her daughters shall return to their former estate, then thou and thy daughters shall return to your former estate.

56 For thy sister Sodom was not † mentioned by thy mouth in the day of thy † pride,

† Heb. *for a report, or, hearing.*

† Heb. *prides, or, excellencies.*

57 Before thy wickedness was discovered, as at the time of *thy* reproach

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security. Sodom was the type of a land accursed, in contrast to Canaan a land blessed, of the Lord. And, as the neighbouring kingdom of the ten tribes had been continually at war with Judah, Judah saw in their extermination a cause for rejoicing, rather than warning. Ezekiel now in severe rebuke places all on an equality. Alike have been their sins, except that Judah has had the preeminence in guilt. Alike shall be their punishment.

46. The temple looked to the east. So Samaria lay to the left, and Sodom to the right hand.

47. *hast thou not walked after their ways*] Thou hast adopted even worse courses. Comp. v. 6, 7.

50. *as I saw good*] The word *good* is not in the original, and would be better away. The *seeing* is that mentioned in Gen. xviii. 21. *God saw and punished.*

51. *justified thy sisters*] Made them appear just in comparison with thee.

53. This is not a promise of restoration, but a denunciation of hopeless ruin. When Sodom shall be rebuilt and shall flourish, when Samaria shall be again a mighty people, then, but not till then, shall Jerusalem be restored.

54. *thou art a comfort unto them*] The degradation of Judah would be a kind of consolation to others, who welcomed the ruin of one, who formerly prided herself on her immunity. Comp. Isa. xiv.

56. *was not mentioned by thy mouth*] Was held in utter contempt as unworthy of mention or regard.

of the daughters of †Syria, and all *that* *are* round about her, the daughters of the Philistines, which ‡despise thee round about.

† Heb. *Aram.*

‡ Or, *abhor.*

58 Thou hast †borne thy lewdness and thine abominations, saith the LORD.

† Heb. *borne them.*

59 For thus saith the Lord GOD; I will even deal with thee as thou hast done, which hast despised the oath in breaking the covenant.

60 ¶ Nevertheless I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant.

61 Then thou shalt remember thy ways, and be ashamed, when thou shalt receive thy sisters, thine elder and thy younger: and I will give them unto thee for ᶜdaughters, but not by thy covenant.

ᶜ Gal. 4. 26.

62 And I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD:

63 That thou mayest remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord GOD.

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57. *at the time of thy reproach of the daughters of Syria*] Rather, **the** *reproach*. In his march towards Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar attacked and overthrew Damascus and other Syrian towns. The Syrians had been of old foes to the kingdom of Judah (2 K. xv. 37), and so also had the Philistines; and at the first overthrow of their enemies the Jews proudly exulted, not foreseeing that this was but a precursor of that ruin which should *discover* their own *wickedness*.

60. The promise of restoration must almost have sounded as strangely as the threat of punishment, including as it did those whom Judah specially hated and despised. And further, the covenant of restoration is not to be like the old covenant. Not *by thy covenant*, but *by my covenant*. The people's covenant was the pledge of obedience. That had been found ineffectual. But the covenant of God was by *promise*. Comp. Gal. iii. 17. So that here Ezekiel announces new hopes resting on a new covenant, in accordance with xi. 19, and xviii. 31. This *new covenant* is more particularly described by Jeremiah, xxxi. 31 foll.

NOTE on CHAP. XVI. 7.

Ornament of ornaments. Heb. (עֲדִי עֲדָיִים). The word עֲדִי is commonly used in Scripture either for the whole dress whether of men or women, or for special articles worn for ornament, jewels and the like, Exod. xxxiii. 4; 2 S. i. 24; Isai. xlix. 18; Jer. ii. 32; Ezek. vii. 20, xvi. 11, xxiii. 40, being probably derived from a verb עָדָה = put on. There are, however, two passages where some have thought it to bear a different meaning, Ps. xxxii. 9 (LXX. σιαγόνας, *cheeks*), ciii. 5, in both which our translators have rendered it *mouth*, but more probably it there also means adornment. See Note on Ps. xxxii. 9. It has been thought to mean "time of age." (See note on Ps. ciii. 5.) (1) Hitzig finds in the meaning *mouth* the explanation of our passage. He takes the עֲדִי in its usual sense of *ornament*, and עֲדָיִים (which, he observes, is a dual form) for the *two cheeks* or *face*. The clause, according to this view, would mean "thou didst come to that beauty of face which discovers itself when a maiden grows to maturity." Fürst ('Heb. Lex.' sub voce) remarks that this gives excellent sense, but has no support from the usage of the word. Hitzig refers to the Arabic خَدّ, cheek. (2) Gesenius compares the Heb. עַד = progress of time, and takes עֲדִי to be equivalent to *youth*. (3) Aben-Ezra conceives that as the mind is called *glory—Awake up, my glory*, Ps. lvii. 8—so it may here be called *ornament*, as equivalent to *mind*, and the phrase mean "thou didst come to the *glory of intelligence*." The last of these interpretations is farfetched. There is nothing to guide the reader to understand by *ornament of ornaments* the "mind," or "intelligence." The second, which is adopted by Hävernick, has not more, in the way of examples of usage, to support it than the first, and the first seems to give by far the clearest sense. The seer is contemplating only outward conditions, and describing the change of bodily form and appearance. The dual form of עֲדָיִים is also in favour of the cheeks being here spoken of; and we must remember that although עֲדִי occurs often for *ornament*, עֲדָיִים itself occurs only here. In Hebrew nothing is more common than a play upon words, and this perhaps may account for the phrase עֲדִי עֲדָיִים, lit. *ornament of cheeks* = beauty of face.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Under the parable of two eagles and a vine,* 11 *is shewed God's judgment upon Jerusalem for revolting from Babylon to Egypt.* 22 *God promiseth to plant the cedar of the gospel.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, put forth a riddle, and speak a parable unto the house of Israel;

3 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; A great eagle with great wings, longwinged, full of feathers, which had †divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar:

† Heb. *embroidering.*

4 He cropped off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffick; he set it in a city of merchants.

5 He took also of the seed of the land, and †planted it in a fruitful field; he placed *it* by great waters, *and* set it *as* a willow tree.

† Heb. *put it in a field of seed.*

6 And it grew, and became a spreading vine of low stature, whose branches turned toward him, and the roots thereof were under him: so it became a vine, and brought forth branches, and shot forth sprigs.

7 There was also another great eagle with great wings and many feathers: and, behold, this vine did bend her roots toward him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation.

8 It was planted in a good †soil by great waters, that it might bring forth

† Heb. *field.*

CHAP. XVII. Ezekiel, after describing by a figure the circumstances and conditions of the Jews and Zedekiah, the vassal of the Assyrian monarch, warns them of the delusive character of their hopes of help from Egypt, protests against the perfidy which must accompany such alliance, and points out that the restoration of the people of God will be effected under a very different prince from Zedekiah. There will indeed in future times be deliverance, and a free and mighty kingdom governed by a son of David, under whose shadow all the inhabitants will gather themselves as subjects. The close of this chapter is a most striking prediction of the kingdom of the Messiah.

3. *A great eagle...*] Lit. "The great eagle," to denote that it is the greatest of eagles, probably the Golden Eagle, whose plumage has that variety of colour here depicted. The *eagle* (the king of birds) is a natural representative of monarchs (comp. Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22) and was, as the sculptures shew, an Assyrian emblem.

with great wings, longwinged] Lit. "great of wing, long of pinion," because he has swept victoriously over widely distant lands,—of *divers colours*, because his subjects are of various races and tongues. (Kliefoth.)

came unto Lebanon] Jerusalem is here called *Lebanon* because Lebanon is the proper home of the cedar. The *topshoot* here is Jeconiah, the rightful king of Jerusalem, the *young twigs* his children and the princes carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon.

the highest branch] The original word is peculiar to Ezekiel, occurring here and *v.* 22, and in xxxi. 3, 10, 14; in which three places it is rendered *top*. It is derived from a word signifying "wool," and means the feathery topshoot of a cedar. It would be better to substitute **topshoot** here and in *v.* 4 **head** for *top*.

4. *a land of traffick*] The land of Babylon, which was now the centre of all commerce.

5. *He took also of the seed of the land*] Zedekiah the king's uncle, not a Babylonian satrap, was made king. This shoot is not planted like a cedar on the top of a mountain, but in low ground, *by great waters, like a willow tree*, to be fruitful indeed and no more. See *v.* 14.

6. *spreading*] on the ground, not trained to a pole, that it might have no other prop than Nebuchadnezzar.

whose branches...] Rather, **in order to turn her branches unto him, and that her roots should be under him.**

7. *another great eagle*] This is the king of Egypt, mighty indeed but not like the first. The Assyrian is *the great eagle*. The second has no *pinions* or *divers colours* like the first.

by the furrows] Rather, **from** *the furrows*, to be connected with *did bend* and *shot forth*.

of her plantation] where she was planted. See *v.* 10. From the furrows, where it was planted to bring forth fruit for another, it shot forth its roots to him *that he might water it*. Zedekiah was courting the favour of Egypt while he owed his very position to the bounty of Assyria.

8. Here the *vine* is contrasted with the *cedar* as less majestic; but elsewhere Judah is compared to a *vine*, as fruitful and blessed: Isai. v.; Ps. lxxx. 8 foll., where observe (*v.* 10) the branches of the *vine* are as *goodly cedars*.

branches, and that it might bear fruit, that it might be a goodly vine.

9 Say thou, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Shall it prosper? shall he not pull up the roots thereof, and cut off the fruit thereof, that it wither? it shall wither in all the leaves of her spring, even without great power or many people to pluck it up by the roots thereof.

10 Yea, behold, *being* planted, shall it prosper? shall it not utterly wither, when the east wind toucheth it? it shall wither in the furrows where it grew.

11 ¶ Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

12 Say now to the rebellious house, Know ye not what these *things mean?* tell *them*, Behold, the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof, and the princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon;

13 And hath taken of the king's seed, and made a covenant with him, and hath †taken an oath of him: he hath also taken the mighty of the land:

14 That the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, †*but* that by keeping of his covenant it might stand.

15 But he rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such *things?* or shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?

16 *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely in the place *where* the king *dwelleth* that made him king, whose oath he despised, and whose covenant he brake, *even* with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die.

17 Neither shall Pharaoh with *his* mighty army and great company make for him in the war, by casting up mounts, and building forts, to cut off many persons:

18 Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, when, lo, he had given his hand, and hath done all these *things*, he shall not escape.

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; *As* I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.

20 And I will [a]spread my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespass that he hath trespassed against me.

21 And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the sword, and they that remain shall be scattered toward all winds: and ye shall know that I the LORD have spoken *it*.

22 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set *it;* I will

[a] chap. 12. 13. & 32. 3.

† Heb. *brought him to an oath.*

† Heb. *to keep his covenant, to stand to it.*

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9. *all the leaves of her spring*] Rather, *all the leaves of her* **growth**, which is probably what the translators meant. The original word (*tsemah*) is rendered *that which grew* (the growth) Gen. xix. 25, *where it grew* (of its *growth*) in *v.* 10, the *springing* Ps. lxv. 10 (Prayer-Book Version *increase*), *branch* Jer. xxiii. 5, *bud* ch. xvi. 7.

...to pluck it up] The word rather means "to lift up," so in *v.* 14. Translate thus; **and not with great power or with much people is it to be raised up from its roots again.** Comp. *v.* 17. See Note at end of the Chapter.

17. *by casting up*] Lit. "in the casting up." *To cast up mounds and build forts* was the business not of the relieving but of the besieging host. See iv. 2. The better translation is that pointed out by Luther, **when men cast up mounts and build forts to destroy many persons.**

22. *I will also*] There is a contrast between the dealings of Nebuchadnezzar and of Jehovah. Nebuchadnezzar *cut off*, Jehovah will *set up* the topshoot; Nebuchadnezzar *carried it into a land of traffic*, Jehovah will *plant it in the mountain of the height of Israel.* Nebuchadnezzar set his favourite as a *vine, lowly* though not poor, in the place where such trees as the humble *willow* grow and thrive. Jehovah's favourite is like the *lofty cedar, eminent upon a high mountain.*

the highest branch of the high cedar] (*v.* 3 and 22), the rightful representative of the royal

crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant *it* upon an high mountain and eminent:

23 In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar: and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing; in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they dwell.

24 And all the trees of the field shall know that I the LORD have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish: I the LORD have spoken and have done *it*.

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nouse of David, not Jeconiah or Zerubbabel but the Messiah.

tender one] So Isai. liii., of the Messiah. Rosenmüller points out that the most ancient and learned Jewish commentators interpreted this prophecy of the Messiah, naming the Chaldæan Paraphrast, Rashi, Abendana, Abarbanel. This prophecy rests upon Isai. xi. 1, where the Messiah is foretold as *a rod out of the stem of Jesse, a branch* that *shall grow out of his roots*. Compare also the 10th verse of the same chapter, where the gathering of nations around this ensign is emphatically described.

23. *In the mountain of the height of Israel*] The parallel passage, xx. 40, adds *in mine holy mountain*, pointing to the mountain on which the temple stood. But it is not here the actual Mount Moriah so much as the kingdom of which that mountain was the representative, the seat of the throne of the anointed Son of God, Ps. ii. 6; comp. below, xl. 2.

all fowl of every wing (of every kind) are those who flock from all lands to this kingdom (Matt. xiii. 32): the *fruit* and the *shadow* are the blessings which they receive.

"The single aim of the prophet here is to remove the offence arising from the humiliation, present or to come, of the line of David, and therein of the kingdom of God. Therefore he brings prominently forward the future exaltation of the king; and he furnishes us thereby with hope, encouragement, and consolation, at such times as we see the Church of Christ in like depression. Calvin says:—'Hence we are taught to hope better of the Church than appearances warrant.' When we see the Gospel creeping as it were upon the earth, let us remember this passage. The kingdom of Christ alone has been so established by God that it shall stand fast as the sun and moon; the kingdoms of the world with their glories shall pass away, they shall fall to the earth, though their heads be now lifted above the clouds." Hengstenberg, 'Christol.' in loco.

24. *the trees of the field* are the kingdoms of the world as contrasted with the kingdom of God. The truth here enunciated is a general one. *I bring down, I exalt, I make to flourish, I the Lord both speak and do.* "These last words point out that what may seem to the outward senses a mere dream, yea, the wildest of dreams, becomes, by virtue of Him who promises it, the greatest reality. It is God who gives the promise, it is 'God who fulfils it." Hengst. 'Christol.'

NOTE on CHAP. XVII. 9.

לְמִשָּׂאוֹת. Kimchi considered this to be a verbal noun. (Comp. מַשָּׂאָה, Isai. xxx. 27.) In this case it must be equivalent to the Latin gerund *ad tollendum* dependent upon the preceding words. Kimchi takes the root נָשָׂא in the sense of *lift* (*i.e. tear*) up. So the LXX. τοῦ ἐκσπᾶσαι and the Vulg. *ut everteret*, which our A. V. follows. It is more probable that מַשָּׂאוֹת is an infinitive verb (Gesenius says it is an Aramaic form of the infin. Kal with the fem. termination added as in verbs ל״ה). And this suits the view that the sentence is an independent statement. The root נָשָׂא may bear the meaning of *lift* for the purpose of exaltation (Isai. v. 26), especially in Piel (Esther iii. 1). This latter view is that adopted in the note on this passage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *God reproveth the unjust parable of sour grapes.* 5 *He sheweth how he dealeth with a just father:* 10 *with a wicked son of a just father:* 14 *with a just son of a wicked father:* 19 *with a wicked man repenting:* 24 *with a just man revolting.* 25 *He defendeth his justice,* 31 *and exhorteth to repentance.*

CHAP. XVIII. The last verse of the preceding chapter declares that God is wont to abase the lofty and to exalt those of low estate. This gives occasion for a declaration of the principle upon which these providential dispensations proceed, viz. that every individual

THE word of the LORD came unto me again, saying,

2 What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The [a] fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?

[a] Jer. 31. 29.

3 *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, ye shall not have *occasion* any more to use this proverb in Israel.

4 Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.

5 ¶ But if a man be just, and do [f] that which is [f] lawful and right,

[f] Heb. *judgment and justice.*

6 *And* hath not eaten upon the [b] mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath [b] defiled his neighbour's [d] wife, neither hath come near to [c] a menstruous woman,

[b] Lev. 18. 20. [c] Lev. 18. 19. & 20. 18. [d] Exod. 22. 21. Lev. 19. 15. & 25. 14.

7 And hath not [d] oppressed any, *but* hath restored to the debtor his [e] pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath [f] given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment;

[e] Exod. 22. 26. Deut. 24. 12. [f] Deut. 15. 7. Isai. 58. 7. Matth. 25. 35.

8 He *that* hath not given forth upon [g] usury, neither hath taken any increase, *that* hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between man and man,

[g] Exod. 22. 25. Lev. 25. 36, 37. Deut. 23. 19. Psal. 15. 5.

9 Hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments, to deal truly; he *is* just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord GOD.

10 ¶ If he beget a son *that is* a [i] robber, a shedder of blood, and [i] *that* doeth the like to *any* one of these *things*,

[i] Or, *breaker up of an house.*

11 And that doeth not any of those *duties*, but even hath eaten upon the mountains, and defiled his neighbour's wife,

[i] Or, *that doeth to his brother besides any of these.*

12 Hath oppressed the poor and needy, hath spoiled by violence, hath not restored the pledge, and hath lifted up his eyes to the idols, hath committed abomination,

13 Hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase: shall he then live? he shall not live: he hath done all these abominations; he shall surely die; his [f] blood shall be upon him.

[f] Heb. *bloods.*

14 ¶ Now, lo, *if* he beget a son, that seeth all his father's sins which he hath done, and considereth, and doeth not such like,

15 *That* hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Is-

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shall be equitably dealt with—a principle that precludes the children from either presuming on the fathers' merits or despairing on account of the fathers' guilt. A further link between the two chapters may be derived from the exemplification of this principle in the alternations of fortune and character in the later kings of Judah, from the time of Jotham downwards. This chapter is an enlargement of Jer. xxxi. 29.

2. *proverb*] Popular sayings indicated the people's mind, and shewed how opposed it was to the law of God. Comp. xii. 22.

concerning the land of Israel] Rather, as LXX. and Vulg., in *the land of Israel, i. e.* upon Israel's soil, the last place where such an heathenish saying should be expected. The saying was general among the people both in Palestine and in exile. It was the way in which they endeavoured to excuse themselves ascribing their miserable condition to anyone's fault but their own—to a blind fate such as the heathen recognized, instead of the discriminating judgment of an All-holy God. Comp. Jer. xxxi. 29.

6. *eaten upon the mountains*] Comp. xxii. 9. This *eating* was at the feast of idols, in contradiction to the law of Deut. xii. 17.

idols of the house of Israel] Idolatry was become so popular that certain idols were counted as belonging to the people of Israel, of whom Jehovah was the true God.

defiled his neighbour's wife] Comp. xxii. 11.

7. *hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge*] Comp. xxii. 7. See marg. reff.

8. *usury* is the profit exacted for the loan of money, *increase* that which is taken for goods; both are alike forbidden (Lev. xxv. 36; Deut. xxiii. 19). The placing out of capital at interest for commercial purposes is not taken into consideration at all. The case is that of money lent to a brother in distress, in which no advantage is to be taken, nor profit required. Comp. xxii. 12.

13. See on Lev. xx. 9.

rael, hath not defiled his neighbour's wife,

16 Neither hath oppressed any, [f]hath not withholden the pledge, neither hath spoiled by violence, *but* hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment,

[f] Heb. *hath not pledged the pledge*, or, *taken to pledge.*

17 *That* hath taken off his hand from the poor, *that* hath not received usury nor increase, hath executed my judgments, hath walked in my statutes; he shall not die for the iniquity of his father, he shall surely live.

18 *As for* his father, because he cruelly oppressed, spoiled his brother by violence, and did *that* which *is* not good among his people, lo, even he shall die in his iniquity.

19 ¶ Yet say ye, Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father? When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, *and* hath kept all my statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely live.

20 The soul that sinneth, it shall die. [h]The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.

[h] Deut. 24. 16. 2 Kin. 14. 6. 2 Chron. 25. 4. Jer. 31. 29.

21 But if the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die.

22 All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live.

[i] chap. 33. 11.

23 [i]Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord GOD: *and* not that he should return from his ways, and live?

24 ¶ But when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, *and* doeth according to all the abominations that the wicked *man* doeth, shall he live? All his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die.

25 ¶ Yet ye say, [k]The way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?

[k] chap. 33. 20.

26 When a righteous *man* turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them; for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die.

27 Again, when the wicked *man* turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.

28 Because he considereth, and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die.

29 Yet saith the house of Israel, The way of the Lord is not equal. O house of Israel, are not my ways equal? are not your ways unequal?

30 Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord GOD. [l]Repent, and turn [m]*yourselves* from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin.

[l] Matth. 3. 2. [m] Or, others.

31 ¶ Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a [n]new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?

[n] Jer. 32. 39. chap. 11. 19. & 36. 26.

32 For [o]I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord GOD: wherefore turn [m]*yourselves*, and live ye.

[o] chap. 33. 11. 2 Pet. 3. 9. [m] Or, others.

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19. *Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?*] Rather, "Why doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?" The question is supposed, that the answer may be given, "And if ye say, Why doth, &c., this is my reply: When the son, &c."

25. *equal*] Lit. "weighed out, balanced." Man's ways are arbitrary, God's ways are governed by a self-imposed law, which makes all consistent and harmonious.

30. *turn yourselves*] See on xiv. 6.

NOTE A, on CHAP. XVIII.

In the foregoing chapter Ezekiel anticipates in a remarkable manner some of the leading precepts of the Gospel, and we are not simply to regard this as a message of instruction given according to God's pleasure, but to connect it closely with the time and circumstances under which it was delivered. (1) Taken in conjunction with what has gone before, it contributes to the general purpose and harmony of the whole book. The prophet having given a summary of the history of God's people, and shewn how continued apostasy had brought and was bringing upon them national judgment (xvi.); and having warned king and people of the delusive character of their hopes of escape, feels it needful to guard them against attributing their calamities simply to the sins of their forefathers, and against merging individual in national responsibility. (2) The situation of the people was such as to call for and suggest such instruction. The judgments, in the approach of which they had long refused to believe, were at last making themselves too manifest to be overlooked. But the people were ready to evade the lesson which they should have learnt, by having recourse to the heathen principle of a blind fatality of retribution, which offered no means of escape either to the nation or to individuals, and so prevented consciousness of guilt and of responsibility. They had indeed a certain apparent ground to rest upon in the Second Commandment, where God declares that He *will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children;* but it was only apparent. Here God enunciates that which He declared throughout the Law, and which had been illustrated in the whole history of the people, that national sins should be followed by national judgment. See Jer. xvi. 11, 12, xxxii. 18. This did not in fact interfere with the principle that each individual should be answerable for his own conduct, and should be equitably dealt with, any more than the fact that in all times temporal consequences of the acts of a nation or of individuals extend beyond themselves and their own times. The state of exile was intended to develop this principle, and so the prophet of the captivity was led to anticipate in a remarkable manner the sublimer morality of the Gospel. See Introd. § v.

In this chapter is set forth fully the doctrine of *individual responsibility*. Already the same truth had been partially displayed with special reference to teacher and taught (iii. 18 foll.), in the deliverance of those upon whom the mark was set (ix. 4), and in the scrutiny of those who came to inquire of the Lord (xiv. 3 foll.). But here the enunciation is more systematic and complete. The question is made to rest upon the fundamental proposition, *All souls are mine*. Man is not simply to ascribe his existence to earthly parents, but to acknowledge as his Father Him who created man in His own image, and who gave and gives him the spirit of life. The relation of father to son is merged in the common relation of all (father and son alike) as sons to their Heavenly Father.

The proposition is illustrated by special examples. (1) That of *the just man*. And here the notion of justice or righteousness is enlarged from the letter to the spirit of the Law. The duties done and the sins avoided are those which are particularly noticed in the Law, and were the special duties and sins of his countrymen; but the Law is passing into the Gospel, and the duties upon which stress is laid are just those which our Lord in the vision of judgment requires of those who are to give an account to Him at the last day. Matt. xxv. 35, 36. But the contrast of the wicked and the just leads up to a further development of evangelical doctrine—repentance, and forgiveness of sins. This doctrine is based upon the love and mercifulness of God, not indeed forgotten in the Law, but more fully revealed in the Gospel (comp. John iii. 16; 1 Tim. ii. 4). If he who has been once just turns to wickedness, his previous justice shall be of no avail. On the other hand, the sinner who turns from his sin shall be welcomed and forgiven. It is out of place to inquire whether the person described as *just*, who afterwards turns to wicked ways, was only apparently and not really what he seemed. The case is put simply as it is seen in the outward action, the inner motives and principles must be left to the judgment of God. The case of the fall of one who was once righteous is put first because man is in general ready enough to recognize the worthlessness of former virtue, when one has departed from it, and God grounds upon this recognition of the law of judgment the assurance of His law of mercy. The lessons of this chapter are repeated, distinctly in xxxiii. 1—20, where the application is made (1) to the nation generally, and then (2) to the individuals composing it, with the view of awakening them to repentance.

The corollary of this doctrine is the efficacy of repentance, and the call to it is in a form characteristic of Gospel teaching. *Make you a new heart and a new spirit*. Comp. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26.

We observe, in the writings of Ezekiel, a development of the meaning of *life* and *death*. This also was closely connected with the situation of the people. In the Holy Land the sanctions of divine government were in a great degree temporal; so that the promise of *life* for *obedience*, the threatening of *death* for *disobedience*, in the books of Moses, were regarded simply as temporal and national. In their exile this could not continue in its full

extent, and the universality of the misfortune necessarily made men look deeper into the words of God. This is forcibly brought out in the foregoing chapter. We need not insist too particularly on the special meaning of the word *soul* throughout. It is well known that the original often simply denotes a *person*, but it denotes a *person* viewed as an *individual*, possessing the *life* which God breathed into man when he became *a living soul*, Gen. ii. 7. Therefore the use of the word distinguishes *personality* from *nationality*, and this in itself introduces a fresh and higher idea of *life* and *death*. It is not so much *life* and *death* in a future state, as *life* and *death* as equivalent to communion with or separation from God—that idea of life and death which was explained by our Lord in the Gospel of St John, and by St Paul in his Epistles. See especially John viii. and Rom. viii.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *A lamentation for the princes of Israel, under the parable of lions' whelps taken in a pit,* 10 *and for Jerusalem, under the parable of a wasted vine.*

MOREOVER take thou up a lamentation for the princes of Israel,

2 And say, What *is* thy mother? A lioness: she lay down among lions, she nourished her whelps among young lions.

3 And she brought up one of her whelps: it became a young lion, and it learned to catch the prey; it devoured men.

4 The nations also heard of him; he was taken in their pit, and they brought him with chains unto the land of [a] Egypt.

[a] 2 Kin. 23. 33. Jer. 22. 11.

5 Now when she saw that she had waited, *and* her hope was lost, then she took another of her whelps, *and* made him a young lion.

6 And he went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey, *and* devoured men.

7 And he knew ‖ their desolate palaces, and he laid waste their cities; and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, by the noise of his roaring.

‖ Or, *their widows.*

CHAP. XIX. A dirge or lamentation for Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin. We have seen in ch. xvii. that Ezekiel regarded Zedekiah as an interloper. It is in accordance with this view that here he passes over Jehoiakim and Zedekiah as mere creatures of Egypt and of Babylon, and recognizes Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin as the only legitimate sovereigns since the time of Josiah. But this dirge in referring to the past looks forward to the future, and warns the usurper Zedekiah of an approaching fate similar to that of the two earlier kings. (See Note A at end of Chapter.)

1. *princes of Israel*] Israel is the whole nation over which the king of Judah was the rightful sovereign. Comp. ii. 3, and iii. 1 and 7. The LXX. has "prince" and Hitzig adopts this reading, assuming with Ewald that it is a prophetic dirge over Zedekiah, who according to them is addressed throughout.

2. *thy mother*] The people represented by Judah, Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiii. 24. Jehoiachin is addressed, but since the fate of Jehoahaz is also described, it is called a dirge over the *princes*.

3. *she brought up*] At the death of Josiah *the people of the land* made Jehoahaz king (2 K. xxiii. 30).

it devoured men] alludes to the wicked courses of Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 32).

4. *The nations* (Egypt) *also heard of him*] There is an allusion to the custom, when the news arrives that a lion or other savage beast is committing mischief, of assembling on all sides to seize and slay it (Michaelis). The short reign of Jehoahaz was marked by violence and idolatry, and was closed by Pharaoh-nechoh's carrying him captive into Egypt, 2 K. xxiii. 32, 33.

5. *she took another*] Jehoiachin, who was not appointed by a foreign prince out of order, like his father Jehoiakim, but succeeded regularly with the consent of the people (2 K. xxiv. 6). The *waiting* of the people was during the absence of their rightful lord Jehoahaz, a captive in Egypt while Jehoiakim, whom they deemed an usurper, was on the throne. It was not till *Jehoiachin* succeeded, that they seemed to themselves to have a monarch of their own.

6. Jehoiachin soon shewed himself no less unworthy than Jehoahaz; he should have been a royal lion, reposing in majesty and strength; he became a ravening beast of prey. 2 K. xxiv. 9. (Comp. Horace, 'Odes,' IV. 4. 14.)

7. *he knew their desolate palaces*] Rather, *he knew* his *palaces*. He eyed with satisfaction magnificent palaces, built upon the ground, whence he had ejected the former owners.

8 Then the nations set against him on every side from the provinces, and spread their net over him: he was taken in their pit.

9 And they put him in ward [1] in chains, and brought him to the king of Babylon: they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel.

10 ¶ Thy mother *is* like a vine [1] in thy blood, planted by the waters: she was fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters.

11 And she had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule, and her stature was exalted among the thick branches, and she appeared in her height with the multitude of her branches.

12 But she was plucked up in fury, she was cast down to the ground, and the [b] east wind dried up her fruit: her [b] I. 15. strong rods were broken and withered; the fire consumed them.

13 And now she *is* planted in the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty ground.

14 And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, *which* hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod *to be* a sceptre to rule. This *is* a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation.

[1] Or, *in hooks.*

[1] Or, *in thy quietness, or, in thy likeness.*

Jehoiachin may have imitated his father in building palaces by oppression and extortion for which Jehoiakim had been reproved by Jeremiah (Jer. xxii. 15, 16). Comp. Æschyl. 'Agam.' l. 717 foll. (See Note B at end of Chapter.)

8. *Then the nations set against him*] *The nations* are here the Chaldæans; Nebuchadnezzar was the instrument in God's hands for punishing the wickedness of Jehoiachin, who in Ezekiel's time still lived a captive in Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 10 foll.).

10. *Thy mother*] Judah or Jerusalem, as above. Jehoiachin is still addressed.

vine] See xvii. 6.

in thy blood] With children of *thy blood*, *i.e.* descended from thee. The metaphor is changed. The excellency of a vine is in her fruitful branches; the glory of a mother in her noble children. For the sense in which Jeremiah is to write Jehoiachin childless, see on Jer. xxii. 30. Ezekiel here takes a general view of the king and princes of the blood royal. (See Note C at end of the Chapter.)

11. *sceptres*] Gen. xlix. 10.

the thick branches] **the clouds**; so xxxi. 3, 10, 14.

12. This is a dirge, and therefore that which is foreseen by the prophet, the capture and burning of Jerusalem, is described as already accomplished.

14. *fire is gone out*] Judg. ix. 15. Zedekiah is regarded, like Abimelech, as an usurper and the ruin of his people.

NOTE A.

This dirge is a piece of Hebrew poetry, and may be arranged thus:

What is thy mother? a lioness.
Amidst lions she lay down;
Among young lions she nourished her whelps—
She brought up one of her whelps, and it became a lion;
It learned to catch the prey,
It devoured men.
The nations heard of him;
In their pit was he taken,
And they brought him with chains into the land of Egypt—
Now when she saw that she had waited, and her hope was lost,
Then she took another of her whelps,
A young lion she made him.
He went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion,
He learned to catch the prey,
He devoured men.
He knew his palaces, and their cities he laid waste;
And the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof,
By the noise of his roaring.
There set upon him the nations round about from the provinces.
They spread over him their net,
In their pit was he taken—
They put him in ward in chains, and they brought him to the king of Babylon:
They brought him into holds,
That his voice should no more be heard on the mountains of Israel.

Thy mother is like a vine with the [children of] thy blood;
By the waters is she planted.
She was fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters,
She had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule,

Her stature was exalted among the clouds,
And she was seen in her height with the multitude of her branches,
But she was plucked up in fury; to the ground was she cast down,
And the east wind dried up her fruit;
Broken and withered were her strong rods, the fire consumed them.
And now she is planted in the wilderness,
In a dry and thirsty ground.
There is gone forth fire from the rod of her branches,
Her fruit it devoureth,
And there is not in her a strong rod to be a sceptre to rule.

In this translation the particle *and* is purposely omitted in many places because the ו has a conversive rather than a connective sense.

NOTE B. (ON *v.* 7.)

אַלְמְנוֹתָיו. The word אַלְמָנָה = *widow* (xxii. 7, and elsewhere). Of this the *plur.* is אַלְמָנוֹת (Lam. v. 3). The form here is slightly different, which is supposed by some to arise from the suffix, but in xxii. 25 we have אַלְמְנוֹתֶיהָ. The marginal rendering *widows* is in accordance with this view. It is to be observed however that the Hebrew suffix is *his* not *their*. It has been said that *his* is used for the people collectively, but *their* follows immediately, and the change from the sing. seems unnatural. Hengstenberg, who adopts this meaning, explains *knew* in the sense of *violated*. (Others, *he knew and pitied not*, Vulg. *didicit facere viduas*.) He brutally used *his widows*, *his* because widows especially belonged to the king as subjects for his protection, and to injure them was a peculiarly wanton act. In the A.V. (following Kimchi) the sense of *widows* is preserved by the word *desolate*, a substantive *palaces* being introduced, as in Isai. xiii. 22 the same word is rendered *desolate houses*. The Chaldee paraphrast, "he overthrew his palaces," having probably read וַיֵּרַע for וַיֵּדַע. Both Gesen. and Fürst consider the word here to be different from the word for *widows*, and to be connected with a root אלם *bind*, whence אוּלָם *porch*, so as to denote *palaces* or *houses* constructed by binding together the stones of which they are built.

NOTE C. (ON *v.* 10.)

בְּדָמְךָ. This word has been variously interpreted both in ancient and modern times. The LXX., *μητήρ σου ὡς ἄμπελος ὡς ἄνθοις ἐν ῥοᾷ*, seem to have read כְּרִמֹּן, "as a pomegranate flower" (which introduces a second image not very congruous with, and certainly adding no force to, the first). The Chaldee paraphrast "the people of Israel when obedient to the law was like a vine," and is supposed to have read בְּדָמוּת. Kimchi, retaining the reading of the text, says, "that it is to be interpreted as if it were דְּמוּת," and Rashi explains it, "thou art like to him whose mother is like a vine." Ewald adopts this meaning, translating it "like unto thee," the prince being addressed, "thy mother is a vine like unto thee." (Comp. xvii. 6.) But the reference to a former passage is not suitable to this dirge, and the phrase is very tame when every word should be emphatic. Two MSS. read בְּרָמְךָ, "in thy height (or glory)," but this is probably only an error of transcription ר for ד. Hävernick and Keil connect דם with דום, "be silent," and translate, as in margin, "*in thy quietness* when thou wast enjoying rest in thy native land," but *silence* is not the same as *rest*, and the qualification weakens the figure. The Vulg. *in sanguine tuo*, followed by our A.V., which Jerome explains by saying that the redness of the flowers of the vine is compared to blood. Others, again, seeing that the juice is called the *blood of the grape*, Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14, explain *in thy blood* in thy native sap and vigour, but both of these interpretations are forced. The following explanation seems better. *Blood* is equivalent to *life*. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 14. The life of the mother is in the *blood* of the son—as we say that parents and children are of the same *blood*. Comp. *of one blood*, Acts xvii. 26. The clause will then be equivalent to "Thy mother is a vine, living in *thy blood*," *i.e.* in the life of thee and of thy children. There is a departure from the original figure, which is not uncommon in Hebrew. See xvii. 6. *In thy blood* is thus parallel to *full of branches* in the next clause.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *God refuseth to be consulted by the elders of Israel.* 5 *He sheweth the story of their rebellions in Egypt,* 10 *in the wilderness,* 27 *and in the land.* 33 *He promiseth to gather them by the gospel.* 45 *Under the name of a forest he sheweth the destruction of Jerusalem.*

AND it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth *month*, the tenth *day* of the month, *that* certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire of the LORD, and sat before me.

2 Then came the word of the LORD unto me, saying,

3 Son of man, speak unto the elders of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Are ye come to inquire of me? *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will not be inquired of by you.

4 Wilt thou [1][a] judge them, son of man, wilt thou judge *them?* cause them to know the abominations of their fathers:

5 ¶ And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day when I chose Israel, and [1]lifted up mine hand unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made myself [b]known unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up mine hand unto them, saying, I *am* the LORD your God;

6 In the day *that* I lifted up mine hand unto them, to bring them forth of the land of Egypt into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which *is* the glory of all lands:

7 Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt: I *am* the LORD your God.

8 But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt: then I said, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt.

9 But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, among whom they *were*, in whose sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt.

10 ¶ Wherefore I [c]caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness.

11 And I gave them my statutes, and [1]shewed them my judgments,

1 Or, *plead for them,* [a] chap. 22. 2. & 23. 36.

1 Or, *swore:* and so ver. 6, &c. [b] Exod. 3. 8. & 4. 31.

[c] Exod. 13. 18.

1 Heb. *made them to know.*

CHAPS. XX.—XXIII. The prophecies of this section were delivered nearly a year after those of the former (viii. 1).

Another visit from the chieftains of the people. Ezekiel in reply to their inquiries sets forth their national history, the national judgment, and the hope of divine mercy. This leads up to the prediction of the kingdom of the Messiah.

1. *the elders of Israel*] *Israel.* These were as in xiv. 1, from Ezekiel's fellow-exiles, designated in general terms by the name of Israel, though more properly belonging to the kingdom of Judah. (See Introd. § VI.) The use of the word *Israel* is the more appropriate here, because in his reply the prophet refers to the history of the people from the very beginning.

3. *inquire*] See below, on *v.* 30.

4. *wilt thou judge them?*] We should rather say, Wilt thou not judge them? *i.e.* pronounce sentence upon them. Comp. xxii. 2. The repetition of the phrase is expressive of a strong desire that the act should be begun, and thus gives the force of an imperative.

5—9. The state of the children of Israel in Egypt. They were taken thither to be formed into a nation, and were warned to abstain from the idolatry of the heathen. This purpose they entirely lost sight of in Egypt, yet God spared them and brought them into another state of probation.

5. *lifted up mine hand*] *i.e.* sware, because the hand was lifted up in adjuration; so below, *v.* 23, xlvii. 14; Exod. vi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 40; Rev. x. 5.

6. *of all lands*] Lit. "to all lands," that is, glorious as compared to other lands.

8. *idols of Egypt*] Comp. Lev. xvii. 7. In the account of the children of Israel in Egypt we hear nothing of their idolatry, but these incidental notices shew them to have been addicted to it. Comp. xxiii. 3; Josh. xxiv. 14.

9. *I wrought for my name's sake*] Not for their merits, but lest it should appear to the Egyptians that Jehovah was a God who would, but could not save. Exod. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13.

10—26. 10—17 the first generation, 18—26 the second. The probation in the wilderness. The promise was forfeited by those to whom it was first conditionally made, but was renewed to their children.

11. The *statutes* were given on Mount

[d] Lev. 18. 5. Rom. 10. 5. Gal. 3. 12. [d] which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them.

12 Moreover also I gave them my [e] Exod. 20. 8. & 31. 13, &c. & 35. 2. Deut. 5. 12. [e] sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I *am* the LORD that sanctify them.

13 But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them; and [f] Exod. 16. 27. my sabbaths they greatly [f] polluted: then I said, I would pour out my [g] Numb. 14. 29. & 26. 65. fury upon them in the [g] wilderness, to consume them.

14 But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, in whose sight I brought them out.

15 Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given *them*, flowing with milk and honey, which *is* the glory of all lands;

16 Because they despised my judgments, and walked not in my statutes, but polluted my sabbaths: for their heart went after their idols.

17 Nevertheless mine eye spared them from destroying them, neither did I make an end of them in the wilderness.

18 But I said unto their children in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols:

19 I *am* the LORD your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them;

20 And hallow my sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I *am* the LORD your God.

21 Notwithstanding the children rebelled against me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments to do them, which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them; they polluted my sabbaths: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness.

22 Nevertheless I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth.

23 I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries;

24 Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols.

25 Wherefore I gave them also statutes *that were* not good, and judgments whereby they should not live;

26 And I polluted them in their

Sinai, and repeated by Moses before his death. Exod. xx. foll.; Deut. iv. 8.

12. A quotation from Exod. xxxi. 13. The sabbath was a *sign* of a peculiar people, was commemorative of the work of creation, and hallowed to the honour of Jehovah, the Covenant God. As man honoured God by keeping the sabbath holy, so by the sabbath, God *sanctified* Israel, marked them as a holy people. Therefore to profane the sabbath was to abjure their Divine Governor.

13. *my sabbaths they greatly polluted*] We have no record of the actual non-observance of the sabbatical rest in the wilderness, except at the first giving of the manna, Exod. xvi. 27; and in the case of the man who gathered sticks on the sabbath day, Num. xv. 32; but these were corrected on the spot, and the perpetual miracle of the cessation of the manna probably secured the formal observance of the day. The *pollution* of the sabbath then must have consisted in failing to make the day holy in deed as well as in name by earnest worship and true heart service.

16. At Kadesh-Barnea, Num. xiv.

18. The book of Deuteronomy contains the address to *the children* of those who perished in the wilderness. The whole history of Israel was a repetition of this course. The covenant was made with one generation, broken by them, and then renewed to the next.

23. *scatter them among the heathen*] Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. iv. 27, xxviii. 64.

25. *statutes that were not good*] Justin M. ('Trypho,' § 21) quotes this passage to

own gifts, in that they caused to pass
[a] chap. 16. 21. [a]through *the fire* all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I *am* the LORD.

27 ¶ Therefore, son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have [t]committed a trespass against me.

[t] Heb. *trespassed a trespass.*

28 *For* when I had brought them into the land, *for* the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented the provocation of their offering: there also they made their sweet savour, and poured out there their drink offerings.

29 Then [l]I said unto them, What *is* the high place whereunto ye go? And the name thereof is called Bamah unto this day.

[l] Or, *I told them what the high place was, or, Bamah.*

30 Wherefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredom after their abominations?

31 For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make your sons to pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with all your idols, even unto this day: and shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will not be inquired of by you.

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shew that "even the sabbaths were appointed as a sign on account of the iniquities of the people." Some think these *statutes* to have been those of the ceremonial law, called *not good*, because they were imperfect; others, the whole law good in itself but *not good* to them by their own fault, Rom. vii. 12. But the *judgments whereby they should not live* are those spoken of in *v.* 18, and are contrasted with the *judgments* in *vv.* 13, 21, laws other than divine, to which God gives up those whom He afflicts with judicial blindness, because they have wilfully closed their eyes, Ps. lxxxi. 12; Rom. i. 24. See next verse.

26. *caused to pass through the fire*] *The fire* is added by our translators. The word *cause to pass through* is elsewhere applied to the sacrifices of Moloch, xvi. 21, xxiii. 37; but also means to *set apart*, as the firstborn to the Lord (Exod. xiii. 12). The LXX., and perhaps the Vulg., understand the word simply in the sense of *dedication*. The literal translation is, "in their gifts, in their causing to pass." An instance of their perversion of God's laws. They were bidden to *set apart* their firstborn males to the Lord. They *caused them to pass through the fire* to Moloch, 2 K. xvii. 17, xxi. 6; comp. below, *v.* 31. The practice was learnt in Canaan, but this is an anticipation of what they would do, the persons spoken of being the generation that was to pass thither. Comp. Acts vii. 43.

27—31. The probation in the land of Canaan from their entry to the day of Ezekiel.

27. *Yet in this*] It was an aggravation of their guilt that they not only were idolaters, but defiled with their idolatry the land which was given them for their glory.

29. *Bamah*] There is here a play upon the words *Ba*—signifying "go," and *mah*, "what." *Bamah*, "What go they to?" Comp. Exod. xvi. 15.

Bamah] The Hebrew word for *high-place*. Another instance of the perversion of God's laws. When the Israelites first entered Canaan they were to set up the *tabernacle* on a *high-place*, and upon this and upon no other they were to worship Jehovah. This was *the high-place*, 1 S. ix. 12 foll.; 1 K. iii. 4. But the Israelites followed the custom of the country, and set up idol-worship on every high hill, and the word *high-place* (*Bamah*), or in the plural *high-places* (*Bamoth*), became a by-word (comp. *Bamoth Baal*, Josh. xiii. 17). Bamoth occurs on the Moabitic stone, which records the erection of high places in honour of Kamos (Chemosh). For the form of speech, 1 K. ix. 13, *And he said, What cities are these that thou hast given me, my brother? and he called them the land of Cabul* (displeasing or contemptible) *to this day*. The name *Bamah* was a brand of the divine displeasure, and a memorial of the people's guilt.

30, 31. The present state of the people. Those who came were the representatives of the whole people, though belonging to the exiles. The inquiry no doubt was as to the hope of deliverance from the Babylonians, like that which Zedekiah made of Jeremiah, through Pashur the son of Melchiah and others (Jer. xxi. 1). No answer is given as to deliverance from present danger, but God takes occasion to declare His future dealings with His people.

32—44. God's future dealings with His people: (1) in judgment, 32—38; (2) in mercy, 39—44.

32 And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone.

33 ¶ *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out, will I rule over you:

34 And I will bring you out from the people, and will gather you out of the countries wherein ye are scattered, with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out.

35 And I will bring you into the wilderness of the people, and there will I plead with you face to face.

36 Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you, saith the Lord GOD.

37 And I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into [1] the bond of the covenant:

38 And I will purge out from among you the rebels, and them that transgress against me: I will bring them forth out of the country where they sojourn, and they shall not enter into the land of Israel: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

39 As for you, O house of Israel, thus saith the Lord GOD; Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter *also*, if ye will not hearken unto me: but pollute ye my holy name no more with your gifts, and with your idols.

40 For in mine holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the Lord GOD, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them in the land, serve me: there will I accept them, and there will I require your

[1] Or, *a delivering.*

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32. The inquirers had thought that if Jerusalem were taken, and so the whole people became sojourners in a foreign land, they would be amalgamated with them and cease to be a separate nation. Perhaps in their love for idolatry they may have even desired this. But more probably they thought that this very consequence precluded the possibility of such a catastrophe. God answers them that He will still exercise His prerogative as their Governor, and will not allow them to become as the heathen, but this will only subject them to severer trial and stricter rule.

33. The expressions *with a mighty hand* and *stretched out arm* carry back the thoughts to the time of Egyptian bondage, Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, but then it was for deliverance, now for judgment *with fury poured out.*

35. *the wilderness of the people*] God will deal with His people after the Babylonish captivity, as after the Egyptian. A time of probation will follow, as then in the wilderness of Sinai, so now in the *wilderness of the nations.* The nations are those among whom they will sojourn, not the Babylonians, for it will be *after* that captivity. But the dispersion of the Jews did not cease with the return under Zerubbabel. Many remained behind, and were planted in various colonies by successive monarchs, so that in our Saviour's time they were living as a distinct people in all the principal places in the civilized world; so they live now. We may therefore conclude that this period of their probation is not over. God is yet pleading with them *face to face*, calling them personally to embrace those offers which as a nation they yet disregard.

37. *to pass under the rod*] The metaphor is from *a shepherd.* To *pass under the rod* is to be gathered into the flock, Lev. xxvii. 32; Jer. xxxiii. 13; Micah vii. 14.

the bond] Heb. *masoreth*, which by Rashi was connected with *Masora*, "tradition." Hence the marginal rendering, *delivering*, but *bond* is right. The shepherd collects the flock and separates the sheep from the goats.

38. The election of the good involves the rejection of the bad; Rom. xi. 7—11.

39. *Go ye, serve*] In strong irony. Comp. Josh. xxiv. 19, 20; also Eccles. xi. 9. In the Eng. Version the irony is continued: "Be idol-worshippers if you will, but do not pretend to serve me, and so in your very offerings do me foul dishonour." But it seems preferable to adopt another rendering: "Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, yet hereafter ye shall surely hearken unto me, and shall no more pollute my holy name, &c." In this way this verse is introductory to what follows.

40. This points to the consummation indicated by the vision of the temple.

in the mountain of the height] *Upon a very high mountain* (xl. 2). Comp. Isai. ii. 2, 3.

the house of Israel, all of them] All the separation between Israel and Judah shall cease. This points to times yet future, when in Messiah's kingdom Jews and Gentiles alike shall be gathered into one kingdom—the kingdom of Christ. Comp. Jer. xxxi.; Malachi iii.

offerings, and the [1]firstfruits of your oblations, with all your holy things.

41 I will accept you with your [2]sweet savour, when I bring you out from the people, and gather you out of the countries wherein ye have been scattered; and I will be sanctified in you before the heathen.

42 And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I shall bring you into the land of Israel, into the country *for* the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to your fathers.

43 And there shall ye remember your ways, and all your doings, wherein ye have been defiled; and ye shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils that ye have committed.

44 And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have wrought with you for my name's sake, not according to your wicked ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

45 ¶ Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

46 Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop *thy word* toward the south, and prophesy against the forest of the south field;

47 And say to the forest of the south, Hear the word of the LORD; Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north shall be burned therein.

48 And all flesh shall see that I the LORD have kindled it: it shall not be quenched.

49 Then said I, Ah Lord GOD! they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Ezekiel prophesieth against Jerusalem with a sign of sighing.* 8 *The sharp and bright sword,* 18 *against Jerusalem,* 25 *against the kingdom,* 28 *and against the Ammonites.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face toward Jerusalem, and drop *thy word* toward the holy places, and prophesy against the land of Israel,

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[1] Or, *chief.*

[2] Heb. *savour of rest.*

1 foll.; also Rom. xi. 25, 26; Rev. xi. 15. *Jerusalem* is the Church of Christ (Gal. iv. 26), into which the children of Israel shall at last be gathered, and so the prophecy shall be fulfilled (Rev. xxi. 2). Comp. also John iv. 20.

45—49. This paragraph, which in the Hebrew text, LXX. and Vulg. commences the twenty-first chapter, has been by our translators attached to the twentieth. It rather belongs to the following chapter, as it contains a prophecy delivered in a form which is there explained. It may, however, be regarded as a link between the foregoing and following prophecies, being a general introduction to *seven* words of judgment about to be pronounced in development of that which has just been delivered (Kliefoth).

46. There are three Hebrew synonyms, which in English we must render by the one word *south*, denoting (1) the region on the right hand (xlvii. 1), (2) the region of midday, (3) the region of brightness. The variety of terms helps the force of the application. Ezekiel is dwelling by Chebar in the north of Babylonia, from the north the Chaldæan army is to come upon Judæa (see on i. 4).

drop thy word] Deut. xxxii. 2; Isai. lv. 10.

47. *forest of the south*] The land of Israel. See xxi. 1, 2.

all faces] A departure from the metaphor, which figures *persons* by *trees*. Some think that *face* here means *surface* (Hitzig and Schroeder): as we say, the *face* of the earth. But if the metaphor is to be kept up, *faces* must be for *trees*. Besides, in *v.* 48 we have *all flesh*, passing from the metaphor.

49. *parables*] Comp. xvii. 2. The meaning of the prophet was clear enough, if those whom he addressed had chosen to understand.

CHAP. XXI. 1—7. The first word of judgment. Ezekiel begins by pointing the application of his words to the people of Israel, shews the universality of the coming destructions, and indicates by an outward sign (that of *sighing*) the sadness of the calamity.

1, 2. Comparing these verses with xx. 45, 46, we observe that words and order of words are identical, except that for the three words translated *south*, there are substituted, (1) *Jerusalem;* (2) *the holy places*, *i.e.* the temple and its various parts; (3) *the land of Israel.* No subterfuge is left for the people to pretend misunderstanding.

3 And say to the land of Israel, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I *am* against thee, and will draw forth my sword out of his sheath, and will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked.

4 Seeing then that I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked, therefore shall my sword go forth out of his sheath against all flesh from the south to the north:

5 That all flesh may know that I the LORD have drawn forth my sword out of his sheath: it shall not return any more.

6 Sigh therefore, thou son of man, with the breaking of *thy* loins; and with bitterness sigh before their eyes.

7 And it shall be, when they say unto thee, Wherefore sighest thou? that thou shalt answer, For the tidings; because it cometh: and every heart shall melt, and all hands shall be feeble, and every spirit shall faint, and all knees [†]shall be weak *as* water: behold, it cometh, and shall be brought to pass, saith the Lord GOD.

[†] Heb. *shall go into water.*

8 ¶ Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

9 Son of man, prophesy, and say, Thus saith the LORD; Say, A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also furbished:

10 It is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furbished that it may glitter: should we then make mirth? [‡]it contemneth the rod of my son, *as* every tree.

[‡] Or, it is *the rod of my son, it despiseth every tree.*

11 And he hath given it to be furbished, that it may be handled: this sword is sharpened, and it is furbished, to give it into the hand of the slayer.

12 Cry and howl, son of man: for it shall be upon my people, it *shall be* upon all the princes of Israel: [‡]terrors by reason of the sword shall be upon

[‡] Or, *they are thrust down to the sword with my people.*

4, 5 bear the same relation to xx. 47, 48. Here, however, is a change. There is still a parable, perhaps for the reason given in Matt. xiii. 13, or because the image of the *sword* is already familiar to them (v. 1 foll.).

4. *the righteous and the wicked* take the place of *every green tree and every dry tree*, xx. 47. This is to shew the universality of the destructions: *all faces shall be burned therein* (xx. 47), *my sword shall go forth against all flesh.* The prophet is not now touching the question as to the extent to which the righteous suffer with the wicked. That, as a matter of fact, national judgment involves the innocent in the temporal ruin of the guilty, there is no doubt. The equity of God is vindicated by the ruin being only *temporal.*

from the south to the north] Simply from one end of the Holy Land to the other; beginning with the south because the seer is on the north, and therefore looks at once on the whole extent of the ruin.

6. *Sigh therefore...before their eyes*] The prophet was directed to let the people see him sigh and exhibit to them his weak and prostrate condition, as a sign of the sorrow and weakness about to come upon the people.

with the breaking of thy loins] The loins are the seat of strength (Job xl. 16). Hence the *breaking of the loins* implies the prostration of strength, Isai. xxi. 3; Ps. lxvi. 11, lxix. 23.

8—17. The second word of judgment: the glittering and destroying sword.

9. *a sword*] Comp. Deut. xxxii. 41; also above, v. 2.

10. *should we then make mirth?*] Referring to the *sighing* in *v.* 6, and the *crying* and *howling* in *v.* 12.

it contemneth the rod of my son, as every tree] The *rod* is the sceptre of dominion, assigned to Judah (Gen. xlix. 10). Comp. xxi. 11. The destroying sword of Babylon despises the sceptre of Judah; it despises every tree. Comp. xx. 47 and xxi. 4; also xvii. 24. The marginal reading supposes *rod* to be used in the sense of a chastening rod, *it is the rod of my son*, it is the rod which chastens my son, but the translation in the text is better. Other interpretations (varying according to the meanings given to *rod* and *tree*) rest upon the assumption that *rod* is the subject of the verb *contemneth*, as, for instance, *the rod of my son* (the rod which corrects my people) *contemneth* (treats with scorn, utterly confounds) *every tree* (every other nation); or, the sceptre of my people *contemneth* (proudly despises) every other nation. Proud as the people are, they shall be brought to sorrow. See Note at end of Chapter.

12. *it shall be upon my people*] The sword shall press sore upon my people. Comp. 1 S. xxiv. 13, *mine hand shall not be upon thee;* and 2 S. xxiv. 17, *let thine hand be against me.*

my people: [a]smite therefore upon *thy* thigh.

13 [1]Because *it is* a trial, and what if *the sword* contemn even the rod? it shall be no *more*, saith the Lord GOD.

14 Thou therefore, son of man, prophesy, and smite *thine* [†]hands together, and let the sword be doubled the third time, the sword of the slain: it *is* the sword of the great *men that are* slain, which entereth into their privy chambers.

15 I have set the [1]point of the sword against all their gates, that *their* heart may faint, and *their* ruins be multiplied: ah! *it is* made bright, *it is* [1]wrapped up for the slaughter.

16 Go thee one way or other, *either* on the right hand, [†]*or* on the left, whithersoever thy face *is* set.

17 I will also smite mine hands together, and I will cause my fury to rest: I the LORD have said *it*.

18 ¶ The word of the LORD came unto me again, saying,

[a] Jer. 31. 19.

[1] Or, *When the trial hath been, what then? shall they not also belong to the despising rod?*

[†] Heb. *hand to hand.*

[1] Or, *glittering, or, fear.*

[1] Or, *sharpened.*

[†] Heb. *set thyself, take the left hand.*

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terrors] The Heb. word is rather to be taken as a participle of a verb *cast down*, which occurs Ps. lxxxix. 44. The marginal rendering is to be preferred.

smite therefore upon thy thigh] A token of mourning, Jer. xxxi. 19.

13. The translation in the text is scarcely intelligible, and that which is given in the margin is unsatisfactory. The Karlsruhe translator of the Bible gives the best explanation: "What horrors will not arise when the sword shall cut down without regard the ruling sceptre of Judah!" See Note at end of Chapter.

14. *Thrice doubled* to express its violence and force.

the sword of the slain] The sword whereby men are to be slain.

of the great men that are slain] Lit. "the great (man, not men), the slain." Some suppose this to mean the king, Zedekiah, but the singular adj. is often used generally, and this seems to be so here.

which entereth into their privy chambers] *enter into privy chambers* is expressed in the Hebrew by one word, *chadar*, apparently the root of *cheder*, privy chamber (viii. 12). This similarity of form led to the translation of our version. The verb probably means to "beset" or "encompass."

15. *point*] Heb. *ibchath*. The word (rendered otherwise in the margin) occurs only here. It means threatening, the threatening sword or terror; as in Gen. iii. 24, *the flaming sword*.

and their ruins be multiplied] Lit. "to the multiplication of stumblingblocks," that is, so that the causes of their fall may be more numerous. Comp. Jer. xlvi. 16, *He made many to fall, yea, one fell upon another*.

made bright] Lit. "made for a lightning-flash." Comp. Deut. xxxii. 41; Job xx. 25; Nahum iii. 3.

wrapped] Rather, "drawn," prepared to flash forth, drawn for slaughter.

16. *Go thee*] Lit. "Gather thyself up." The prophet addresses the sword, "Unite thy strength, turn thee this way or that, as is appointed."

17. The Lord smites together His hands in anger (xxii. 13), man in consternation.

9—17. This passage may be called the Lay of the Sword; it is written in the form of Hebrew poetry, with its characteristic parallelism. It may be translated and arranged as follows:—

A sword, a sword, it is sharpened and furbished,
Sharpened for sore slaughter,
Furbished for a lightning-flash;
  Shall we then make merry?
It contemneth the rod of my people,
It contemneth every tree;
It was given for furbishing to be handled,
It is sharpened and furbished to be given into the hand of the slayer;
  Cry aloud and howl, O son of man,
The sword is upon my people,
Upon all the princes of Israel,
They are given up to the sword with my people;
  Therefore smite upon thy thigh.
For it is put to the proof, and if it contemneth even the rod,
What shall not be? saith the Lord God.
And thou, son of man, prophesy and strike hand upon hand,
And let the sword be thrice doubled;
This is the sword of the slain,
The sword of the mighty slain, which presseth hard upon them,
That the heart may faint
And ruin be multiplied,
Against all their gates have I set my threatening sword,
Ah! it is prepared for a lightning-flash,
  Drawn for slaughter.
Gather thyself up, O sword, to the right or to the left,
Whithersoever thy path is determined.
I also will strike hand on hand,
And will cause my fury to abide,
  I the Lord have said it.

18—32. The third word of judgment. The king of Babylon's march upon Judæa and upon the Ammonites.

19 Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come: both twain shall come forth out of one land: and choose thou a place, choose *it* at the head of the way to the city.

20 Appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Judah in Jerusalem the defenced.

21 For the king of Babylon stood at the †parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made *his* ‖arrows bright, he consulted with †images, he looked in the liver.

22 At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint ‖‖captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint *battering* rams against the gates, to cast a mount, *and* to build a fort.

23 And it shall be unto them as a false divination in their sight, ‖to them that have sworn oaths: but he will

† Heb. *mother of the way.*

‖ Or, *knives.* † Heb. *teraphim.*

‖‖ Or, battering *rams.* † Heb. *rams.*

‖ Or, *for the oaths made unto them.*

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18. Destruction is to go forth not on Judah only, but also on the neighbouring tribes. The Ammonites had been recently invited by Zedekiah to an alliance in opposition to the Chaldæans (Jer. xxvii. 2, 3). This would only draw down destruction on both. Somewhat later Ishmael endeavoured to carry off a number of the people as exiles to the Ammonites (Jer. xli. 10); after the return from captivity the Ammonite was among the chief enemies of the Jews, Neh. iv. 3.

19. *appoint thee*] Rather, **set before thee.**

choose thou a place, choose it] Rather, "mark a spot, mark it." The word rendered *choose* means, "set a mark;" here the prophet is directed to "set a mark" as upon a map, at the head of the two roads, one leading to Jerusalem, the other to Ammon. Comp. iv. 1 foll., where in a similar way the siege is portrayed on a tile.

21. At the head of these two roads the king of Babylon is depicted as standing at the entrance of the Holy Land from the north. To his right is the road to Jerusalem, on the left that to Rabbath-Ammon: these are the two roads by one or other of which an invading army must march from Babylon to Egypt. He is meditating his campaign, taking divinations after the common fashion of the heathen.

divination] (*kesem*) the common word for any kind of superstitious omen. See Num. xxiii. 23.

he made his arrows bright] Rather, **he shook his arrows.** This mode of divination is one much in practice with the Arabians. Pocock (quoted by Rosenmüller) describes it at length. Before undertaking a journey, marrying a wife, and entering upon any important business, it was usual to place in some vessel three arrows, on one of which was written, "My God orders me;" on the other, "My God forbids me;" on the third was no inscription. These three arrows were shaken together until one came out; if it was the first, the thing was to be done; if the second, it was to be avoided; if the third, the arrows were again shaken together, until one of the arrows bearing a decided answer should come forth. This method of obtaining an omen by shaking lots together in a helmet was familiar to the ancient Greeks. See Hom. 'Il.' III. 316.

images] These were, as the margin tells us, *teraphim*, of which see an account on Gen. xxxi. 19.

he looked in the liver] It was the practice both of the Greeks and the Romans to take omens from the inspection of the entrails (especially the liver) of animals offered in sacrifice. The Romans derived this practice from the Etruscans. These Etruscans seem to have shewn their Eastern origin in various ways—their writing was from right to left—the Etrurian chiefs, from whom the young Roman nobles received instruction in the sacred sciences of divination, formed a warlike sacerdotal caste like the Chaldæans (Niebuhr's 'Rom. Hist.,' Vol. 1. Introd.).

22. *the divination for Jerusalem*] The lot which should fix the campaign to be made against Jerusalem.

to appoint battering rams] See note on iv. 2.

23. *it shall be unto them*] The Jews in their vain confidence shall look upon the hopes gathered from the divinations by the Babylonians as false and groundless.

to them that have sworn oaths] These words have been very variously interpreted. The LXX. avoids the difficulty by passing them over altogether. The Vulg.: "And he shall be as one divining in vain in their sight, and imitating the rest of sabbaths." The same Hebrew word (or nearly the same) meaning "oath" or "week" (*seven*), see Gen. xxi. 30, 31, Ewald accordingly translates, "weeks of weeks;" explaining it, "they deem that they have *weeks upon weeks*, that is, a long time before their defences can be overthrown." Rosenm., "oaths of oaths are theirs," they have the most solemn oaths sworn by God to His people, in these they trust, forgetful of the condition upon which these promises were given, a condition broken by

call to remembrance the iniquity, that they may be taken.

24 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye have made your iniquity to be remembered, in that your transgressions are discovered, so that in all your doings your sins do appear; because, *I say*, that ye are come to remembrance, ye shall be taken with the hand.

25 ¶ And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity *shall have* an end,

26 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this *shall* not *be* the same: exalt *him that is* low, and abase *him that is* high.

27 †I will overturn, overturn, overturn, it: and it shall be no *more*, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it *him*.

† Heb. *Perverted, perverted, perverted, will I make it.*

28 ¶ And thou, son of man, pro-

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their sin. The prophet speaks in general terms, but more probably the allusion is to the oaths which the Jews had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar, xvii. 18, 19. They have among them men bound by oaths. They are the sworn vassals of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore they trust he will not attack them, forgetting how imperfectly they had kept their oaths, and that Nebuchadnezzar knew this.

but he will call to remembrance the iniquity] The king of Babylon will by punishment remind them of their perjury. The general word *iniquity* is used to include not only the special offence committed in breaking their oath, but all the transgressions against God and man, which the Babylonian conqueror was to be the instrument of punishing. Vain in their eyes are his prognostications of success—there are among them men bound by solemn oaths, and he (the Babylonian king) shall call to remembrance their iniquity, that they may be taken prisoners, 2 K. xxv. 6, 7; 2 Chro. xxxvi. 17.

25. *profane*] Rather, "doomed to slaughter." The Hebrew (*chalal*) is commonly rendered *slain* or *wounded* as above, *v.* 14. Other forms of the root but not Kal have the sense of *profane*. See on xxii. 16. Probably the present translation was adopted because Zedekiah was not slain in battle, but carried captive to Babylon, 2 K. xxv. 6. We must remember, however, that in this prophecy the *sword* is used as the emblem of destruction, a destruction which was to overwhelm king and people; and all involved in this destruction are described as *slain by the sword*. Comp. Jer. xxi. 7, where it is said, *I will deliver Zedekiah...and such as are left... and he shall smite them with the edge of the sword*. The present verse seems to bring us back to *v.* 14, where the sword is called *the sword of the mighty slain*. It is therefore more forcible as well as more literal to suppose that the prophet, turning from the general crowd to Zedekiah himself, should address him.

when iniquity shall have an end] Lit. "at the time of the iniquity of the end," at the time when iniquity shall be closed with punishment.

26. The diadem shall be removed, and the crown taken off (this shall not be as it is), the low exalted, and the high abased. *Remove, take off, exalt, abase.* All these are in the original infinitives. Infinitives are sometimes to be translated by imperatives, as in our version, but here the sense seems rather to point to another usage of the infinitive, according to which it declares an action without defining the agent or time. (There shall be) a removing of the diadem. The word for "diadem" occurs here and in the Pentateuch (*e.g.* Exod. xxviii. 4), where it it is always *the mitre*, the peculiar head-dress of the high priest. So it must be understood here—Glory shall be removed alike from priest and king.

this shall not be the same] Lit. "this shall not be this," the present glory and power attached to the government of God's people shall be quite removed, all shall be other than it is.

27. *it shall be no more*] In *v.* 26 it was "this shall not be this," here "this also shall not be;" and as the former phrase means, the present state shall be overturned, so the phrase here means, the present state of things shall not continue: all shall be confusion *until He come whose right it is*, or lit. "whose is the right" or the judgment, He to whom the dominion belongs of right. Ezekiel has throughout viewed Zedekiah as an usurper.—Jeconiah and his descendants were the rightful heirs of David's throne.—Through the restoration of the true line was there hope for Judah (comp. Gen. xlix. 10), the promised King in whom all power shall rest—the Son of David—Messiah the Prince. Comp. Zech. vi. 12, 13. Thus the prophecy of destruction ends for Judah in the promise of restoration as before, ch. xx.

28. The seer now turns to the Ammonite. The burden of the Song of the Sword is again taken up, directed now against the

phesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning the Ammonites, and concerning their reproach; even say thou, The sword, the sword *is* drawn: for the slaughter *it is* furbished, to consume because of the glittering:

29 Whiles they see vanity unto thee, whiles they divine a lie unto thee, to bring thee upon the necks of *them that are* slain, of the wicked, whose day is come, when their iniquity *shall have* an end.

‖ Or, *Cause* it *to return.*

30 ‖ Shall I cause *it* to return into his sheath? I will judge thee in the place where thou wast created, in the land of thy nativity.

31 And I will pour out mine indignation upon thee, I will blow against thee in the fire of my wrath, and deliver thee into the hand of ‖ brutish men, *and* skilful to destroy.

‖ Or, *burning.*

32 Thou shalt be for fuel to the fire; thy blood shall be in the midst of the land; thou shalt be no *more* remembered: for I the LORD have spoken *it*.

Ammonites, who, exulting in Judah's destruction, fondly deemed that they were themselves to escape. But over them too the like doom is spoken, only with this difference that for them is no prospect of recovery. For Judah there is yet hope, for Ammon irremediable ruin.

their reproach] The scorn with which they reproach Judah, comp. Zeph. ii. 8 and below xxv. 3, 10; also Nahum iii. 19.

because of the glittering] **to glitter**, lit. "in order to glitter." In the LXX. and Vulg. the sword is here addressed. LXX., "Arise that thou mayest shine." Vulg., "that thou mayest slay and glitter."

29. The Ammonites had their false diviners, as the Jews their false prophets, to delude with vain hopes.

to bring thee upon the necks of them that are slain] To cast thee upon the heap of slaughtered men. *The necks of them that are slain* is simply a poetical expression for *the slain*, perhaps because the corpses were headless.

when their iniquity shall have an end] Not when their iniquity shall cease by the substitution of righteousness, but when their iniquity shall have its final doom.

30. *Shall I cause it to return...*] **Back to its sheath.** The verb is to be taken as imperative. Let the sword return back to its sheath. Its work is over. Here ends the stanza of the Lay of the Sword, which, like the other part, is in the form of poetry:

The sword, the sword is drawn;
It is furbished to slay,
To consume, to flash forth,
In spite of thy false visions and lying divinations,
To give thee over to the heaps of the slain,
Of the wicked whose day is come, the time for the close of their iniquity.
Back, back to thy sheath.

The prophet in the name of Jehovah now turns to address the Ammonites and reverts to the metaphor of a *consuming fire* which he had employed before, xx. 47.

31. *brutish*] The word occurs in this sense Ps. xlix. 10; Prov. xxx. 2. The same Hebrew word might also be rendered *burning*, as in margin. It is better to keep to the rendering in the text, and to suppose that at the same time the second meaning *burning* is borne in mind, as suggested by the previous use of the word *fire*.

NOTES on CHAP. XXI. 10, 13.

In *v.* 10 there is a question whether שֵׁבֶט (*rod*) is the subject or object of the participle מֹאֶסֶת (*contemneth*). The subst. שֵׁבֶט is masc. and חֶרֶב (*sword*) is femin., which might seem to settle the question, but in Hebrew the feminine which represents also the neuter gender, is sometimes used with a noun that is generally masculine. In the present case, if the *rod* be a rod of correction, it is in fact a synonym of the *sword*, and this would account for the feminine participle. But there is no need to have recourse to this explanation, it is on other grounds better to make *rod* the object of *contemneth*.

13. כִּי בֹחַן וּמָה אִם־גַּם־שֵׁבֶט מֹאֶסֶת לֹא יִהְיֶה. The difficulty here does not lie in any peculiarity in the words, but from the extremely condensed form of expression, so that there arises a variety of interpretations according to what each commentator thinks fit to supply. To examine the words one by one. בֹּחַן may be a subst. *probatio*, trial, or, more probably, a passive past of the form Pual.

used impersonally, *probatum est*, a trial is made. The *trial* may be for correction, for probation, or for justification—and the indefinite form will allow of its being applied to past, present, or future trial. Again it may either be a trial of the people or of the sword—שֵׁבֶט, מַאֶסֶת, *rod, contemning* are the same words as in *v.* 10, and admit of the same variety of explanation, only that we must adopt the same explanation in each case. לֹא יִהְיֶה, *it shall not be*, the meaning of this clause must depend upon what has gone before. Rashi considers the *trial* to refer to past calamities, and explains it thus: There has been much *trial* in the many calamities with which the people has been afflicted. *and what? if also the contemning rod* (*i.e.* the sword) be drawn out against them? *It shall not be.* The people shall cease to exist. Kimchi: For a *trial* shall the sword be drawn, the sword shall be sent to try and prove the people and win them to repentance, *and what if* the sword *contemneth the rod* (the tribe of Judah), *i.e.* passes it by and leaves it untouched—*It shall not be.* There shall then be no trial, no call to repentance.

Hävernick: There is *a trial* of God's justice, and how if the sceptre be still so haughty, it shall not stand. Kliefoth and Keil connect the two last words with the former, and explain the sentence thus: For trial is made, and what if the contemning sceptre shall not be? These are given as specimens. Nearly every modern commentator has his own separate interpretation.

The Karlsruhe translation which is adopted in the note requires אַם to be separated from מָה.

21. Lenormant, in a recent work ('La Magie chez les Chaldéens'), has shewn that the plains of Mesopotamia were originally occupied by a primitive race, to whom has been given the name of Accadians, from Akkad, a district in the northern part of the country. These Accadians had a language distinct from that of the Chaldæo-Assyrians, and they were the originators of the cuneiform character. This character originally hieroglyphic was borrowed by the Assyrians, who used it phonetically. Accadian inscriptions have been deciphered which throw light on the religion and customs of these early inhabitants of the land. The Accadian was a dead language in the time of Assurbanipal, who caused many of their documents to be transcribed and accompanied with a translation in the Assyrian language. It appears to contain idioms common to the dialects of the Tartars and the Finns, and has been pronounced as belonging to the Turanian family ('La Magie,' p. 2). For this and for other reasons the Accadians are considered to have been of the Turanian stock. The Accadian inscriptions hitherto deciphered are all concerned with magical incantations, which prove the religion of the people to have been a kind of demonology. A large tablet from the royal library of Nineveh, of which a facsimile has been published by Sir Henry Rawlinson ('Cuneiform Inscriptions of Asia,' pl. 17 and 18), gives a series of twenty-eight formulæ of deprecatory incantations against evil spirits, the effects of divination, the diseases and the principal calamities of the human race. The Accadians peopled the universe with spirits good and evil—commerce with the good spirits was the legitimate exercise of their religion, and to avert the influence of the evil a main end of their devotion; while bad men were led to seek commerce with the evil spirits in order to obtain power over and do hurt to other men. Hence the black arts of magic and sorcery were prevalent among the Accadians, and we find among their inscriptions special imprecations against charmers, sorcerers and sorceresses (p. 54).

Besides this the Accadians and the Assyrians after them made great use of talismans, and there is an Accadian formula to be recited over one of such talismans to keep out evil spirits from every corner of the house (p. 41). These talismans were of various kinds. There were ribbons with certain words written upon them to be worn as a charm. There were amulets of various materials worn as a preservative against demons, diseases, or bad fortune (p. 43). The well-known passage in Ezekiel, xiii. 17—23, seems to point to such divinations as practised by the prophet's countrywomen, who had caught the infection from those among whom they sojourned.

Parallel to and in many respects resembling these Accadian rites is the ancient Median Magism—the product of a primitive Medic race overcome by the Iranian invaders. Although the Iranians were entirely opposed to the religious system of the aborigines, yet the old superstitions clung to the soil, and in a modified form were adopted by the conquerors (p. 192). Thus we find recorded, as in use among the Medes, the divining rod, the foretelling of future events by throwing together sticks of the tamarisk. The very use of the "barcema" (see viii. 17) is supposed to have been the relic of a primitive rite adopted by the Persians from a religious system to which they were violently opposed (p. 213).

In the same way among the Chaldæans the old superstitions lingered, and we find Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldæan king, depicted by Ezekiel as using the rites of divination that really belonged to the Accadian race, (1) the divination by arrows or wands, (2) the talismanic images or amulets, (3) the inspection of the liver.

This last furnishes us with an interesting link between the Chaldæans and another ancient race whose origin has long been a matter of doubt.

Lenormant has shewn that the Accadian

language is of the Turanian family, akin to the Finnish and the Basque ('La Magie,' ch.vi.), and has traced the connection between the Finnish Kaliwa and the Accadian "region of light" (p. 230).

The Rev. I. Taylor, in his 'Etruscan Researches,' has traced the Finnish origin of the Etruscans; and in a paper recently read before the Victoria Institute (June, 1875) has shewn the probability of the Etruscan language being Turanian.

This passage in Ezekiel is therefore very interesting, since it shews a characteristic mode of divination in use among two distant nations, which on other grounds have been thought to be of the same (the Turanian) stock.

It is also remarkable, that as the Romans undoubtedly acquired their divination from the conquered Etruscans, so the Chaldæans are seen, from what has been said, to have acquired the same art from the races whose soil they had occupied as conquerors.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *A catalogue of sins in Jerusalem.* 13 *God will burn them as dross in his furnace.* 23 *The general corruption of prophets, priests, princes, and people.*

MOREOVER the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Now, thou son of man, [a]wilt thou [‖]judge, wilt thou judge the [‖]bloody city? yea, thou shalt [‖]shew her all her abominations.

3 Then say thou, Thus saith the Lord GOD, The city sheddeth blood in the midst of it, that her time may come, and maketh idols against herself to defile herself.

4 Thou art become guilty in thy blood that thou hast [b]shed; and hast defiled thyself in thine idols which thou hast made; and thou hast caused thy days to draw near, and art come *even* unto thy years: therefore have I made thee a reproach unto the heathen, and a mocking to all countries.

5 *Those that be* near, and *those that be* far from thee, shall mock thee, *which art* [†]infamous *and* much vexed.

6 Behold, the princes of Israel, every one were in thee to their [‖]power to shed blood.

7 In thee have they set light by father and mother: in the midst of thee have they dealt by [‖]oppression with the stranger: in thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow.

8 Thou hast despised mine holy things, and hast profaned my sabbaths.

[a] chap. 20. 4. & 23. 36.
[‖] Or, *plead for.*
[‖] Heb. *city of bloods.*
[‖] Heb. *make her know.*
[b] 2 Kin. 21. 16.
[†] Heb. *polluted of name, much in vexation.*
[‖] Heb. *arm.*
[‖] Or, *deceit.*

CHAP. XXII. 1—16. The fourth word of judgment. The sins which have brought ruin upon Jerusalem. In this catalogue of sins special reference is made to Lev. xviii. and this because the sins there mentioned were especially those which disgraced the heathen inhabitants of Canaan, whom the Israelites were to cast out. The very fact of the commission of like sins would insure like judgment.

2. *wilt thou judge*] Not *plead for*, as in marg., but as above, xx. 4 and xxiii. 36.

4. *thy days* of judgment, *thy years* of visitation; comp. xx. 25, 39.

a reproach...a mocking] Judah shall be like the Ammonites, xxi. 28.

5. *Those that be*] The countries that be.

which art] Not in the original, and better away.

infamous] Lit. "defiled in name," the term with which Judah is addressed in mockery.

much vexed] Marg. *much in vexation*, lit. "plenteous in confusion," which describes the state of perplexity into which Judah was now thrown. The same word in vii. 7 is *trouble*, in Deut. vii. 23 *destruction;* in Zech. xiv. 13 applied to the condition of the city. Comp. Ezra iv. 12. Countries near and afar off shall mock thee, saying, Ah defiled in name, Ah full of turbulence!

6. **Behold the princes of Israel, each according to his might** (lit. "arm") **have been in thee in order to shed blood.** All the princes looked to might not right, and each in proportion to his strength was guilty of violence and bloodshed. The verb *have been* is in the same tense as *have set* and *have dealt*, implying an abiding condition. *Shedding of blood* is a continual reproach of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Comp. ix. 9, xvi. 38, xxiii. 37, 45.

8. Comp. v. 11; also xxiii. 38.

9 In thee are [1]men that carry tales to shed blood: and in thee they eat upon the mountains: in the midst of thee they commit lewdness.

10 In thee have they [c]discovered their fathers' nakedness: in thee have they humbled her that was [d]set apart for pollution.

11 And [1]one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's [e]wife; and [1]another hath [1]lewdly defiled his daughter in law; and another in thee hath humbled his [f]sister, his father's daughter.

12 In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord GOD.

13 ¶ Behold, therefore I have [g]smitten mine hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made, and at thy blood which hath been in the midst of thee.

14 Can thine heart endure, or can thine hands be strong, in the days that I shall deal with thee? I the LORD have spoken *it*, and will do *it*.

15 And I will scatter thee among the heathen, and disperse thee in the countries, and will consume thy filthiness out of thee.

16 And thou [1]shalt take thine inheritance in thyself in the sight of the heathen, and thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD.

17 And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, the house of Israel is to me become dross: all they *are* brass, and tin, and iron, and lead, in the midst of the furnace; they are *even* the [1]dross of silver.

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because ye are all become dross, behold, therefore I will gather you into the midst of Jerusalem.

20 [1]*As* they gather silver, and brass, and iron, and lead, and tin, into the midst of the furnace, to blow the fire upon it, to melt *it;* so will I gather *you* in mine anger and in my fury, and I will leave *you there*, and melt you.

21 Yea, I will gather you, and blow upon you in the fire of my wrath, and ye shall be melted in the midst thereof.

22 As silver is melted in the midst of the furnace, so shall ye be melted in the midst thereof; and ye shall know that I the LORD have poured out my fury upon you.

23 ¶ And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

[1] Heb. *men of slanders.*
[c] Lev. 18. 8. & 20. 11.
[d] Lev. 18. 19.
[1] Or, *every one.*
[e] Lev. 18. 20. Jer. 5. 8.
[1] Or, *every one.*
[1] Or, *by lewdness.*
[f] Lev. 18. 9.
[g] chap. 21. 17.
[1] Or, *shalt be profaned.*
[1] Heb. *drosses.*
[1] Heb. According *to the gathering.*

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9. Comp. xviii. 6.

10. Lev. xviii. 7; also xviii. 6.

11. xviii. 6; Lev. xviii. 9, 16, 20.

12. Exod. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19; also xviii. 13.

14. This was that which the *sighing*, xxi. 7, was to foreshew.

16. *thou shalt take thine inheritance*] **Thou shalt be profaned by thyself** *in the sight of the heathen.* Thou shalt by thine own fault forfeit the privileges of a holy nation. *Take thine inheritance.* (Heb. *nichalt* either from a root *nichal*, "inherit" or the Niphal of *chalal*, "profane.") There is the same ambiguity in vii. 24. The LXX. and Vulg. followed by A. V. take the former view: Instead of having thine inheritance assigned to thee by Jehovah in thine own land, thou shalt find an inheritance for thyself in a strange land in the sight of the heathen. The latter is the view of Gesen., Fürst, and most modern commentators, and suits best with the sense and with the grammar of the sentence.

18—22. The fifth word of judgment. The furnace. In the besieged city the people shall be tried and purged.

18. *dross*] Isaiah employs this metaphor (Isai. i. 25). The last prophet closes with it (Mal. iii. 3). It is often repeated (Isai. iv. 4; Jer. vi. 29; Zech. xiii. 9). The metaphor denotes not only the corruption of the people, who have become like base metal, but also a future purification whereby, the *dross* being burnt away, the remnant of good may appear. Some of the words here used are the same as those applied to Ammon, but in the case of Ammon the fire is simply that of destruction. The chosen people are subjected to trial *in hope*.

24—31. The sixth word of judgment. The special sins of princes, priests and people.

24 Son of man, say unto her, Thou *art* the land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon in the day of indignation.

25 *There is* a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they [h] have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midst thereof.

26 Her priests have [†] violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed *difference* between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.

27 Her [i] princes in the midst thereof *are* like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, *and* to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

28 And her prophets have daubed them with untempered *morter*, seeing vanity, and divining lies unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord GOD, when the LORD hath not spoken.

29 The people of the land have used [‡] oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger [†] wrongfully.

30 And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none.

31 Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *The whoredoms of Aholah and Aholibah.* 22 *Aholibah is to be plagued by her lovers.* 36 *The prophet reproveth the adulteries of them both,* 45 *and sheweth their judgments.*

THE word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, there were two women, the daughters of one mother:

3 And they committed whoredoms in Egypt; they committed whoredoms in their youth: there were their breasts

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24. *the land that is not cleansed*] Some take it as "not freed from noxious weeds," but the word is constantly used in reference to the cleansing by fire, xxiv. 13; Mal. iii. 3. The mixture of metaphors is quite in accordance with the Hebrew usage.

nor rained upon] Comp. Isai. v. 6; Amos iv. 7.

26. Jeremiah puts together *princes* and *priests* (Jer. ii. 26).

violated] Marg. *offered violence to*, which is preferable; to *violate* the law is to break it—to offer *violence* to the law is to misinterpret it. It was the special office of the priests to keep up the distinction between *holy* and *unholy*, *clean* and *unclean*, Lev. x. 10.

28. This verse refers back to xiii. 10, where see notes.

30. In Jer. xi. 14 the prophet is forbidden to make intercession for the people. The same idea is presented here in a somewhat different form. The land might be said to perish for the lack of such interpositions as saved their forefathers when Moses *stood in the gap* (Ps. cvi. 23). This was a proof of the general corruption, that there was among them no faithful servant to stand in the gap and build up the hedge. We are not so to press these words as to assert literally that there was not one righteous man in Jerusalem. Ezekiel speaks in general terms and says that there is not in the city sufficient righteousness to save it from utter destruction. Prince, prophet, priest, all fail.

CHAP. XXIII. The seventh word of judgment. The allegory of Aholah and Aholibah. This chapter closely resembles ch. xvi. Idolatry is represented by the same figure, but here there are two sisters instead of one woman. Aholah (Israel) is, however, chiefly introduced in order to heighten Aholibah's (Judah's) guilt. In xvi. there is more expostulation, appeal to God's love and mercy shewn in past time. Here the tone is that of warning and of judgment, the close of the sevenfold reply to the elders of Israel. See Jer. iii. 7, on which the allegory may have been founded.

2. *of one mother*] In xvi. the mother is an *Hittite*, to express the innate corruption of the child. Here no more is probably meant than that Israel and Judah were branches of the same stock.

3. *Egypt*] Comp. xvi. 7, xx. 8, and below, *v.* 19.

[h] Matth. 23. 14.

[†] Heb. *offered violence to.*

[i] Micah 3. 11. Zeph. 3. 3.

[‡] Or, *deceit.*

[†] Heb. *without right.*

pressed, and there they bruised the teats of their virginity.

4 And the names of them *were* Aholah the elder, and Aholibah her sister: and they were mine, and they bare sons and daughters. Thus *were* their names; Samaria *is* Aholah, and Jerusalem Aholibah.

5 And Aholah played the harlot when she was mine; and she doted on her lovers, on the Assyrians *her* neighbours,

c6 *Which were* clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men, horsemen riding upon horses.

† Heb. *bestowed her whoredoms upon them.* † Heb. *the choice of the children of Asshur.*

7 Thus she †committed her whoredoms with them, with all them *that were* †the chosen men of Assyria, and with all on whom she doted: with all their idols she defiled herself.

8 Neither left she her whoredoms *brought* from Egypt: for in her youth they lay with her, and they bruised the breasts of her virginity, and poured their whoredom upon her.

9 Wherefore I have delivered her into the hand of her lovers, into the hand of the [a]Assyrians, upon whom she doted. [a] 2 Kin. 17. 23.

10 These discovered her nakedness: they took her sons and her daughters, and slew her with the sword: and she became †famous among women; for they had executed judgment upon her. † Heb. *a name.*

11 And when her sister Aholibah saw *this*, †she was more corrupt in her inordinate love than she, and in her whoredoms †more than her sister in *her* whoredoms. † Heb. *she corrupted her inordinate love more than, &c.* † Heb. *more than the whoredoms of her sister.*

12 She doted upon the [b]Assyrians *her* neighbours, captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable young men. [b] 2 Kin. 16. 7.

13 Then I saw that she was defiled, *that* they *took* both one way,

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4. *Aholah...and Aholibah*] The more correct form of the words would be, "Oholah, Oholibah." Vulg. "Oolla, Ooliba;" so LXX. "Ohel" is the Hebrew word for "tent." "Oholah" means "her own tent or tabernacle;" "Oholibah," "my tent or tabernacle is in her:" names chosen to express that after the division Israel set up her own tabernacle in the place of the temple in which God dwelt (1 K. xii. 32), while with Judah the temple of God still remained. The presence of God aggravated Judah's sins. It is worth noticing that the name of one of Esau's Hittite wives was *Aholibamah*, "my tent is a high place" (Gen. xxxvi. 2). In the times of the captivity it was customary among the Jews to give their children names connected with the temple or tabernacle. *Obel* (1 Chro. iii. 20), "tent." *Cherub*, Ezra ii. 59. *Tabbaoth* (Ezra ii. 43), meaning *rings of the ark*, Exod. xxv. 14 (Hävern.).

5. *the Assyrians her neighbours*] *The Assyrians* **drawing nigh** (*her* is not in Heb.). In the case of Judah the Assyrians are designated *those from afar*, *v.* 40. Vulg., "the Assyrians drawing near." LXX., "the Assyrians who were drawing near." Luther, "who came unto her." Pul exacted tribute of Menahem (2 K. xv. 20). According to the Assyrian records, Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser.

6. The army of the Assyrians is described, *horsemen riding upon horses*. There were also chariots of asses and chariots of camels (Isai. xxi. 7). War-horses formed an important part in the armies of Assyria and Egypt; Israel was deficient in this respect (Isai. xxxvi. 8). See Deut. xvii. 16.—*Blue*. See Note on Exod. xxv. 4.—*Captains* as here in Isai. xxxvi. 9; Jer. li. 23. *Governors*, 1 K. x. 15, marg. *captains;* Neh. ii. 7; Ezra v. 3. *Captains:* the Hebrew word *sagan* occurs in Assyrian inscriptions under the form of *sakkanaku* in the sense of deputy lieutenant governor.

9. *her lovers*] Comp. xvi. 37. The cause which at last brought destruction on Israel was that the king of Assyria found conspiracies in Hoshea, who was intriguing with Egypt at the same time that he acknowledged himself a tributary to Assyria, 2 K. xvii. 4.

10. *famous*] **infamous** *among women*, literally, "a name to women," *i.e.* a byword among women. Comp. *v.* 48. Chaldee paraphrast, "she became a name to provinces." So Kimchi, "the report of her infamy went abroad to all women," *i.e.* all provinces.

11. The idolatries of Manasseh's reign exceeded all that had gone before either in Israel or in Judah, 2 K. xxi. 1—16; 2 Chro. xxxiii. 1—10. This was not indeed the first intercourse between Assyria and Judah. Ahaz had invited Tiglath Pileser to assist him against Rezin and Pekah, and this had led to the idolatrous act of constructing an altar after the pattern of one at Damascus, and substituting it for the brazen altar in the temple (2 K. xvi. 7, 11). This had followed close upon the subjection of the kingdom of Israel to Pul.

14 And *that* she increased her whoredoms: for when she saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion,

15 Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity:

† Heb. *at the sight of her eyes.*

16 And †as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea.

† Heb. *children of Babel.*

17 And the †Babylonians came to her into the bed of love, and they defiled her with their whoredom, and she was polluted with them, and her mind was †alienated from them.

† Heb. *loosed, or, disjointed.*

18 So she discovered her whoredoms, and discovered her nakedness: then my mind was alienated from her, like as my mind was alienated from her sister.

19 Yet she multiplied her whoredoms, in calling to remembrance the days of her youth, wherein she had played the harlot in the land of Egypt.

20 For she doted upon their paramours, whose flesh *is as* the flesh of asses, and whose issue *is like* the issue of horses.

21 Thus thou calledst to remembrance the lewdness of thy youth, in bruising thy teats by the Egyptians for the paps of thy youth.

22 ¶ Therefore, O Aholibah, thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will raise up thy lovers against thee, from whom thy mind is alienated, and I

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14. The embassy of the king of Babylon to Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 12), before Babylon obtained the supremacy which Assyria and Nineveh had enjoyed, either led to further intercourse, or was itself an indication of friendly relations between Judah and Babylon, dangerous to the preservation of the purity of religion. It seems, however, that here Ezekiel is chiefly portraying what took place after Israel's captivity—how Judah intrigued first with Assyria, then with Babylon, courting their monarchs, imitating their customs, and learning their idolatries. After the death of Hezekiah Judah never regained an independent position. Even Josiah, in his battle with Necho, was acting as a faithful vassal to Assyria, and this dependence was subsequent to the overtures first made by Judah for her own private gain, overtures which were in fact steps to her ruin.

pourtrayed upon the wall] The monuments of Nineveh recently discovered shew how the walls of its palaces were adorned with figures precisely answering to this description. These figures represented princes and kings, warriors and battles; the headdresses of the princes were high turbans, and the striking countenances and majestic appearances of the kings as thus represented accords well with Ezekiel's words, *all of them princes to look upon*. There is evidence that these sculptures were highly coloured with vermilion, or rather, red ochre. See Layard's 'Monuments of Nineveh' and Vaux's 'Nineveh and Persepolis.' The Babylonians and Assyrians were so closely connected in origin and in customs, that there can be little doubt that the magnificent palaces of Nebuchadnezzar were similarly adorned, and that the Nineveh remains faithfully represent the sculptures of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar was no less distinguished for his mighty buildings than for his vast conquests, and it is remarkable that the records of Nebuchadnezzar, hitherto deciphered, contain full particulars as to his buildings, but do not (as in the Assyrian palaces) refer to foreign conquests. These conquests are undoubted, and may be recorded in inscriptions yet to be discovered—but the prominence given to works of architecture is in accord with Dan. iv. 30. See Ménant's 'Babylone et la Chaldée,' p. 197 foll.

16. From the time of Solomon there was a constant intercourse between Jerusalem and other nations; but in Solomon's time it was an intercourse conducted either upon a footing of equality, or one in which Israel was the superior. Solomon's proceedings led the way to subsequent intercourse of a more objectionable character, just as that monarch introduced (though he did not himself practise) foreign idolatries. The sending of *messengers* is the case of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 7).

17. *the Babylonians came to her*] After Josiah's death and the usurpation of dominion by the Egyptians, the Babylonians were no doubt welcomed as friends (2 K. xxiv. 1). They were soon tired of their alliance and disgusted with their friends, and this led to the rebellion of Jehoiakim and the first captivity, 2 K. xxiv. 1; 2 Chro. xxxvi. 6; Dan. i. 1.

19. *Egypt*] See above, *v.* 3. The kings of Judah played alternately Egypt against Babylon, and Babylon against Egypt. Jehoahaz was displaced by Necho for Jehoiakim, who then turned to the Chaldæans, and afterwards

will bring them against thee on every side;

23 The Babylonians, and all the Chaldeans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Koa, *and* all the Assyrians with them: all of them desirable young men, captains and rulers, great lords and renowned, all of them riding upon horses.

24 And they shall come against thee with chariots, wagons, and wheels, and with an assembly of people, *which* shall set against thee buckler and shield and helmet round about: and I will set judgment before them, and they shall judge thee according to their judgments.

25 And I will set my jealousy against thee, and they shall deal furiously with thee: they shall take away thy nose and thine ears; and thy remnant shall fall by the sword: they shall take thy sons and thy daughters; and thy residue shall be devoured by the fire.

26 They shall also strip thee out of thy clothes, and take away thy † fair jewels.

† Heb. *instruments of thy decking.*

27 Thus will I make thy lewdness to cease from thee, and thy whoredom *brought* from the land of Egypt: so that thou shalt not lift up thine eyes unto them, nor remember Egypt any more.

28 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will deliver thee into the hand *of them* whom thou hatest, into the hand *of them* from whom thy mind is alienated:

29 And they shall deal with thee hatefully, and shall take away all thy labour, and shall leave thee naked and bare: and the nakedness of thy whoredoms shall be discovered, both thy lewdness and thy whoredoms.

30 I will do these *things* unto thee, because thou hast gone a whoring after the heathen, *and* because thou art polluted with their idols.

31 Thou hast walked in the way of thy sister; therefore will I give her cup into thine hand.

32 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Thou shalt drink of thy sister's cup deep and large: thou shalt be laughed to scorn and had in derision; it containeth much.

33 Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow, with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria.

34 Thou shalt even drink it and suck *it* out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts: for I have spoken *it*, saith the Lord GOD.

35 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast forgotten me, and cast me behind thy back, therefore bear thou also thy lewdness and thy whoredoms.

36 ¶ The LORD said moreover

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in his rebellion sought aid from Egypt. So Zedekiah was continually meditating help from Egypt, against which Jeremiah and Ezekiel were continually protesting.

23. *Pekod, and Shoa, and Koa*] Ewald takes these to be the names of small Chaldæan tribes, selected for their sound, or it may be for their resemblance to expressive Hebrew words. *Pekod* = *visitation*, applied to Babylon, Jer. l. 21. *Shoa* = *crying*, Isai. xxii. 5. *Koa* Hävernick derives from a Syriac word meaning "shriek." Vulg., "nobiles, tyrannique et principes." Luther, "captains, priests, and lords." So Keil, who says that *Pekod* means "chieftain," from *pakad*, "visit" (oversee); *Shoa*, "noble," as Isai. xxxii. 5, where it is translated *liberal*; *Koa*, "prince," relying on Vulg. The names of certain great captains may here be given, as *Jaazaniah* and *Pelatiah* (xi. 1), at the head of the priests, but as no proper names follow for the Assyrians, the rendering of the Vulg. is preferable.

24. *chariots*] The Hebrew word occurs only here, and seems rather to mean "armour" or "equipment." So the Targ. The three words would be better translated, "with armour, horsemen, and chariot."

25. *take away thy nose and thine ears*] Alluding to the barbarous custom of mutilating prisoners in the East, Dan. ii. 5. See Herod. III. 69; III. 154. An Egyptian law prescribed this punishment for an adulteress. Comp. Mart. 'Epigr.' II. 83; III. 85.

fire] is a mode of capital punishment, Jer. xxix. 22; Dan. iii.

35. The sins of Israel and Judah are now summed up to prepare the way for the judgment.

unto me; Son of man, wilt thou
[c] judge Aholah and Aholibah? yea, declare unto them their abominations;

37 That they have committed adultery, and blood *is* in their hands, and with their idols have they committed adultery, and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass for them through *the fire*, to devour *them*.

38 Moreover this they have done unto me: they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and have profaned my sabbaths.

39 For when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it; and, lo, [d] thus have they done in the midst of mine house.

40 And furthermore, that ye have sent for men [†] to come from far, unto whom a messenger *was* sent; and, lo, they came: for whom thou didst wash thyself, paintedst thy eyes, and deckedst thyself with ornaments,

41 And satest upon a [†] stately bed, and a table prepared before it, [e] whereupon thou hast set mine incense and mine oil.

42 And a voice of a multitude being at ease *was* with her: and with the men [†] of the common sort *were* brought [‖] Sabeans from the wilderness, which put bracelets upon their hands, and beautiful crowns upon their heads.

43 Then said I unto *her that was* old in adulteries, Will they now commit [†] whoredoms with her, and she *with them?*

[c] chap. 20. 4. & 22. 2.
[‖] Or, *plead for.*
[d] 2 Kin. 21. 4.
[†] Heb. *coming.*
[†] Heb. *honourable.*
[e] Prov. 7. 17.
[†] Heb. *of the multitude of men.*
[‖] Or, *drunkards.*
[†] Heb. *her whoredoms.*

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37. *blood is in their hands*] One of the chief sins of Manasseh was that he *shed innocent blood*, 2 K. xxi. 16, xxiv. 4, also below, xxiv. 6 foll.

pass for them through] xvi. 21, also xx. 26.

38. *in the same day*] the day when they made their offerings. See *v.* 39.

sabbaths] xxii. 8.

39. The mixture of the worship of Jehovah and of false gods was characteristic of the time, and was thoroughly heathen; Jehovah being placed as it were in the list of deities, not acknowledged as the One God. Idols and idol-temples were erected close to the House of God, and yet the temple-service went on (2 K. xxi. 4; Jer. xxxii. 34).

40. *ye have sent*] The figure is that of a woman decked in all her beauty, sitting at a banquet, prepared for those whom she has invited. Comp. Isai. lvii. 9. The form of the verb may be either 2nd or 3rd person plu. fem.: as in *v.* 42 we have *their*, it is better to render it "they have sent"—they—that is, Israel and Judah spoken of as two women. According to Gesen. and Ewald, the form may be sing., "thou hast sent."

messenger] See above, *v.* 16. This further offence is not one of idolatry, which has been already mentioned in its extreme forms (*vv.* 38, 39), but that of courting alliances with other powers which were not less readily made than broken.

wash thyself] The *bath* was a proper preliminary to putting on fine apparel.

paintedst] 2 K. ix. 30.

41. *bed*] Or rather, *couch*, on which persons sat at a feast.

mine incense and mine oil] See on xvi. 18.

42. *a voice of a multitude being at ease was with her*] **the *voice of* the tumult was stilled thereby.** The tumultuous cries of the invading army were stilled by these gifts. *Multitude:* lit. *tumult*, or *tumultuous cry* (1 S. iv. 14; Isai. xiii. 4); or if a *multitude*, a "tumultuous multitude."

with her] The Heb. may mean *thereby* (as Gen. xxiv. 14), *i.e.* by these gifts.

of the common sort] Heb. "of the multitude of men," a multitudinous crowd.

Sabeans] Or, *drunkards* (as in marg.), according to the Chetib. The A.V. follows the K'ri, which is less probable. LXX. "drunken;" the Vulg. omits the word. The Chaldæans were noted for their intemperance and revellings.

the wilderness] Not the Arabian desert, commonly so called, but the desert tract which the Chaldæans had to pass from the north of Mesopotamia to the Holy Land. We are to understand with Kliefoth and Keil that this verse describes the temporary effects of the alliance of Israel and Judah with the Assyrians and Babylonians. All became quiet, the allies received gifts from Israel and Judah, represented by the incense and oil, and these in turn brought riches to Palestine, represented by the *bracelets upon their* (*i.e.* Aholah's and Aholibah's) *hands*, and crowns *upon their heads*.

43. *Will they now commit...*] Rather, Now shall there be **committed her whoredom, even this.** That is, when Israel and Judah had courted these alliances God said in wrath, This sin too shall be committed, **and so** (not *yet*) *they went in;* the alliances were

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44 Yet they went in unto her, as they go in unto a woman that playeth the harlot: so went they in unto Aholah and unto Aholibah, the lewd women.

45 ¶ And the righteous men, they shall *f* judge them after the manner of adulteresses, and after the manner of women that shed blood; because they *are* adulteresses, and blood *is* in their hands.

f chap. 16. 38.

46 For thus saith the Lord GOD; I will bring up a company upon them, and will give them † to be removed and spoiled.

† Heb. *for a removing and a spoil.*

47 And the company shall stone them with stones, and ‡ dispatch them with their swords; they shall slay their sons and their daughters, and burn up their houses with fire.

‡ Or, *single them out.*

48 Thus will I cause lewdness to cease out of the land, that all women may be taught not to do after your lewdness.

49 And they shall recompense your lewdness upon you, and ye shall bear the sins of your idols: and ye shall know that I *am* the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Under the parable of a boiling pot, 6 is shewed the irrevocable destruction of Jerusalem.* 15 *By the sign of Ezekiel not mourning for the death of his wife, 19 is shewed the calamity of the Jews to be beyond all sorrow.*

AGAIN in the ninth year, in the tenth month, in the tenth *day* of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, write thee the name of the day, *even* of this same day: the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same day.

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made according to their desires, and then followed the consequent punishment. According to this view, which gives by far the clearest sense, 40—44 should be thus rendered:—*And furthermore,* **they sent** *for men to come from far, to whom a message was sent, and lo they came; for whom thou didst* **bathe** *thyself, paintedst thy eyes, and deckedst thyself with ornaments, and satest upon a stately* **couch**, *and a table prepared before it, whereupon thou* **didst set** *mine incense and mine oil,* **and the voice of tumult was stilled thereby, and to the men from the multitudes** (the Assyrians brought *from far*) *were brought* **revellers** *from* (over) the **desert**, *which put bracelets upon their hands and beautiful crowns upon their heads. Then said I to her that was* **worn out** *in adulteries,* **Now shall her whoredom come to pass, even this, and** *they went in unto her.*

45—49. The judgment to be executed by the hands of their allies.

45. *the righteous men, they*] **and righteous men, they.** The def. art. is not in the original. The allies are called *righteous,* not because they were in themselves more righteous than the men of Israel, but as the instruments of God's righteous judgments.

47. *stone them*] The legal punishment for adulteresses, Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; John viii. 5.

48. *to cease*] Not because they have repented and forsaken their sins, but because they are stricken and consumed. Comp. xxii. 15. *all women*] *i.e.* all countries.

CHAP. XXIV. Ezekiel is commissioned to announce to his fellow-exiles that the destruction of Jerusalem, which he had so long foretold, was now in course of execution, that the siege had actually begun. This he is to declare (1) by a parable—of the boiling pot, see Note at end of ch. iii. (*vv.* 1—14), (2) by a symbolical act—the abstaining from the usual outward mourning for his wife's death.

1. The prophecies in this chapter were delivered two years and five months after those of the previous section (xx. 1). The day mentioned here was the very day on which Nebuchadnezzar completed his arrangements for the siege, and closed in the city (2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4). After the captivity this day was regularly observed as a fast day—*the fast of the tenth month* (Zech. viii. 19).

2. *set himself against*] The Heb. word means rather **lay hard upon**, see Ps. lxxxviii. 7, which is inconsistent with the notion by which some have endeavoured to explain away the statement that Ezekiel knew by inspiration what was going on far away, viz., that on the day named, Nebuchadnezzar was only setting himself to make a first start on his expedition, which might have been done near Ezekiel's dwelling-place in Chaldæa. "That Ezekiel on the banks of the Chebar knew what was taking place at Jerusalem on the very day of its occurrence may be a difficulty to those expositors who deny that God can make any prophetical communication, but need not incline us to discover with them in this passage a prediction after the event." (Kliefoth.)

3 And utter a parable unto the rebellious house, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Set on a pot, set *it* on, and also pour water into it:

4 Gather the pieces thereof into it, *even* every good piece, the thigh, and the shoulder; fill *it* with the choice bones.

5 Take the choice of the flock, and
[1] Or, *heap.* [1]burn also the bones under it, *and* make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein.

6 ¶ Wherefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Woe to the bloody city, to the pot whose scum *is* therein, and whose scum is not gone out of it! bring it out piece by piece; let no lot fall upon it.

7 For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the top of a rock; she poured it not upon the ground, to cover it with dust;

8 That it might cause fury to come up to take vengeance; I have set her blood upon the top of a rock, that it should not be covered.

9 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; [a]Woe to the bloody city! I will even make the pile for fire great. [a] Nahum 3. 1. Hab. 2. 12.

10 Heap on wood, kindle the fire, consume the flesh, and spice it well, and let the bones be burned.

11 Then set it empty upon the coals thereof, that the brass of it may be hot, and may burn, and *that* the filthiness of it may be molten in it, *that* the scum of it may be consumed.

12 She hath wearied *herself* with lies, and her great scum went not

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3. *Set on a pot*] **the caldron.** The same word as in xi. 3, to which there is a reference: the def. article before *caldron* is thus to be explained—that caldron of which you talk. The prophet applies the figure in a sense quite contrary to the proverb. The inhabitants of Jerusalem used it to denote security, Ezekiel to indicate utter destruction. The caldron is the city, the fire is the surrounding army, the flesh and bones are the inhabitants shut in within the walls.

4. *the pieces thereof*] *the pieces* **that belong to it.** The pieces which are designed for the caldron, and belong to it as the inhabitants to the city. The choice pieces, *the thigh, the shoulder* (1 S. ix. 24). Ironically reminding them of their boast that they are the choice members of the community (xi. 3).

5. *burn*] Rather, as in marg., *heap*, or, "make a heap of." See Note at end of Chapter. Compare Herod. IV. 61. "When we first steamed up the river Shire, our fuel ran out in the elephant marsh where no trees exist. Coming to a spot where an elephant had been slaughtered, I at once took the bones on board, and these with the bones of a second elephant, enabled us to steam briskly up to where wood abounded. The Scythians according to Herodotus used the bones of the animal sacrificed to boil the flesh; the Guachos of South America do the same when they have no fuel, the ox thus boils himself." Livingstone's 'Last Journal,' Vol. I. p. 347.

6—14. The application of the parable (1) to the people (6—8), (2) to the city (9—14). The city is to be emptied of its inhabitants, and so made ready for the burning.

6. *scum*] **rust.** The original word occurs only here; it is connected with a word signifying to rub off, and is rendered in the LXX. "rust." Rashi, as our A. V., *scum;* but **rust** seems the better translation, not only because it is suitable to the derivation *rub off*, but also because the city represented by the pot is reproved on account of its rust remaining on it. Comp. *v.* 11; Jas. v. 3.

bring it out piece by piece] *It*, the city; used generally for the inhabitants—bring them out, one by one, clear the city of them, whether by death, exile, or captivity.

let no lot fall upon it] In the captivity of Jehoiakim and in that of Jehoiachin, some were taken, others left. Now there shall be no discrimination. All shall be removed.

7. See on xxiii. 37.

she poured it not upon the ground] The blood was poured upon a dry rock where it could not be absorbed or unnoticed, not upon a soil where it might be drunk in and covered with dust (Job xvi. 18; Isai. xxvi. 21).

10. *spice it well*] If this be the correct rendering, it must be understood as describing a process usual in decoction; throw in spices in abundance, that the bones and the flesh may be all boiled up together. But in Job xli. 31 the word is used of ointment or salve frothing up in boiling. Comp. Exod. xxx. 25, 35, so that the words probably mean rather, "make it froth and bubble."

11, 12. *scum*] **rust**; see on *v.* 6.

forth out of her: her scum *shall be* in the fire.

13 In thy filthiness *is* lewdness: because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee.

14 I the LORD have spoken *it:* it shall come to pass, and I will do *it;* I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent; according to thy ways, and according to thy doings, shall they judge thee, saith the Lord GOD.

15 ¶ Also the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

16 Son of man, behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears † run down.

† Heb. *go.*

17 † Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not *thy* † lips, and eat not the bread of men.

† Heb. *Be silent.*

† Heb. *upper lip:* and so ver. 22.

18 So I spake unto the people in the morning: and at even my wife died; and I did in the morning as I was commanded.

19 ¶ And the people said unto me, Wilt thou not tell us what these *things are* to us, that thou doest *so?*

20 Then I answered them, The word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

21 Speak unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the excellency of your strength, the desire of your eyes, and † that which your soul pitieth; and your sons and your daughters whom ye have left shall fall by the sword.

† Heb. *the pity of your soul.*

22 And ye shall do as I have done: ye shall not cover *your* lips, nor eat the bread of men.

23 And your tires *shall be* upon your heads, and your shoes upon your feet: ye shall not mourn nor weep; but ye shall pine away for your iniquities, and mourn one toward another.

24 Thus Ezekiel is unto you a sign: according to all that he hath

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16—27. The death of Ezekiel's wife took place in the evening of the same day that he delivered the foregoing prophecy. This event was to signify to the people that the Lord would take from them all that was most dear to them—temple, home, friends, and possessions. The behaviour of the prophet was to shew his fellow-exiles that the condition of the people would be such as to give no room for the common expression of mourning. Comp. Jer. xvi. 5, *they shall not lament or bemoan the dead;* they would grieve for their sins and their punishment, but the times that were coming were so extraordinary as to leave no room for the quiet lamentation for the dead according to the usual forms of mourning.

17. *bind the tire of thine head upon thee*] The *tire* was the mitre worn by the priest. One of the signs of mourning was to *cover the head* (2 S. xv. 30; Jer. xiv. 3); another was to *sprinkle ashes upon the head* (xxvii. 30; 1 S. iv. 12; 2 S. xv. 32). It was forbidden to the high-priest to *uncover his head* (Lev. xxi. 10), because the anointing oil had been upon him—that is, he was not to defile his head with ashes sprinkled upon it. The *covering of the head* adopted by mourners must have been different from the usual dress, and so in either case the ordinary covering was removed, to be replaced either by ashes or by a mourning veil. Although the high-priest was to abstain from outward signs of mourning, and in a particular case a similar course was prescribed to the priests Eleazar and Ithamar (Lev. x. 6), the priest in general was to mourn for his dead (Lev. xxi. 1 foll.), and so Ezekiel was to be an exception to the rule. Another sign of mourning was to *go barefoot* (2 S. xv. 30), see on Jerem. xiii. 22; another *to cover the lower part of the face* (Micah iii. 7).

eat not the bread of men] It was customary at funerals to have food supplied for the comfort of the mourners, and this is the origin of the funeral feasts, so common among all nations. *Bread of men, i.e. bread* commonly used by *men* on such occasions. Jerome: "bread of mourners." From such food Ezekiel is to abstain. Comp. Jer. xvi. 7, *neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or mother*, where see note.

23. *pine away*] Compare Lev. xxvi. 39. Herein is to be found the fulfilment of the threats conveyed in the Law. The outward signs of grief were a certain consolation. Their absence indicates a more intense, heart-consuming sorrow.

done shall ye do: and when this cometh, ye shall know that I *am* the Lord GOD.

25 Also, thou son of man, *shall it* not *be* in the day when I take from them their strength, the joy of their glory, the desire of their eyes, and † that whereupon they set their minds, their sons and their daughters,

† Heb. *the lifting up of their soul.*

26 *That* he that escapeth in that day shall come unto thee, to cause *thee* to hear *it* with *thine* ears?

27 In that day shall thy mouth be opened to him which is escaped, and thou shalt speak, and be no more dumb: and thou shalt be a sign unto them; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

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27. *In that day shall thy mouth be opened*] There was a time during which God had declared that He would close the lips of His prophet (iii. 26). That day had now come. He had four years been employed in foretelling the calamities about to come to pass. He had been utterly disregarded by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, received with apparent respect but with real incredulity by those in exile. Now the first blow had been given, and until the full punishment had fallen, until the city had been actually taken, the voice of prophecy should cease, so far as God's people were concerned. Hence the intervening series of predictions relating to neighbouring and foreign nations (xxv.—xxxii.). Then the prophet's voice is again heard addressing his countrymen in their exile. This accounts for the apparently parenthetic character of the next eight chapters.

NOTE on CHAP. XXIV. 5.

דּוֹר הָעֲצָמִים. דּוֹר, a substantive, *heap;* compare מְדוֹרָה, Isai. xxx. 33. The substantive is governed by some verb understood signifying *make* or *gather*. The rendering *burn* in A.V. seems to have been derived from the LXX. The Vulg. and most commentators *heap;* the word is generally used for a pile of *wood*. Comp. *v.* 10. הָעֲצָמִים (the *bones*), is a genitive dependent upon דּוֹר, but not necessarily a *heap* of *bones;* it may mean (as Keil and others) a *heap* for *the bones*, *i.e.* for the consumption of the bones. The more obvious meaning is however illustrated and supported by the passage given on *v.* 5.

SECOND GROUP.

WORDS OF JUDGMENT TO HEATHEN NATIONS.

Chaps. xxv.—xxxii.

It was a distinct part of scriptural prophecy to address heathen nations. This was variously done by the several prophets according to the varieties of time and place. Some, as Obadiah (to Edom) and Nahum (to Nineveh), addressed one such nation and no others. More commonly the prophecies to the chosen people and to the heathen were intermixed as by Amos and Joel. In Isaiah (xiii.—xix.), and Jeremiah (xlvi.—li.), and Ezekiel, one section is specially devoted to a collection of such prophecies. Besides the special message to the nation addressed, every such prediction had the general purpose of exhibiting the conflict ever waging between the servants of God and the powers of the world, and of declaring the divine decrees as to the issue of this conflict. This general purport is that which concerns us. Tyre and Egypt are overthrown, but there is still a warfare between good and evil, between God and Satan, and in the old prophecies against heathen nations we are to read of the struggle in which the Church of Christ has still to wrestle against her foes (Eph. vi. 12), but will surely prevail.

The series of prophecies, with one exception to be noticed in its place, contained in these chapters, was delivered at the time of the fall of Jerusalem, some shortly before and some shortly after the capture of the city. They were collected together to illustrate their original purpose of warning the nations not to exult in their neighbour's fall. In the times of Jerusalem's greatness, the surrounding nations had been her vassals, and when, from time to time, they became independent, they were no doubt regarded by the Jews simply as successful rebels. It is probable that Josiah, in the days of his prosperity, reasserted his right of dominion over Edom and Moab, and that this circumstance increased their pleasure to see the proud city degraded, even though they had often combined with her against a common and greater enemy. The prophet is now commissioned to warn these nations that judgment is coming upon them too, so that they shall be like Jerusalem in her ruin, unlike her in being without hope of recovery. Seven nations are addressed, which have had most intercourse with the children of Israel—on their eastern borders Moab and Ammon, to the south

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *God's vengeance, for their insolency against the Jews, upon the Ammonites;* 8 *upon Moab and Seir;* 12 *upon Edom,* 15 *and upon the Philistines.*

THE word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

[a] Jer. 49. 1, &c.

2 Son of man, set thy face [a] against the Ammonites, and prophesy against them;

3 And say unto the Ammonites, Hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou saidst, Aha, against my sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the land of Israel, when it was desolate; and against the house of Judah, when they went into captivity;

4 Behold, therefore I will deliver thee to the [†] men of the east for a pos-

[†] Heb. *children.*

Edom, on the south-west Philistia, northward Tyre, the merchant city, and the more ancient Sidon (all these encroaching more or less on that which had once been David's and Solomon's kingdom—the full possession granted to Israel, but maintained only for a short time), and lastly Egypt, alternately the scourge and the false stay of the chosen people. Kliefoth lays stress on the number *seven*, symbolical of completeness. *Seven* nations, *seven* prophecies against Egypt the chief of the seven, denote the completeness of the overthrow of the heathen power, the antagonist of the kingdom of God. It is remarkable that while other prophets hold out to these heathen nations some prospect of future mercy (*e.g.* Isai. xvi. 14; Jer. xlix. 6, 11), Ezekiel speaks of complete ruin; the closing burden, *they shall know that I am the Lord*, predicting not so much that they will recognize and turn to Jehovah, as that they will find out by experience His power and judgments (*v.* 14, *they shall know my vengeance*). Ezekiel prophesied at the time of Jerusalem's overthrow, and so was contemplating *national* ruin. In the case of Jerusalem there would be national restoration, but in the case of the heathens no such recovery. The *national* ruin was irretrievable; the remnant to whom the other prophets hold out hopes of mercy were to find it as individuals to be gathered into God's Church, not as nations to be again set up. Ezekiel does not, like other prophets, prophesy against Babylon. Schrader (Schenkel's 'Bibel Lex.') supposes that the seer abstained from prudential reasons from prophesying against the Chaldeans, among whom he dwelt, but there is little ground for having recourse to such an explanation. The Jews were ready enough to see in Babylon an enemy of God, but it was Ezekiel's mission to shew that for the moment, Babylon was on the side of Jehovah, the righteous instrument of the divine wrath, doing God's work in punishing His foes (see on xxiii. 45). These seven nations are all mentioned by Jeremiah (xxv. 15 foll.), as bidden to drink of the cup of the fury of the Lord; for five of them (Egypt and Philistia being excepted) Jeremiah was to make bonds and yokes (Jer. xxvii. 3). In prophesying against foreign nations, the more recent prophets often adopt the language of those who preceded them. Ezekiel does this. It is therefore useful to note, as we proceed, the various passages in other prophets, in which prophecies against the several nations have been delivered.

CHAP. XXV. The four nations most closely connected with one another by geographical position, and by consequent intercourse, are grouped together in this chapter, each being addressed in a few brief sentences concluding with the same refrain—*Ye shall know that I am the Lord.* The time of the delivery of this joint prophecy, though not defined by Ezekiel, is made clear by the terms of the prophecy, and by the date of the following chapter. The sanctuary has been profaned, the house of Judah has gone into captivity. For although it is true that these words might have been spoken by prophetic anticipation, there is no need to assume this. In ch. xxiv. we were told that the siege was begun. The date of ch. xxvi. is that of its close. We may therefore suppose that this prophecy was delivered immediately after the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, and so is later, in point of time, than some of the prophecies that follow it.

1—7. The Ammonites were inveterate foes of the descendants of Abraham. They had joined Eglon, had oppressed Israel in the time of Jephthah, had fought against Saul, David, Jehoshaphat and Jotham. They had joined the Moabites in Nebuchadnezzar's army, when he besieged Jerusalem in the reign of Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiv. 2). In the time of Uzziah Amos reproves their cruelty (Amos i. 1, 13); in the time of Josiah, Zephaniah predicts their punishment for boasting against Judah (Zeph. ii. 8, 9). Their exultation was against the sanctuary of the Lord, and should therefore the more certainly be punished. Prophecies against Ammon, Amos i. 13—15; Isai. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 1—6, where see note; Zeph. ii. 8—11.

4. *men of the east*] Not the Chaldæans who should first punish Ammon, but the wild wandering Arabs who should come in afterwards upon the ruined land. The name is

session, and they shall set their palaces in thee, and make their dwellings in thee: they shall eat thy fruit, and they shall drink thy milk.

5 And I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the Ammonites a couchingplace for flocks: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

† Heb. *hand.* † Heb. *foot.* † Heb. *soul.*

6 For thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast clapped *thine* †hands, and stamped with the †feet, and rejoiced in †heart with all thy despite against the land of Israel;

7 Behold, therefore I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and will deliver thee for ‡a spoil to the heathen; and I will cut thee off from the people, and I will cause thee to perish out of the countries: I will destroy thee; and thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD.

‡ Or, *meat.*

8 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; [b] Because that Moab and Seir do say, Behold, the house of Judah *is* like unto all the heathen;

[b] Jer. 48. 1, &c.

9 Therefore, behold, I will open the †side of Moab from the cities, from his cities *which are* on his frontiers, the glory of the country, Beth-jeshimoth, Baal-meon, and Kiriathaim,

† Heb. *shoulder of Moab.*

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given to hordes accompanying the Midianites, Judg. vi. 3, and was a common term for the nomadic tribes of the desert. Comp. Isai. xiii. 20.

palaces] **encampments.** The tents and folds of nomadic tribes. See Note A at end of Chapter; and Num. xxxi. 10. After the capture of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar turned his arms against the surrounding nations, among whom the Ammonites were doubtless included. So it was foretold (above, ch. xxi. 28). After this the land was subjected to various masters. The Græco-Egyptian kings founded a city on the site of Rabbah called Philadelphia, from Ptolemy Philadelphus. Jerome mentions this city as existing in his day. Modern travellers have visited the spot and found considerable ruins, but all of the Roman period, after the Christian era. Theatres, temples, forum, houses are all clearly traceable in the ruined city, and the site still shews the high ground on which stood the citadel that held out so long against Joab. Probably, when Philadelphia flourished, few if any of the children of Ammon remained to witness its greatness. In later times, Arabs from the east have completed the doom pronounced against Rabbah. "All this season," writes a recent traveller, "the flocks and herds were all on the surrounding wolds, and the spring was too far advanced to drive them to seek shelter at night. Lonely desolation in a rich country was the striking characteristic." Tristram's 'Land of Israel,' p. 550.

7. *for a spoil*] **for a portion.** See Note B at end of Chapter.

8. Prophecies against Moab, Num. xxiv. 17; Isai. xi. 14, xv. and xvi.; Jer. xlviii.; Amos ii. 1—3; Zeph. ii. 8—11.

Moab] Moab lay south of Ammon. Akin to Ammon, this people shared Ammon's implacable hostility to the children of Israel. See Note C at end of Chapter.

and Seir] Seir was close to Moab, and therefore mentioned together, as in Deut. ii. 29. In 2 Chro. xx. 23 we are told that the Ammonites and Moabites were joined together *to make an end of the inhabitants of Seir*, and afterwards were turning towards Judah and Jerusalem when Jehoshaphat defeated them. It is possible that after this the Moabites, being numerous and powerful, occupied Mount *Seir* as well as passed over the Arnon. —This may account for *Seir* being here mentioned together with Moab and separate from Edom. Jerome tells us that the LXX. omitted the word *Seir*, feeling, probably, that the mention of Edom was here out of place. But Edom is identified with Mount *Seir* in ch. xxxv., and it is therefore more probable that *Seir* is here coupled with *Moab* because, being near neighbours closely leagued together, they expressed a common exultation at Jerusalem's fall.

9. *I will open the side*] *i.e.* "lay it open to the attack of the enemy."

cities which are on his frontiers] Hebr. **from the cities, from his cities, from his frontier.** There is an ironical stress on *his* cities, because these cities belonged of right not to Moab but to Israel, having been assigned to the Reubenites (Num. xxxii. 38; Josh. xiii. 20). They were in the plain of Moab, but were in that part of the land, which Sihon and Og had conquered from the Moabites before Israel entered into the promised land, and which Israel claimed by right of conquest (Judg. xi. 23). We learn, however, from Isai. xvi. that the Moabites had in the last days of the kingdom of Israel recovered this territory. They still occupied this land in the time of Ezekiel (see Jer. xlviii.). These cities are well described as on the frontiers. They lay to the north of the river Arnon, which was the proper boundary of Moab (Num. xxi. 13).

the glory of the country] This tract, be-

10 Unto the men of the east [1] with the Ammonites, and will give them in possession, that the Ammonites may not be remembered among the nations.

11 And I will execute judgments upon Moab; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

12 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because that Edom hath dealt against

[1] Or, against the children of Ammon.

longing to the district called by the Arabians *Al Belka*, has been at all times highly valued on account of the excellence of its pastures for cattle. Among others Bochart writes, "As the pasturage in Belka is far better than in the rest of southern Syria, there has been a continual struggle among the various Arab tribes as to who should secure it. The Bedouins are accustomed to say: 'Thou canst find no land like Belka'."—Hävernick. The sites of these three cities were visited and described by Mr Tristram in 1872. The most southern is Kiriathaim, the name on the Moabitic stone is Kirjath. In Eusebius, Kariada, in Jerome, Corajatha (Schlottmann), the name is preserved in the slightly modified form of Kureiyat. The termination of the name Kiriath*aim* (the Hebrew dual) has given rise to some questioning. But the inspection of the ruins sets aside all doubts. Kureiyat is situated on two sister hillocks half a mile apart, both covered by the ancient city. The ruins are extensive but utterly featureless, and between them and the Arnon are very few remains of any extent. It is situated about eight miles north of the Arnon, and seven miles east of the shore of the Dead Sea. More to the south (almost in the latitude of the southern shore of the Dead Sea), is another double town on twin hills bearing the name of Kureitam. This Mr Tristram conjectures to have been the Kerioth of Jer. xlviii. 24, the plural termination of the Hebrew *oth* corresponding to the union of two towns in one. (Tristram's 'Land of Moab,' pp. 99, 275.) The dual form Diblathan = Diblathaim occurs on the Moabitic stone. Baal-meon is about ten miles north of Kureiyat—known at present as Main. "Ruins of vast extent occupy the crests and slopes of four adjacent hills, one having evidently been the central city and connected with the rest by a side causeway. The remains are of the ordinary type—foundations, fragments of wall, lines of streets, old arches, many carved stones, caves, wells and cisterns innumerable. Some curious cavernous dwellings, built up with fragments and arches of old columns, are still used by the Arabs as folds and sleeping-places. Baal-meon continued to the Christian era, and is mentioned by Eusebius under the same name as a very large village (κώμη μεγίστη), near the hot-springs, and nine miles from Heshbon." It is probable that Kiriathaim was the *Kirjath-Huzoth* (city of streets), and Baal-meon, the *Bamoth-Baal* (high places of Baal), to which Balak took Balaam, Num. xxii. 39, 41. The name Baal-meon was changed by the Reubenites into *Beth-meon*, Num. xxxii. 38; see Tristram's 'Land of Moab,' p. 303—305; but the original name Baal-meon occurs on the Moabitic stone as a place which Mesa built or fortified. He probably erected a stronghold on the old locality, reviving the ancient name. Beth-jeshimoth is identified by Tristram with a knoll at the north-easternmost point of the Dead Sea. See Num. xxxiii. 48, 49. It is now "a bare mound, utterly destitute of vegetation, but with some cane-brakes below it which project forward, a few green lines, into the belt of waste which fringes the Jordan. These brakes are fed by some brackish springs which issue forth just behind the mount, and to which, if artificial, it probably owes its origin. A few lines of stone are all that remain of what has once been a fortified town." ('Land of Moab,' p. 350.)

10. *with the Ammonites*] *i. e.* in addition to the Ammonites. See *v.* 4. The Bedouins were not to be conquerors, but the land having been laid waste by Chaldæan armies was to remain unoccupied except by nomadic hordes. Ammon and Moab, of common origin, whose lands had so often been interchanged, shall now share a common ruin. To the men of the east shall Moab with Ammon be given, that Ammon may be remembered no more, and judgment be executed on Moab.

12. *Edom*] Prophecies against Edom, Num. xxiv. 18, 19; Isai. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 7—22, where see note; Ezek. xxxv.; Joel iii. 19; Amos i. 11, 12; Obadiah. Edom, so named from Esau, consisted of various tribes enumerated in Gen. xxxvi. The Edomites became a powerful nation before the Israelites came out of Egypt. They were ruled over by kings, till David conquered them. They remained subject to the kingdom of Judah till the reign of Joram, when they rebelled and were not again subdued (2 K. viii. 20). Edom took active part against Jerusalem at the time of its siege and destruction. After this they captured many cities in the south of Palestine, and gave the name to Idumea. These Idumeans were conquered by John Hyrcanus, when many of them adopted the religion of the Jews. In later times the Idumean Herod became king of Palestine, reckoning himself as a Jew. Mount Seir, being deserted by its original inhabitants, was occupied by a tribe of Arabians (the Nabatheans), under whom Petra rose and continued a flourishing city under Roman dominion, until the tide of Mahometan con-

the house of Judah † by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them;

† Heb. *by revenging revengement.*

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman; and ‖ they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

‖ Or, *they shall fall by the sword unto Dedan.*

14 And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel: and they shall do in Edom according to mine anger and according to my fury; and they shall know my vengeance, saith the Lord GOD.

15 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because the Philistines have dealt by revenge, and have taken vengeance with a despiteful heart, to destroy *it* ‖ for the old hatred;

‖ Or, *with perpetual hatred.*

16 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will stretch out mine hand upon the Philistines, and I will cut off the Cherethims, and destroy the remnant of the ‖ sea coast.

‖ Or, *haven of the sea.*

17 And I will execute great † vengeance upon them with furious rebukes; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I shall lay my vengeance upon them.

† Heb. *vengeances.*

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quest brought over this as well as other Asiatic countries a ruin from which it has never recovered. In this ruin Edom at last found the complete fulfilment of the prophecies uttered against it. Its present condition bespeaks this fulfilment. The full sentence of Edom is reserved for a later chapter (xxxv.). Comp. note on Jer. xlix. 7—22.

taking vengeance] Referring back to the wrong inflicted by Jacob upon Esau. Gen. xxvii. 36.

13. *from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword*] Or, *from Teman* even unto *Dedan* they *shall fall by the sword*, according to the change of punctuation adopted by Hitzig and Kliefoth. See on Job ii. 11. Teman and Dedan were districts (not cities), the former in the south, the latter in the north. Hence *from Teman to Dedan* means, "over the whole country."

14. *by the hand of my people Israel*] Pointing to the conquest of Idumea by John Hyrcanus.

15—17. Prophecies against the Philistines, Isai. xi. 14, xiv. 29—32; Jer. xlvii.; Joel iii. 4; Amos i. 6—8; Zeph. ii. 4—7. The Philistines occupying lands to the south of Judah were a Hamite race (Gen. x. 14), but of a different branch from the Canaanites. Throughout the LXX. the word Philistines is rendered "foreigners." They were a powerful people with a succession of kings named Abimelech in the times of Abraham and Isaac. Though their country was assigned to the Israelites, they were not dispossessed (Josh. xiii. 3). They were a thorn in the side of the chosen people throughout. In the time of the judges they oppressed Israel (Judg. x. 6, 7). Repeatedly defeated by Samson (Judg. xiii. foll.), they again got head; they overthrew Israel in the time of Eli, slew his sons and carried off the ark of God (1 S. iv.). Held in check by Samuel (1 S. vii. 13), they had Israel in subjection in the time of Saul (1 S. xiii. 19), though not without checks and disasters (1 S. xiv.). At Saul's death they were predominant in the south (1 S. xxix.), but David conquered and made them tributaries (2 S. viii. 1). We read of their defeats by Jehoshaphat (2 Chro. xvii. 11), and Uzziah (2 Chro. xxvi. 6), and of their conquests in the time of Jehoram (2 Chro. xxi. 16), shewing that they were still formidable neighbours. In the reign of Ahaz they again waxed strong (2 Chro. xxviii. 18), but were checked by Hezekiah; in the evil days that followed they became again very powerful and joined in attacking Jerusalem in the day of her trouble. They were much reduced by the Assyrians (Isai. xiv. 31), and Egyptians (Jer. xlvii.), before the time of this prophecy, but further destruction came upon them in the general ruin of the inhabitants of Canaan, which commenced with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

16. *Cherethims*] The inhabitants of the southern portion of Philistia (1 S. xxx. 14; Zeph. ii. 5).

NOTE A. (ON XXV. 4.)

טִירוֹת. This word, rendered *palaces* according to the Targum, more properly denotes enclosures for cattle. The word in the Syriac version is the same as that which is put for αὐλή (*sheepfold*), John x. 1, 16. Vulgate, *casas*. We find it in Gen. xxv. 16, and Num. xxxi. 10, *castles*, in each place referring to dwelling-places of nomad tribes; Ps. lxix. 25, *tents*. In Song of Sol. viii. 9 we find the singular with the addition of כֶּסֶף, *a palace of silver*. These passages seem to shew that the word was originally applied to the habitations of nomadic

tribes, probably enclosed with a wall as is usual in such encampments: afterwards it would be used to denote any dwelling-place, but in Ezekiel it is especially intended to express the dwellings of nomadic tribes as distinguished from regularly built cities. The word *palaces* is unsuitable here.

NOTE B. (ON XXV. 7.)

לְבַז *Cbetib.* Our translation *for a spoil* is according to the K'ri לָבֹז. The K'ri was probably a conjecture of the Masoretes desiring to substitute a common (*e.g.* xxvi. 5) for a rare word. The word בַּז however is found both in Arabic and Persian in the sense of *meat*, and in a compound form פִּתְבָּג, Dan. i. 5, *meat*. Dan. xi. 26, *portion of meat*, literally mouth-meat, allotted portion of food.

NOTE C. (ON XXV. 8.)

By a comparison of Scripture records with the inscription of the Moabitic stone (recently discovered amid the ruins of Dibon), we can attain a clear view of the fortunes of Moab.

The wars of Balak shew that Moab was a formidable power at the time that Moses led the children of Israel to the promised land, Num. xxii.—xxiv., but shortly before this time the Amorites and some kindred tribes had despoiled Moab of that portion of its territory which lies to the north of the river Arnon, Num. xxi. 26. From the Amorites Moses won it, Num. xxi. 24—26, and assigned it as a portion to Reuben and Gad, henceforth belonging to the inheritance of Israel, Num. xxxii. 33—38. After Joshua's death the Moabites again obtained mastery over this land, and pushed their conquests as far as Jericho, which place they occupied as a stronghold, and from it held Israel in subjection under Eglon for eighteen years, Judg. iii. 12—14. After this we hear no more of Moab in Scripture till the time of Saul, when it is named together with Ammon and Edom among the foes of Israel, 1 S. xiv. 47. David subdued all three peoples, and made them tributary, 1 Chro. xviii. 2. At the separation of the kingdoms, Moab and Ammon fell to Israel and Edom to Judah. In the weakened state of the northern kingdom in its earlier period, we are not surprised to learn from the stone that Moab threw off its yoke, or at least made it nominal. Omri, a mighty warrior, who built a fortress named Medeba, Isai. xv. 2, in the territory of Moab, again reduced Moab to obedience (Moabitic stone), and it continued a vassal state of Israel till the second year of Ahaziah, 2 K. i. 1, the date of Mesa's (Mesha, 2 K. iii. 4, 5) victory recorded on the stone. This success however was only temporary. Israel, under Jehoram, aided by Jehoshaphat, invaded Moab and entirely subdued it, 2 K. iii. 4 foll. In the confusion of the later days of the kingdom of Israel, Moab again asserted its independence. We learn from Isai. xv., xvi., that in these days Moab was proud and flourishing. Though wasted by the Assyrians who subdued Israel, Moab again in Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's day was great and prosperous. The Moabites are especially mentioned as forming part of Nebuchadnezzar's army which besieged Jerusalem (2 K. xxiv. 2). Schlottmann's 'Siegessäule Mesa's Königs der Moabiter.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 Tyrus, for insulting against Jerusalem, is threatened. 7 The power of Nebuchadrezzar against her. 15 The mourning and astonishment of the sea at her fall.

AND it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first *day* of the month, *that* the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

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CHAP. XXVI. 1. Prophecies against Tyre, Joel iii. 4; Amos i. 9, 10; Isai. xxiii., where see note. Tyre is mentioned in Josh. xix. 29 as a strong city—Isaiah called it the daughter of Sidon, Isai. xxiii. 12; Josephus says that it was built 240 years before the temple. Josephus' date is not correct, but may mark the time of the commencement of Tyre's special greatness. See Note A at end of Chapter.

in the first day of the month] The number of the month is omitted in the Hebrew text, in the Vulgate, in Theodoret, and in LXX., Cod. Rom. The Cod. Alex. supplies τοῦ πρώτου, *the first month*. There is a similar omission in xxxii. 17, but there the month is determined by xxxii. 1. In 2 K. xxv. 3, the omission of the number of the month seems to have arisen from the fault of a copyist (see note ad loc.). Kimchi and others suppose that the month means the month when Jerusalem was taken (*the fourth month*), called *the month*, as being so well known. The capture of the city we know to have taken place on *the ninth day of the fourth month*, and its destruction on *the seventh day of the fifth month*. According to

2 Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken *that was* the gates of the people: she is turned unto me: I shall be replenished, *now* she is laid waste:

3 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up.

4 And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock.

5 It shall be *a place for* the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken *it*, saith the Lord GOD: and it shall become a spoil to the nations.

6 And her daughters which *are* in the field shall be slain by the sword; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

7 ¶ For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people.

8 He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and ‡cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee.

‡ Or, *pour out the engine of shot.*

9 And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers.

10 By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee: thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, †as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach.

† Heb. *according to the enterings of a city broken up.*

11 With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets: he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground.

12 And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise: and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy †thy

† Heb. *houses of thy desire.*

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either interpretation this prophecy preceded by a few days the capture of the city. But independently of the consideration that Ezekiel, speaking under inspiration from God, saw beforehand the ruin which was imminent, the condition of Jerusalem in the latter months of its siege was such that the Tyrians may well have exulted as though it had already fallen.

2. *gates*] Plural because the original substantive means "leaf" of a door, and hence one gate, composed of two leaves, is spoken of as "leaves."

the people] Hebr. **the peoples**, and in xxvii. 3, *merchant of the* **peoples**, the plural expressing the fact that many peoples passed through Jerusalem, as the central place on the highway of commerce. This was eminently the case in the reign of Solomon, when for the time Jerusalem became the mart to which was gathered the trade of India and of the far east. The fame of its early greatness as the emporium of eastern commerce still clung to Jerusalem, and this city even in decadence kept up enough of its original trade to be viewed with jealousy by Tyre, who owed her greatness to the same cause, and in the true spirit of mercantile competition exulted in the thought that the trade of Jerusalem would now be diverted into her markets (See Note A at end of the Chapter). The insertion of the words in italics in our A. V. rather weakens the force of the utterance. Render, **Aha. She is broken, the gate of the peoples —it is turned unto me—I shall be filled—she is laid waste.**

6. *her daughters which are in the field*] The subject states upon the mainland, on which she at this time relied mainly for supplies.

7—14. The special prediction of Nebuchadnezzar's conquests. See Note A at end of the Chapter. The description of the siege is that of a town invested by land.

7. *Nebuchadrezzar*] See note on Jer. xxi. 2.

9. *engines of war*] Rather, **his battering ram.** See Note B at end of Chapter.

with his axes] *with his* **swords.** There is no need for departing from the general meaning of the Hebrew noun. *Axes* seems to have been substituted as more fitting for use against a wall, but they who would break down the towers, rush on with their swords to slay the defenders.

11. *thy strong garrisons*] *thy strong* **pillars.** See Note C at end of Chapter.

pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water.

[a] Isai. 24. 8. Jer. 7. 34. & 16. 9.

13 [a]And I will cause the noise of thy songs to cease; and the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard.

14 And I will make thee like the top of a rock: thou shalt be *a place* to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more: for I the LORD have spoken *it*, saith the Lord GOD.

15 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD to Tyrus; Shall not the isles shake at the sound of thy fall, when the wounded cry, when the slaughter is made in the midst of thee?

16 Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments: they shall [†] Heb. *tremblings.* clothe themselves with [†]trembling; they shall sit upon the ground, and shall tremble at *every* moment, and be astonished at thee.

[b] Rev. 18. 9.

17 And they shall take up a [b]lamentation for thee, and say to thee, How art thou destroyed, *that wast* inhabited [†]of seafaring men, the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants, which cause their terror *to be* on all that haunt it! [†] Heb. *of the seas.*

18 Now shall the isles tremble in the day of thy fall; yea, the isles that *are* in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure.

19 For thus saith the Lord GOD; When I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; when I shall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee;

20 When I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit, with the people of old time, and shall set thee in the low parts of the earth, in places desolate of old, with them that go down to the pit, that thou be not inhabited; and I shall set glory in the land of the living;

21 I will make thee [†]a terror, and thou *shalt be* no *more:* though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord GOD. [†] Heb. *terrors.*

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14. The siege had been on land, but the victory was to be completed by the subjection of the island-citadel, and the ruin is described in the same words as before, *v.* 5, to identify the two prophecies.

15—21. The effect of the fall of Tyre.

16. *clothe themselves with trembling*] Mourners change their bright robes for sad garments, Jonah iii. 6. Comp. Ps. cix. 18, 19, cxxxii. 18.

17. *of seafaring men*] **of the seas.** Tyre was an inhabited city rising from out of the sea that surrounded her. Render, **How art thou destroyed, that art inhabited in the midst of the seas!**

she and her inhabitants] Tyre and the Tyrians. The address is turned from the second to the third person; *their terror*, the terror which the Tyrians cause to *all that haunt it.* Heb. "her inhabitants," the same word as above—but there it means the Tyrians themselves, here the strangers from divers lands who take up their abode in Tyre.

20. Comp. Isai. xiv. 9, where Babylon, represented by her king, is depicted as going down to join in Hades the departed monarchs of old time. It is remarkable that the image which is used by Isaiah and Jeremiah of Babylon is by Ezekiel applied to Tyre, as if to shew that Tyre and Babylon alike represent the world-power, and so in the Apocalypse Babylon is the kingdom of Antichrist. Here the prophet unites the figure with that of a desolate and uninhabited city.

and I shall set glory in the land of the living] *The land of the living* is the land of the true God, as opposed to the land of the dead, to which is gathered the glory of the world. Here then together with the utter ruin of Tyre rises the vision of renewed glory to Jerusalem. The coming Messiah is thus prophetically pointed out. The overthrow of God's enemies shall be accompanied by the establishment of His true kingdom.

NOTE A. (ON CHAP. XXVI.)

THE SIEGE OF TYRE BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND ITS SUBSEQUENT RUIN.

We can determine the date of the commencement of the siege with considerable certainty.

In xxix. 17 we have a prophecy delivered by Ezekiel after the conclusion of the siege, dated the 27th year of the captivity, *i.e.* B.C. 572. We know that Hophra was dethroned B.C. 571, and there is every reason to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to invade Egypt immediately after the conclusion of the siege of Tyre.—We know that the siege of Tyre lasted thirteen years (Joseph. 'Antiq.' X. 11, 'c. Apion.' I. 21). This fixes the date of its commencement B.C. 585, about three years after the capture of Jerusalem. These three years were probably occupied by Nebuchadnezzar in preparations for a fresh campaign—his designs against Tyre not being made known. While he was besieging Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar had taken occasion to drive Pharaoh Hophra, after his Syrian campaign, back to the borders of Egypt. Tyre being thus relieved from a dangerous enemy, was exulting in her own deliverance, and in her neighbour's ruin, when Ezekiel predicted the calamity about to befall her. It is to be observed that we find in Josephus ('c. Apion.' I. 21), (as the text at present stands), that Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Tyre in the seventh year of his reign (ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει), but it may be easily shewn that this is quite inconsistent with other statements of Josephus himself, and we may feel sure that there is here a false reading. See Winer, 'R. W. B.,' *Nebuchadnezzar*. Some commentators have conjectured ἐβδόμῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ (the 17th year (note on Hudson's 'Joseph.' ad loc.), but this is merely conjectural, and will not remove the difficulty, for Josephus says that Jerusalem was destroyed in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and it seems clear on every ground that the siege of Tyre could not have been commenced *before* the destruction of Jerusalem.

A question has been raised whether the Tyre of Nebuchadnezzar was identical in situation with the Tyre of Alexander the Great. We know that the latter was situated on an island-rock (on which stands the Tyre of the present day), which had to be approached by a mole, in order to its capture. But there is another locality near, on the mainland, which bore the name of *Palætyrus*, or *Old Tyre*, from the ruins of which city the mole of Alexander was in part constructed. It might at first sight seem natural to suppose that the original Tyre was on the mainland, from whence the inhabitants removed to the rock as a stronghold, and that there a new city grew, more powerful and magnificent than the old. This, however, can scarcely be accepted without reserve. The name Tyre (Hebr. *Tsur*, with cognate forms in other eastern languages) undoubtedly means *rock*, and must have been given to the city in consequence of its position; while on the mainland the plain of Tyre shews no rock which could have given its name to the town. Palætyrus, which must have been on the part of the coast nearest the island, is thought by M. Renan to have for its centre Maschouk; the principal remains which have been discovered in this neighbourhood are those of aqueducts and tombs, some of which are Phœnician, but in no part are there remains which would of themselves indicate the ruins of a great city. This however may be accounted for by the use which Alexander made of the materials to construct his mole. There is no doubt of the existence of the city on the mainland, though there are at this day few traces of it. Renan, 'Mission de Phénicie,' p. 577.

There is no instance, among Phœnician settlements, of the foundation of a *town* on the mainland followed by the occupation of an adjoining island. The island must at all times have been the heart of Tyre, and the town upon the continent the outgrowth of the island city. It is however quite possible that the first settlers took up a temporary position on the mainland, and from thence proceeded to the island there to form a city, and the remembrance of their original seat may have been preserved in the name of Old Tyre, 'Mission de Phénicie,' p. 577. There was the same relation between Arvad (Ruad) or Aradus the island, and Autaradus (Tortosa), where remains of equal antiquity are discovered on the island and on the mainland.

There are other reasons which lead us to the conclusion that insular Tyre must have been the head-quarters of the Tyrian kingdom, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. One hundred years earlier Shalmaneser the great conqueror of Samaria attempted the capture of Tyre without success. We learn from Menander (Joseph. 'Antiq.' IX. 14. 2) that in the time of Shalmaneser Tyre was already divided into Old Tyre and Insular Tyre. It is scarcely credible that such an army as Shalmaneser's could have been baffled by a city situated like Palætyrus, and this argument applies with yet greater force to the mighty Chaldæan. We cannot think that a town situated on the mainland, with none but artificial defences, could have held in check a general like Nebuchadnezzar with his powerful army for more than thirteen years. There is perhaps no great difficulty in supposing that he, like Alexander the Macedonian, employed his soldiers in constructing a mole by which to reach it from the land, especially as the method of all sieges of those days was to

cut trenches, to cast up mounts, to build forts; and the unusual labour of carrying out these operations against an island-rock may well account for the thirteen years' siege. But we have no record of any such work, and the mole of Alexander has always been considered an original device. Fresh light, however, has been recently thrown upon this subject by the 'History of Assurbanipal,' translated from the cuneiform inscriptions by George Smith (Williams and Norgate, 1871). In this history we have recorded a siege of Tyre conducted by Assurbanipal, son of Esar-haddon, which resulted in the submission of the king of Tyre.

"Against Bahal king of Tyre I went, who my royal will disregarded and did not hear the words of my lips; towers round him I raised ..... his people, I strengthened the watch; on sea and land his roads I took; his going out I stopped, water and sea water to preserve their lives their mouths drank; by a strong blockade which removed not, I besieged them; their spirits I humbled and caused to melt away; to my yoke I made them submissive" (pp. 58, 59). Afterwards the king of Tyre was restored to power—"I restored and favored him. The towers which over against Bahal king of Tyre I had raised, I pulled down; sea and land all his lands which I had taken I opened; his abundant tribute I received; peacefully I returned to Nineveh, the city of my dominion" (pp. 68, 69). From this it would appear that Assurbanipal reduced Tyre to submission by a blockade directed from the mainland. The stopping of the ways of the *sea*, and the compelling the Tyrians to drink seawater, imply that the chief source from which they then drew their supplies was the mainland. When the aqueduct from the mainland was cut off the Tyrians were reduced to such water as could be obtained from boring the rock. It would be quite possible to obtain some such supply, but the water would be brackish and the supply scanty. Thomson's 'Land and the Book,' p. 181. And it must be remembered that in ancient times the sea was not open to mariners at all seasons of the year, so that a city like Tyre could not draw in supplies from the open Mediterranean Sea, and would be reduced to great straits by the interruption of its communication with the shore over against the island. It is therefore probable that in those days the city consisted of two parts, the one on the mainland, the other on the island which served as an Acropolis. A papyrus containing travels of an Egyptian official, in the 14th century B.C., describes Tyre thus, "a city on the sea, Tyre the port is its name, water is carried to it in barks, it is richer in fish than in sands." 'Records of the Past,' Vol. II. p. 111. This is a striking illustration of the campaign of Assurbanipal. Assurbanipal besieged the mainland city and no doubt mastered it with ease, but his work was not done until by blockade he had forced the king to come from his island citadel, and submit himself to his powerful foe. On the same cylinder the conquest of Arvad is recorded, "The king of Arvad dwelling afar off in the midst of the sea; who like a fish in the boundless waters...long time the place was; who over the great sea roamed and was not submissive to the yoke of my dominion. Now to perform my service he submitted, and he executed my pleasure. Gold, green paint, black paint, fishes and birds, of the country the sum I fixed on him." p. 76.

The successful attack of Tyre by Assurbanipal was no doubt conducted in the same way as that in which Shalmaneser had failed, and as Nebuchadnezzar followed generally the method of Assyrian conquest, it is highly probable that his siege of Tyre was of the same kind. But meantime the increase of the wealth and commerce of Tyre made the Tyrians more independent of the mainland while they held to their island rock, and this will account for the length of Nebuchadnezzar's siege. Nebuchadnezzar was indeed determined not to leave this city, once the vassal of the Assyrian, independent, and persevered until Tyre gave in. Nebuchadnezzar may then have insisted upon his right, as a conqueror, of entering the island city with his army, but the conquest was probably barren of the fruits he had expected so far as spoil was concerned, and Nebuchadnezzar, having asserted his majesty by reducing the city to vassalage, may have been content not to push matters farther, and have willingly turned his forces in another direction.

Those who maintain that Nebuchadnezzar did not, in fact, enter insular Tyre at all, insist upon the argument that we have no historical record of the capture, that Josephus, who tells us of the siege, does not say that it was successful. In the passage before referred to ('c. Apion.' I. 21), he says that in the reign of Ithobalus, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years, not mentioning the result of the siege one way or the other. Josephus tells us that he took this account from Phœnician annals, and it is not unlikely that in those annals the national disaster would be passed over as lightly as possible. The extract in Josephus gives a summary of the kings of Tyre from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Cyrus; and there are indications of changes of dynasty, and an unsettled state of things—Ecnabalus, son of Baalachus, reigning two months, then Chelbas, son of Abdæus, ten months, then a highpriest for three months, then two judges for six years, then a king for one—then two kings in succession, whom it is said the Tyrians sent for from Babylon to assume the royal power. All this looks as if the Tyrian government was overthrown—in some way sub-

jected to the Chaldæans, especially as we know that the Tyrians recognized their subordination to the Persians, who always assumed the position of successors in empire to the Babylonians. There is therefore certainly nothing in the scanty records of ancient history inconsistent with the capture of insular Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; but it must be allowed that we have no distinct evidence of the fact.—It has, however, been thought that a passage in Ezekiel (xxix. 18) asserts the contrary. For the interpretation of this passage, see notes. It is enough here to say, that at any rate, whoever placed these two passages so near each other (and it was in all probability Ezekiel himself who collected his prophecies into a book, see Introd. § XII.) saw no discrepancy between the two, and could not have thought that xxix. 18 contradicted the prophecy in xxvi. 7—14.

Now if we examine closely that portion of Ezekiel's prophecy which foretells precisely what Nebuchadnezzar would do (Ezek. xxvi. 7—12), we observe that the city is in the first place viewed as one to be approached like an ordinary city on a plain by *horses*, *chariots*, *horsemen*, and *forts* and *engines of war* (7—12). This part of the prophecy would be fulfilled by the capture, soon effected, of that portion of its buildings which stood upon the mainland, probably of no small importance. But the effect would extend to the insular stronghold. *In the midst of the water* the king would tremble and mourn at the havoc which the Chaldæans were creating in his possessions on the mainland. And the prophetic vision goes on to further ruin and yet greater devastation of which Nebuchadnezzar's conquest was the earnest and the commencement (13, 14).

Modern travellers describe the present state of Tyre as one of utter desolation. "No great city which has played so important a part for centuries has left fewer traces than Tyre. Ezekiel was a true prophet when he said of Tyre, They shall seek for thee, and thou shalt be no more (Ezek. xxvi. 21). A traveller who was not informed of its existence might pass along the whole coast, from La Kasmie to Ras-el-Ain, without being aware that he was close to an ancient city. In the island itself, which has never quite lost the traces of its Tyrian occupation, nearly all that remains is the work of the Crusaders or Saracens. Tyre at the time of the Crusaders was simply a great city of the middle ages. The Saracens totally destroyed it. Tyre is now the ruin of a town built with ruins." Renan, 'Mission de Phénicie,' pp. 529, 530.

For half a mile from the shore the sea flows to the depth of a foot or two over flat rocks covered by one mass of prostrate columns, taken from more ancient buildings for the construction of sea walls and towers by a later generation. (See also Tristram's 'Land of Israel,' p. 49.)

But we must observe the *method* of the fulfilment of prophecy. The triumph of an army of Chaldæans must have been accompanied with horror, answering to the doom which the prophet was inspired to pronounce. But the end was long delayed. The alternation of fortunes predicted in Isai. xxiii. was repeated more than once in the history of Tyre. She never regained independence, but was great and wealthy under Persian, Greek, and Roman masters. Writing in the beginning of the fifth century, Jerome in his commentary on Ezek. xxvi. describes Tyre as being in his day "the most noble and the most beautiful city of Phœnicia," and asks the question, How can this agree with the words, "thou shalt not be built any more"? It is true that Tyre again became wealthy and prosperous, but it was never again a world-power capable of raising itself in its own might against the kingdom of God. But besides this, Tyre affords an instance of the execution of the divine judgments not without delay, but surely. In the present condition of Tyre we note the fulfilment of Ezekiel's predictions. In A.D. 638 it formed part of the conquests of Khalif Omar, who, however, dealt leniently with the inhabitants, and the city for many years enjoyed a moderate degree of prosperity. The ruin of Tyre was due to the sultan of Egypt, who in the year A.D. 1291 took possession, the inhabitants (who were Christians) having abandoned it without a struggle. The Saracens thereupon laid it in ruins, and did not allow the former inhabitants to return. In the first half of the fourteenth century it was visited by Sir John Mandeville, who found it in that state of desolation in which it has remained ever since (see Smith's 'Dictionary' on *Tyre*).

NOTE B. (ON *v.* 9.)

engines of war; מְחִי קַבָּלוֹ; מְחִי, lit. "stroke;" קַבָּל is used as a preposition, 2 K. xv. 10, *he smote him* before *the people*. The two words form a composite noun (observe the Dagesh in ק), signifying that which strikes forward, *i.e.* a battering-ram. Observe that this noun has the possessive affix ו, his.

NOTE C. (ON *v.* 11.)

מַצֵּבוֹת עֻזֶּךָ; lit. "statues of strength," 2 K. xviii. 14. Hengstenberg explains this to mean strong pillars on which stood statues of some protecting god. These pillars were especial tokens of power and majesty.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *The rich supply of Tyrus.* 26 *The great and unrecoverable fall thereof.*

THE word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus;

3 And say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, *which art* a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord GOD; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I *am* †of perfect beauty.

† Heb. *perfect of beauty.*

4 Thy borders *are* in the †midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.

† Heb. *heart.*

5 They have †made all thy *ship* boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee.

† Heb. *built.*

6 *Of* the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; ‖†the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches *of* ivory, *brought* out of the isles of Chittim.

‖ Or, *they have made thy hatches of ivory well trodden.*

† Heb. *the daughter.*

7 Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; ‖blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee.

‖ Or, *purple and scarlet.*

8 The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise

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CHAP. XXVII. The dirge of Tyre. Tyre is compared to a fair vessel, to whose equipment the various nations of the world contribute their stores, launching forth in majesty, to be wrecked and to perish. The nations enumerated point out Tyre as the centre of commerce between the eastern and western world. This position, occupied for a short time by Jerusalem, was long maintained by Tyre, till after successive sieges, the erection of Alexandria to supplant her in this traffic completed the ruin which war had begun. This dirge is grounded upon the dirge of Babylon, Isai. xiv. 3—21; the connection shews that in each case the city named represents the world-power antagonistic to God. See on xxvi. 20.

3. *entry*] Lit. "entries." Ancient Tyre had two ports, that called the Sidonian to the north, the Egyptian to the south; the former exists to the present day though encroached upon by the sand and the débris of buildings, the latter cannot be traced with any certainty, but probably occupied a position at the south-east part of the island, which is now entirely filled up with sand. Renan, 'Mission de Phénicie,' p. 566. We need not however suppose that the Heb. word should be rendered "ports," the term *entry of the sea* is naturally enough applied to a harbour as a place from which ships enter and return from the sea. The city was known in the earliest times as "Tyre the port." See 'Records of the Past,' Vol. II. p. 111.

5. *Senir*] The name by which the Amorites knew Mount Hermon. See on Deut. iii. 9. The same trees mentioned here were given by Hiram to Solomon from Hermon for the building of the temple, 1 K. v. 10. Virgil mentions the fir-tree as especially useful for ships, the cedar and cypress for houses. Virg. 'Georg.' II. 444. See Note at end of Chapter.

6. *made thy benches of ivory*] Rather, "thy benches made they of ivory with boxwood from the isles of Chittim." See Note at end of Chapter.

benches] This translation comes from the Vulgate "transtria." The Heb. noun is in the singular and is used collectively. The same noun is used of the *boards* of the tabernacle, Exod. xxvi. 16. Rashi not adopting the collective usage of the noun renders it "rudder."

The isles of Chittim is a phrase used constantly for Greece and the Grecian islands. It may probably be extended to other islands in the Mediterranean Sea (see on Gen. x. 4), and thither ivory may have been brought from the coasts of North Africa; Carthage, for instance, we know to have been abundantly supplied with elephants.

7. *Fine linen*] See on Gen. xli. 42. *Fine linen with embroidery from Egypt was* **thy sail to be to thee for a banner.**

that which thou spreadest forth] The Heb. word is a subst. = "sail," from a verb "spread forth." The word rendered *sail* means rather, *banner* (Exod. xvii. 15) or *ensign* (Isai. xi. 12). "Sails from Egypt were well known in Greece as well as in Phœnicia; they were worked with various figures upon them which served as a device" (Wilkinson). Hitzig remarks that in the figures given by Wilkinson ('Manners and Customs of Egypt,' III. p. 208) there are no separate pennons, but the device is on the sail. This exactly agrees with the literal reading of Ezekiel's words.

blue and purple] Dyes from mollusks of the purpura tribe, commonly found along the coast of the Mediterranean. Tyrian purple was famous, and no doubt the Tyrians imported from the neighbouring coasts the animals from which they dyed the fine linen of Egypt.

isles of Elishah] See on Gen. x. 4, where the sons of Javan are *Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim*, which is repeated,

men, O Tyrus, *that* were in thee, were thy pilots.

9 The ancients of Gebal and the wise *men* thereof were in thee thy ‖calkers: all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise.

10 They of Persia and of Lud and

‖ Or, *stoppers of chinks.* † Heb. *strengtheners.*

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1 Chro. i. 7. As *Javan* certainly represents the Ionian family, and the Ionian and Æolian correspond to each other as the two chief stems of the Hellenic race, it seems best to consider *Elishah* as equivalent to the Greek Æolis; and so it was understood by Josephus ('Ant.' I. 6. 1), Jerome (Gen. x. 4), and Zonaras ('Ann.' I. 5). The Æolians in Ezekiel's day occupied that part of the western coast of Asia Minor, known as Æolis. This and the islands adjacent would very naturally have commerce with the Tyrians. In early days the supply of the murex from the coast of Phœnicia had been insufficient for the Tyrian manufactures. The isles of Greece abounded in these mollusks, and we have special notice by an ancient Greek historian, that the island of Cythera (Cerigo) was noted for such produce. (Lenormant, 'Sur les prem. civil.' II. p. 366.)

that which covered thee] The awning over the deck as a protection against sun and rain.

8. *Arvad*] In Gen. x. 18 we have *the Arvadite* together with Sidon among the descendants of Canaan. See note on Gen. x. 18. *Arvad* answers to the Greek name Aradus, which occurs as an island near Crete, and as an island in the Persian Gulf. These two were probably colonized from the original Aradus or *Arvad* off the coasts of Sidon. This island is now called Ruad.

9. *Gebal*] Gu-ba-lu in cuneiform inscriptions. The papyrus mentioned above speaks of Kapaon (Gabal) as the holy city, the seat of worship of a goddess whom the traveller does not name. 'Records of the Past,' II. 110. The LXX. (Βίβλιοι) and the Vulg. (Giblii) point clearly to Biblus or Byblos, modern Gébeil, a well-known town of Phœnicia. Byblos was the chief seat of the worship of Adonis, and was situated on an eminence overlooking the river Adonis, north of Beirut, not far from the Mediterranean Sea. Eusebius ('Onomast.,' p. 421, quoted by Fürst, 'Heb. Lex.') says expressly, "Byblus, a city of Phœnicia, in Ezekiel, for which the Heb. has Gobel." In 1 K. v. 18 for *the stone-squarers* in the text, the margin has *the Giblites*, and this is the rendering of the LXX. and the Vulg. Solomon, according to this, sought from Byblos workmen to prepare *timber and stones to build the house*. Remains of considerable interest have been recently discovered at Gébeil; large square stones, portions of a lion in bas-relief on a large stone which appears to be Phœnician work, and parts of an Egyptian temple: which shews that in early times the Egyptians had possession of this place. This accords with the position assigned to the men of Gebal, as the chief builders among the Phœnicians. "Few places possess for the antiquarian attractions like those of Gébeil. The innumerable shafts of columns of marble and granite scattered in all directions, ground which has been continually disturbed, and which shews, wherever it is quarried, successive layers of the débris of all ages, a castle which seems at first sight the work of the giants of primitive antiquity, the legends which point to Byblos as the most ancient city in the world, the mythological reminiscences of Cinyras, of Adonis, and of Osiris, the more historical records of the part which the Giblites took in the works of Solomon, the importance of Byblos in the Phœnician renaissance at the time of the Antonines, the leading part which it played in the religious history of that period, the invaluable work of Philon of Byblos (Sanchoniathon), of which this city was the cradle and is still the commentary, all unite to excite curiosity and awaken the desire of removing the accumulations which must cover so many secrets." The connection which Scripture intimates between Gebal and Jerusalem is illustrated by the resemblance which M. Renan has observed between the two cities, while the same traveller remarks that the burial places of Byblos are more like those of Tyre than those of Aradus or Sidon.

The ancients of Gebal] The term *ancients* is essentially Semitic (Hebr. *zekenim*), and belongs to the council that presided over maritime cities. (Renan, 'Mission de Phénicie,' pp. 153—215.)

10, 11. The prophet here leaves the allegory of the ship to describe the military resources of the Tyrians. We note that their armies were composed of mercenary soldiers, as was the case with Carthage, and is common with all merchant states, with whom money is more plentiful than men.

10. *Persia*] (Heb. *Pāras.*) The name of this people does not occur in the more ancient books of the Old Testament. Their place is occupied by the Elamites; but in the books of the exile and after the exile it is frequent (below, xxxviii. 5; 2 Chro. xxxvi. 20, 22; Ezra iv. 5, vi. 14; Esther i. 3, &c.). This exactly corresponds with the record of history. It was just at the time that Ezekiel wrote that the rude and warlike people of Persia were rising into notice, soon about to seize, under Cyrus, the empire of the Asiatic world. The name *Pārsha* occurs on the inscription of Behistan.

of Phut were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness.

11 The men of Arvad with thine army *were* upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect.

12 Tarshish *was* thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all *kind of* riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.

13 Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they *were* thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy ‖market.

‖ Or, *merchandise.*

14 They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules.

15 The men of Dedan *were* thy merchants; many isles *were* the merchandise of thine hand: they brought

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Lud] appears among the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22), but we also find *Ludim* as a son of Mizraim (Gen. x. 13), see notes on both passages. The union here of *Lud* with *Phut*, an undoubtedly African tribe, especially when we compare xxx. 5 and Isai. lxvi. 19, seems to point *Lud* here to be of Hamite, not Semitic race. Both names occur repeatedly on Egyptian inscriptions, especially as supplying mercenary soldiers. Both the LXX. and Vulg. render the word *Lydians*, and Jerome explains it of the warlike people in Asia Minor, over whom Crœsus reigned. The arguments in favour of the African theory are the stronger.

Phut] Libyans, see on Gen. x. 6. Among the tribes that came with Shishak against Rehoboam are mentioned *Lubim* (2 Chro. xii. 3), also translated *Libyans*. See note on Jer. xlvi. 9.

11. *Gammadims*] The word is rendered by LXX. φύλακες, "watchmen;" Syr. "watching thy towers," connecting *Gammadim* with the following word; Vulg., Kimchi, and others, "dwarfs" or "pygmies," deriving the word from *gemed* = span. It is not clear that the root has a meaning from which we can derive "watchmen" (see Payne Smith's 'Thesaurus,' p. 735); and at any rate it is unlikely that a rare word should be employed instead of the ordinary one. This makes it more probable that *Gammadim* is the name of some nation of which we have no record. The custom of hanging shields upon the walls of a town by way of ornament seems to have been of pure Phœnician origin, and thence introduced by Solomon into Jerusalem (1 K. x. 16; Song of Sol. iv. 4).

12—24. The thread which was broken at *v.* 8 is again taken up, and the various nations are enumerated which traded with Tyre.

12. *Tarshish*] for Tartesus in Spain (see Gen. x. 4). Spain was rich in the metals here named.

merchant] The word is especially applied to those who travelled about with caravans to carry on trade, see Gen. xxiii. 16. Such were the Ishmaelites, Gen. xxxvii. 25.

traded in thy fairs] Lit. "gave (paid for) thy deliveries." The word rendered *fairs* occurs only here and in *vv.* 14, 16, 19, 22, 33 where it is rendered *wares*, of this chapter. The foreign merchants gave their wares in return for the products delivered to them by Tyre. The A. V. is so near the meaning that it is not worth while to propose any alteration in the text.

13. *Javan*] Greece (*Ion*), including the Grecian colonies in Sicily and Italy (see on Gen. x. 2).

Tubal, and Meshech] The Tibareni and Moschi, whose lands were on the Caucasian highlands between the Euxine and Caspian Seas (see on Gen. x. 2). This has been the seat of the finest race of men, and so from thence slaves have been continually sought. Greece too in ancient times was famous for furnishing slaves. In the records of Assurbanipal Tabalu (translated by Mr G. Smith, *Tubal*) occurs among the conquered countries in an expedition including Tyre, Cilicia, and Lydia (p. 61).

14. *Togarmah*] Armenia, see on Gen. x. 2. "This country trafficked in early times with Babylon and Persia (Herod. I. 194), especially in horses (Strabo XII. p. 558)." Hävernick.

15. *Dedan*] is twice mentioned, here and *v.* 20. In Gen. x. 7 we find a *Dedan*, the son of Cush; in Gen. xxv. 3 a *Dedan*, the son of Jokshan, son of Abraham and Keturah. This seems to point to two tribes (Shemite and Hamite), each bearing the name of *Dedan*; see note on Gen. x. 7. The Hamite (Ethiopian) Dedan may well have supplied horns, ivory, and ebony; the Shemite (Arabian), clothes for chariots. Dedan is mentioned in *v.* 20 among the Arabians. There is a little difficulty from its appearing that the prophet pursues a geographical course in his enumeration of nations, commencing with Spain, passing eastward to Italy, Greece, and Armenia, then southward to Syria. But this is not sufficiently certain to prevent our recognition of the two *Dedans* in the objects of their traffic and their connection with kindred people.

thee *for* a present horns of ivory and ebony.

16 Syria *was* thy merchant by reason of the multitude of † the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and † agate.

17 Judah, and the land of Israel, they *were* thy merchants: they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and ‖ balm.

18 Damascus *was* thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool.

19 Dan also and Javan ‖ going to

† Heb. *thy works.*

† Heb. *chrysoprase.*

‖ Or, *rosin.*

‖ Or, *Meuzal.*

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16. *Syria*] Heb. *Aram* (see on Gen. x. 22). The LXX. read "Adam" = "man," and the Syr., with a varied punctuation, "Edom." The latter reading is adopted by Ewald. Hitzig, and Fürst, on the ground that a certain geographical order of countries is observed, to which Edom is better suited than Syria, and Damascus is introduced in *v.* 18. But this order is doubtful (see on *v.* 15), and *Aram* probably included Mesopotamia; Babylon was famous for its precious stones, to which the Chaldæans attached a talismanic value (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 162). The *purple*, and *fine linen*, and *broidered* work, and the *precious stones*, were the materials imported to be made up into the robes and jewellery, for which Tyre was famous.

emeralds] Rather, **carbuncle**, see on Exod. xxviii. 18.

fine linen] Heb. *butz*, in *v.* 7 *shesh*. The word (*butz*) was used only in the times of the captivity (Chro., Ezek., and Esther). It is a Phœnician word, which in Greek assumed the form "byssus," properly "cotton," as distinguished from "linen;" the Phœnicians spinning their threads from cotton wool, the Egyptians from flax. In the course of time, as cotton and linen were used indifferently for the same purposes, the two words were used as almost identical. Comp. 2 Chro. iii. 14 with Exod. xxvi. 31.

coral] Heb. (*ramoth*) occurs only here and in Job xxviii. 18. The LXX. keeps the word "rammoth;" the Vulg. renders it "sericum," "silk;" the Chald. "precious stones."

agate] See on Isai. liv. 12, the only passage besides this where the word occurs.

17. *wheat of Minnith*] Wheat and oil were sent by Solomon to Hiram of Tyre in exchange for cedars and fir-trees (1 K. v. 9—11). In later times we find it mentioned that Tyre and Sidon drew their supplies from Palestine (Acts xii. 20). *Minnith*, a city of the Ammonites, Judg. xi. 33. The country of the Ammonites was famous for wheat (2 Chro. xxvii. 5). The wheat was carried through the land of Israel to Tyre.

Pannag] This word occurs nowhere else, and has been very variously explained. Ewald and Hävernick interpret it "sweetwares," and Winer ('R. W. B.') thinks it may be a syrup, common in Palestine, made of grape-juice, and called "honey of the grape," and Jerome tells us that Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, kept the Hebrew word *Pannag*, that the LXX. translated it "ointment" (μύρων), for which, he says, we have used "balsamum." Fürst ('Heb. Lex.') remarks that these interpretations rest upon mere conjecture, and that it is better to see in *Pannag* the name of a place, fertile like *Minnith*, perhaps identical with Piggi or Pingi, named in the Mishna, on the road from Baalbec to Damascus.

18. *Helbon*] *Helbon* occurs only in this passage in Scripture. The wine from Chalybon of Syria was a favourite luxury of Persian kings (Strabo v. 739). *Helbon* is no doubt the same as Chalybon; but where was *Helbon* or Chalybon? Mr Porter (Smith's 'Dict.,' *Helbon*) considers it to be a village close by Damascus, which still bears a name almost identical with Helbon. In this place the growth of the vine is luxuriant where there are considerable remains of antiquity, and in this opinion Brugsch coincides (Brugsch, 'Geograph. des alten Egyptens,' II. 45). There is no doubt that it is represented on the Egyptian monuments by "Chirbu" or "Chilbu." It occurs constantly in connection with "Kedes," and both were strongholds of the Cheta, against whom Rameses warred. In the 'Travels of an Egyptian,' we find "Khaleb" and "Qodesh" in close proximity ('Records of the Past,' II. p. 109). Chabat identifies it with Aleppo ('Voyage d'un Egyptien,' p. 102).

white wool] A special product of flocks that grazed in the waste lands of Syria and of Arabia.

19. *Dan also*] Heb. *Vedan*. *Ve* being the common Hebrew particle *and* or *also*, has been so understood by our translators. There are, however, many objections to this: (1) In no other case throughout this chapter is *and* or *also* used to introduce a new place or country; (2) *Dan* would scarcely have been singled out as distinct from the rest of Israel, especially since, when Ezekiel wrote, this tribe had been long carried away into captivity; (3) The nature of the wares, *cassia* and *calamus*, points to Arabia. Conjectural alterations have been proposed to substitute some known Arabian name. It is enough to accept *Vedan* as a place

and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.

20 Dedan *was* thy merchant in †precious clothes for chariots.

21 Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, †they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these *were they* thy merchants.

22 The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they *were* thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold.

23 Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, *and* Chilmad, *were* thy merchants.

24 These *were* thy merchants in ‡all sorts *of things*, in blue †clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise.

† Heb. *clothes of freedom.*

† Heb. *they were the merchants of thy hand.*

‡ Or, *excellent things.*

† Heb. *foldings*

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in Arabia, not elsewhere mentioned. Movers identifies it with Aden.

Javan] is the common word to denote the Grecian race (see *v.* 13); but if we accept the marginal correction, which takes the word rendered in the text, *going to and fro*, as a proper name, *Meuzal*, or rather, "from Uzal," and observe that Uzal was the ancient name of Senaa the capital of Yemen in Arabia, we may suppose that Greek merchants carried on commerce between Uzal and Tyre. See Tuch on Gen. x. 28, and translate *Javan* **from Uzal**.

bright iron] Lit. "wrought iron;" iron worked into plates smooth and polished. Yemen was famous for the manufacture of sword-blades.

cassia] The inner bark of an aromatic plant, see on Exod. xxx. 24.

calamus] A fragrant reed-like plant, see on Exod. xxx. 23. Both are specially products of India and Arabia.

20. *Dedan*] See *v.* 15. It is remarkable that both *Dedan* and *Sheba* occur among the descendants of Ham in Gen. x. 7, among the descendants of Abraham and Keturah in Gen. xxv. 3. This seems to indicate that there were distinct nomad tribes bearing the same names of Hamite and of Semitic origin, or it may be that whereas some of the nomad Arabs were Hamite, others Semitic, these were of mixed origin, and so traced up their lineage alike to Ham and Shem. Here we have, at any rate, a number of Arabian nomad tribes mentioned together, and these tribes and their caravans were in those days the regular merchant travellers between east and west. Tyre by her ships spread over Europe the goods which by these caravans she obtained from India and China.

precious clothes] Marg., *clothes of freedom;* rather, "clothes of covering," saddle-cloths.

21. *Kedar*] See Gen. xxv. 13, the representative of the pastoral tribes occupying the north-west of Arabia.

22. *Sheba*] Sabæa, the richest country of Arabia, corresponded nearly with what is now called Yemen or Arabia Felix. Incense from Sheba is mentioned in Jer. vi. 20.

Raamah] Closely connected with *Sheba*, Gen. x. 7, where see note; a tribe whose seat is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf.

23. *Haran*] Charræ, a well-known town in Mesopotamia, see Gen. xi. 31.

Canneh] The same as *Calneh*, Gen. x. 10, probably Ctesiphon on the Tigris.

Eden] A town on the Euphrates, Isai. xxxvii. 12.

the merchants of Sheba] The repetition of the name of Sheba has led some to think that two different places are named. It has been forgotten that *the merchants of Sheba* are not Sheba itself, but the towns or tribes that traded with Sheba. It is well known that Sheba maintained a considerable trade with Mesopotamia; so *Haran*, *Canneh*, and *Eden*, may well be described as *the merchants of Sheba*.

Chilmad] occurs only in this place—Ménant identifies it with Kalwada near Bagdad. In this locality have been discovered bronze rings, thought to have formed part of a sceptre; they bear an inscription "Palace of Hammurabi King of ....." Hammurabi is a name which appears in cuneiform inscriptions, as a governor of Babylon: Ménant fixes his date at 1500 B.C. (Ménant's 'Babylone et la Chaldée,' pp. 107, 111). The LXX. reads Χαρμάν, a name closely resembling Χαρμανδή, which Xenophon describes as "a great city beyond (on the right bank of) the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the desert, whence the soldiers procured all that they needed" (Xen. 'Anab.' I. 5. 10). This cannot be the same as Kalwada.

24. *all sorts of things*] **excellent wares.** The word occurs in nearly the same form, xxiii. 12, where it is rendered *most gorgeously;* and xxxviii. 4, *with all sorts of armour.* The Vulg. in each case translates by a word equivalent to "varied." It is more probable that the literal meaning is "perfected." Hence the two passages referred to, **excellently** *clothed,* **excellent** *armour.*

rich apparel] (Heb. *b'romim*). Fürst compares an Arabic word *mobram*="cloth of divers colours," a well-known product of Arabia.

made of cedar] Rather, **made fast.** The word is evidently adjectival to *chests.*

25 The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.

26 ¶ Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east wind hath broken thee in the [†] midst of the seas.

27 Thy [a] riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that *are* in thee, [‖] and in all thy company which *is* in the midst of thee, shall fall into the [†] midst of the seas in the day of thy ruin.

28 The [‖] suburbs shall shake at the sound of the cry of thy pilots.

29 And all that handle the oar, the mariners, *and* all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land;

30 And shall cause their voice to be heard against thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes:

31 And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart *and* bitter wailing.

32 And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, *saying*, What *city is* like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?

33 When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise.

34 In the time *when* thou shalt be broken by the seas in the depths of the waters thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee shall fall.

35 All the inhabitants of the isles

† Heb. *heart.*

a Rev. 18. 9, &c.

‖ Or, *even with all.*

† Heb. *heart.*

‖ Or, *waves.*

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25. The metaphor of the ship is here resumed. The break should be at the 25th, not at the 26th verse. The 25th verse represents the good ship Tyre, sailing in all her glory, in order to introduce by way of contrast her wreck and ruin.

did sing of thee] **were thy bulwarks**, *i.e.* bulwarks of thy traffic. See Note at end of Chapter.

26. *the east wind*] Comp. Ps. xlviii. 7, *Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind.*

27. All who have been enumerated as sharing in and constituting the glory of Tyre are now recounted as partakers in her wreck.

28. *The suburbs*] Or, "precincts." The same words are used for the vacant space around Jerusalem, xlviii. 17; also for the pasture land round the cities of refuge, Num. xxxv. 2. When we remember the position of Tyre, a city rising from the midst of the sea, we can conceive that the precincts are represented by the surrounding waters, and by the adjoining coasts.

29. As Tyre is figured by a large vessel, so are the subject states by smaller boats which accompany the great ship. These terrified by the storm approach the land, and their crews disembark to gaze in consternation on the wreck of their mistress. We are not to suppose that the sailors leave the ship which represents Tyre itself. That ship is hopelessly swallowed up, crew and all, in the midst of the sea. The small crafts escape to shore (Hävernick).

31. *utterly bald*] See on vii. 18.

35. The dirge of the neighbours ends with *v.* 34; but the news of Tyre's ruin shall reach further, to distant isles, to merchant cities who trade with her. These in their selfish love of gain shall rejoice over her who was once paramount over them, hissing out against her, not lamentations like her neighbours, but curses and scorn. *Thou shalt be a terror, and shalt never be any more.* Nearly the same words which the prophet spoke, xxvi. 21, are now put in the mouth of exulting foes.

This chapter assumes the form of Hebrew poetry, recognized by the well-known parallelisms, the general absence of the definite article and the correspondence of the position of the words in consecutive verses. These distinctive features are not fully displayed in our A.V. The following is an attempt to exhibit them.

DIRGE OF TYRE. Ezek. xxvii.

3 O Tyre, thou hast said, I am perfect in beauty.
4 In the heart of the seas are thy borders:
Thy builders perfected thy beauty.
5 Of fir-trees from Senir they framed for thee all thy shipboards:
Cedars from Libanus they took to make masts for thee;
6 Of oaks from Bashan they made thine oars:
Thy benches made they of ivory with box-wood from the isles of Chittim.
7 Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, to be to thee for a banner:

shall be astonished at thee, and their kings shall be sore afraid, they shall be troubled in *their* countenance.

36 The merchants among the people shall hiss at thee; thou shalt be †a terror, and †never *shalt be* any more.

† Heb. *terrors.*
† Heb. shalt *not* be *for ever.*

Of blue and purple from the isles of Elisha
was thine awning.
8 The inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were
thy mariners:
Thy wise men, O Tyre, they were in thee as
thy pilots;
9 The ancients of Gebal and her wise men
were in thee as thy caulkers:
All the ships of the sea with their mariners
were in thee to conduct thy traffic.

10 Paras and Lud and Phut were in thine army,
thy men of war:
Shield and helmet they hung up in thee; they
set forth thy comeliness.
11 Sons of Arvad with thine army were upon
thy walls, the watchmen in thy towers:
Their quivers they hung up on thy walls,
they perfected thy beauty.
12 Tarshish was thy merchant from the plenty
of all riches:
With silver, iron, tin and lead they paid for
thy produce.
13 Javan, Tubal and Meshech, they were thy
traders in men,
And with vessels of brass they paid for thy
trafficking.
14 They of the house of Togarmah with horses,
horsemen and mules, they paid for thy
produce.
15 The sons of Dedan were thy merchants, many
isles were the merchants of thy hand:
Horns, ivory and ebony they brought thee
for a present.
16 Aram was thy merchant from the plenty of
thy handiworks:
With emeralds, purple and broidered work
and fine linen and coral and agate they
paid for thy produce.
17 Judah and the land of Israel they were thy
merchants:
In wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and honey
and oil and balm they paid for thy trafficking.
18 Damascus was thy merchant in the plenty of
thy handiworks, in the plenty of all riches:
In wine of Helbon and in white wool.
19 Vedan and Javan from Uzel paid for thy
produce:
Polished iron and cassia and calamus were in
thy trafficking.
20 Dedan was thy merchant in saddlecloths for
riding;
21 Arabia and all the princes of Kedar they
were the merchants of thy hand:
In lambs and rams and goats, in these were
they thy merchants.
22 The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they
were thy merchants:
With the chief of all spices, and with every
precious stone, and gold, they paid for thy
produce.
23 Haran, Eden and Canneh, the merchants of
Sheba, Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants:
24 They were thy merchants in excellent wares,
In cloth of blue and broidered work,
In chests of cloth of divers colours, bound
with cords, and made fast among thy merchandize.

25 The ships of Tarshish were the bulwarks of
thy traffic,
And thou wast filled and glorified exceedingly in the heart of the seas.
26 In many waters thy rowers were bringing
thee;
The east wind broke thee in the heart of the
seas—
27 Thy riches, and thy produce, and thy traffic,
thy mariners and thy pilots;
Thy caulkers and the dealers in thy traffic,
And all the men of war that are in thee, even
with all the company that is in the midst
of thee,
They shall fall in the heart of the seas, in the
day of thy ruin.
28 At the voice of the cry of thy pilots, the
shores around shall tremble—
29 And there shall come down from their boats,
all that handle the oar,
The mariners, all the pilots of the sea shall
take their station upon the land.
30 And they shall cause their voice to be heard
over thee, and they shall cry bitterly;
And they shall cast dust upon their heads, in
ashes shall they wallow.
31 And they shall make themselves utterly bald
for thee, and shall gird them with sackcloth;
And they shall weep for thee with bitterness
of heart and with bitter wailing;
32 And they shall take up over thee in their
wailing a lamentation, and shall lament
over thee, saying,
"What city is like Tyre, like the destroyed
in the midst of the sea?"
33 When thy produce went forth from the seas,
thou filledst many peoples:
With the plenty of thy riches and of thy
traffic, thou didst enrich the kings of the
earth,
34 In thy time when thou shalt be broken by
the seas in the depths of the waters,
Thy traffic and all thy company in the midst
of thee shall fall—
35 All the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at thee:
And their kings shall be sore afraid, they
shall be troubled in their countenance,
36 The merchants among the peoples shall hiss
at thee;
"Thou shalt be a terror, and thou shalt be
no more for ever."

NOTES on CHAP. XXVII. 5, 6, 25.

5. לְחֹתַיִם. The form of this noun is peculiar, the dual termination יִם being added to the plural לָחֹת boards, in order to express that there are correspondent boards on either side of the vessel.

6. *company of the Ashurites.* Heb. בַּת־אַשֻּׁרִים. Observe that the name of the people differs from that of the Assyrians אַשּׁוּרִים, which is found in one manuscript and seems to have been adopted by Kimchi, who renders it *congregatio Assyriorum*, and adds that the Assyrians were accustomed to work in ivory, but Ashurites occurs as the name of a people in 2 S. ii. 9, where they are clearly the inhabitants of some part of the land of Israel (comp. 1 Chro. ii. 24 and iv. 5). This can scarcely be the case here. Thus, if we take *Ashurim* to be the name of a people, we can only conjecture that it is the name of some Arabian tribe, otherwise unknown to us. But it is scarcely likely that an obscure tribe would be introduced in a passage where the most striking and significant names must naturally have been preferred. The literal rendering of the clause as it stands in our Hebrew Bibles is, "thy benches they made of tooth (ivory), daughter of Ashurim, from the isles of Chittim." Our translators have followed Kimchi in his interpretation of בַּת, but have adhered to the Masoretic reading, אַשֻּׁרִים. The LXX. and Vulg. evidently followed another reading of the text. The alternative reading in the margin of our Bibles rests upon the following considerations. אַשֻּׁרִים may be the plural of אֲשׁוּר step. It is said that the *ivory* was thought to be the best, which had lain for some time buried in the earth, and it is supposed that ivory is here called *daughter of steps* because the ground under which it lay was *well trodden* by passers by.

The variety of renderings (collected by Rosenm. and others) shews that every interpretation rests on little more than arbitrary conjecture. The most probable conjecture seems to be that which discovers in *bath-ashurim* the name of some tree. Rashi first put forth this idea. Fürst admits the word אֲשׁוּר into his lexicon with this meaning, deriving it from the verb אָשַׁר *be strong*. Rosenmüller, accepting this meaning, explains that ivory is called *daughter of box-trees* because it was used to inlay boxwood when employed for such work as benches, just as the pupil is called *daughter of the eye*, Ps. xvii. 8; Lam. ii. 18; and a slave is called "son of the house," *one born in the house;* lit. "son of the house," Gen. xv. 3. It is not, however, clear that the usages are parallel. Bochart suggested a slight change of punctuation from the Masoretic text (בְּתָאַשֻּׁרִים the plural of תָּאַשּׁוּר with the preposition בְּ) —a suggestion approved by Ewald, Hitzig, and Fürst, who strengthens the conjecture by remarking that the construction would be in that case exactly like the construction in the following verse, *ivory with boxwood* and *fine linen with embroidery*. Rosenmüller points out that there is not wanting the authority of one Hebrew MS. for this reading, and the variation from the Masoretic text is so slight, and the meaning obtained so satisfactory, that we seem to be justified in adopting it.

25. שָׁרוֹתַיִךְ. The English Version, *thy singers*, as from the root שׁוּר *sing;* Vulg., "principes tui," from שָׂרִים *princes*. Fürst, *thy masts*, giving a root שׂרה *stand upright* (which root however he does not shew to be in use), from which he conceives that שָׂרָה came to signify *palm*, the upright tree, and hence the *mast* of a ship. Fürst refers to Jer. v. 10, but the word there more probably means *thy walls*, as in the English and other versions. Ewald, *thy caravans*, Chaldee שִׁירָא *a troop*, but in Jeremiah v. 10, שָׁרוֹתֶיהָ *her walls*, which Hävernick adopts here, explaining that the ship formed the protection and defence of Tyre. כַּעֲרֻבָּךְ depends upon שָׁרוֹתַיִךְ. *Thy bulwarks*, the bulwarks of thy commerce.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *God's judgment upon the prince of Tyrus for his sacrilegious pride.* 11 *A lamentation of his great glory corrupted by sin.* 20 *The judgment of Zidon.* 24 *The restoration of Israel.*

THE word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,
2 Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thine heart *is* lifted up, and

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CHAP. XXVIII. 1—10. The prophecy against the prince of Tyre.

2. *the prince of Tyrus*] Throughout the east the majesty and glory of a people were collected in the person of their monarch, who in some nations was not feared as a man, but actually worshipped as a god. (See Pusey's 'Daniel,'

thou hast said, I *am* a god, I sit *in* the seat of God, in the † midst of the seas; [a] yet thou *art* a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God:

† Heb. *heart.*
[a] Isai. 31. 3.

3 Behold, thou *art* wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee:

4 With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures:

† Heb. *By the greatness of thy wisdom.*

5 † By thy great wisdom *and* by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches:

6 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God;

7 Behold, therefore I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness.

8 They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of *them that are* slain in the midst of the seas.

9 Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I *am* God? but thou *shalt be* a man, and no God, in the hand of him that † slayeth thee.

† Or, *woundeth.*

10 Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hand of strangers: for I have spoken *it*, saith the Lord GOD.

11 ¶ Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

12 Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus,

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p. 442 foll.) Some have thought that the word *prince* indicates something of a less absolute power than that asserted by the monarchs of Egypt and Assyria, and note that in the prophecies against Egypt the king is first addressed and then the people, and in the case of Tyre, the people first and then the king. This indeed accords with the forms of government usual in commercial states, and especially seen in Phœnician colonies. At any rate the prince is here the embodiment of the community. Their glory is his glory, their pride his pride. The doom of Tyre could not be complete without denunciation of the prince of Tyre. Some of the fathers conceived that the prophet's words reached beyond mere man, and that in the *prince of Tyrus* Satan was figured and addressed. Their views in substance were correct. Idolatrous nations and idolatrous kings were, in the eyes of the prophet, antagonists to the true God. In them was embodied the principle of evil opposing itself to the divine government of the world. Hence they saw upon the throne, not simply a hostile monarch, but *the Prince of this world, spiritual wickedness* (or *wicked spirits*) *in high places.* Hence the severity of the prophet's rebuke and his exultation at their downfall. Hence the application of such prophecies to all times. Whenever evil in any way domineers over good, there is a *prince of Tyrus*, against whom God utters His voice. The *mystery of iniquity* is ever working, and in that working we recognize the power of Satan whom God condemns and will destroy.

thou hast said, I am a god] Compare Nebuchadnezzar's speech (Dan. iv. 30), Pharaoh's boast (xxix. 3), and Herod's pride (Acts xii. 21); also 2 Thess. ii. 4, where St Paul uses the language of Ezekiel with his further application.

I sit in the seat of God] The words are put in the mouth of the speaker to denote his arrogant pride, but the situation of the island-city, full of luxury and beauty, in the midst of the blue water of the Mediterranean, gives force to the expression. So there is a fitness in describing the lot of Tyre as having been in *Eden, the garden of God*, though the words are mainly chosen to denote the glory of man in his primal innocence.

yet thou art a man] Rather, **yet thou art man.**

3. *thou art wiser than Daniel*] The passage is one of strong irony. On the fame of Daniel in Ezekiel's time see on xiv. 14; for his wisdom, comp. Dan. vi. 3.

9. *but thou shalt be a man*] Rather, **yet art thou man.** The original words are precisely the same as in *v.* 2, and so in English the same words should be repeated.

10. *the uncircumcised*] The heathen idolaters as opposed to the covenant-people. Comp. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 19, 21, 25, 27.

11—19. The dirge of the prince of Tyre, answering to the dirge of the state. A strong vein of irony runs throughout the passage, but the main purpose is to depict all the glory, real or assumed, of *the prince of Tyrus*, in order to shew how deplorable should be his ruin.

and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.

13 Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone *was* thy covering, the ‖ sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the ‖ beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the ‖ emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created.

‖ Or, *ruby.*
‖ Or, *chrysolite.*
‖ Or, *chrysoprase.*

14 Thou *art* the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee *so:* thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire.

15 Thou *wast* perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee.

16 By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God: and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire.

17 Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy

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12. *Thou sealest up the sum*] To *seal* means to seal up and close that which is complete. Comp. Dan. ix. 24, *to make an end of sins*, lit. "seal up;" Job ix. 7, *he sealeth up the stars.*

the sum] The Hebrew word (*tochnith*) occurs only here and in xliii. 10, where it is translated *pattern*, with the marginal renderings, or *sum*, or *number*. It is connected with the word *tochen* = *tale*, Exod. v. 18; *measure*, Ezek. xlv. 11; and with the verb *tachan* = *tell*, 2 K. xii. 11; *weigh*, Prov. xvi. 2. Hence *to seal the sum* is to make up the whole measure of perfection. Compare the English word "consummate."

13. *Thou hast been in Eden*] Ewald compares Job xv. 7, *Art thou the first man that was born? or wast thou made before the hills?* The prince of Tyrus is ironically described as the first of creation, and at the same time the parallel is to be maintained in his fall from glory. Like Adam in the enjoyment of paradise, he shall be like Adam in his fall.

every precious stone] All the stones here named are found in the highpriest's breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 17—20, xxxix. 8 foll.), but their order is different, and three stones named in Exodus (the third row) are wanting. The LXX. make the two passages coincide, correcting, probably, Ezekiel by Exodus. There is no doubt a reference to the highpriest's apparel, but the prophet may purposely have varied the description because the number twelve (that of the tribes of Israel) had nothing to do with the prince of Tyrus, and he wished to portray, not a highpriest, but a king, having in view a figure which was to a Jew, especially to a priest, the very type of magnificence (comp. Ecclus. xlv. 7 foll.). This will account for the addition of *gold*, which would be out of place among the Jews on the highpriest's breastplate. On the several *stones* see on Exod. xxviii.

tabrets and...pipes] Of the two Hebrew words here employed, one is common enough in the sense of *tabrets* or *drums*, the other (connected with a verb = *to hollow out*) is used only here. For its translation we must depend upon ancient versions or conjectures, and both greatly vary. Our A. V. seems as probable as any, *pipes* being hollow tubes. *Tabrets* and *pipes* were a common expression of festivity and triumph. Comp. Isai. v. 12, also xxvi. 13.

14. *Thou art*] Better, *Thou* **wert**. All the tenses, *I have set thee, thou wast*, are the same, the simple past. The prince of Tyre is described as he appeared upon the day that he was advanced to the kingdom. It would be better throughout to substitute the simple past tense, *Thou* **wast** *in Eden* for *Thou hast been in Eden*, and the like.

the anointed cherub that covereth] The mind of the prophet is still in the temple, where the cherubs and all holy things were consecrated and anointed with oil (Exod. xxx. 26 and xl. 9, 10). The prince of Tyre was also *anointed* as a sovereign prince—*covering* or protecting the minor states, like the cherubim with outstretched wings covering the mercy-seat.

thou wast upon the holy mountain] The cherub was in the temple on the holy mountain, so the prince of Tyre was presiding over the island-city, rising like a mountain from the deep. The seclusion of an eastern monarch was not unlike the enshrinement of the cherub in the Holy of Holies.

stones of fire] *i.e.* bright and shining. Compare i. 27. Decked with bright jewels, the prince walked among jewels in gorgeous splendour.

15. The *perfection* was a false show, unsuspected, until the real *iniquity* which lay beneath was found out. A reference is here made to Adam's fall.

brightness: I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee.

18 Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that behold thee.

19 All they that know thee among the people shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be † a terror, and never *shalt* thou *be* any more.

† Heb. *terrors.*

20 ¶ Again the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

21 Son of man, set thy face against Zidon, and prophesy against it,

22 And say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against thee, O Zidon; and I will be glorified in the midst of thee: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I shall have executed judgments in her, and shall be sanctified in her.

23 For I will send into her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the wounded shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword upon her on every side; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

24 ¶ And there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor *any* grieving thorn of all *that are* round about them, that despised them; and they shall know that I *am* the Lord GOD.

25 Thus saith the Lord GOD; When I shall have gathered the house of Israel from the people among whom they are scattered, and shall be sanctified in them in the sight of the heathen, then shall they dwell in their land that I have given to my servant Jacob.

26 And they shall dwell ‖ safely therein, and shall build houses, and plant vineyards; yea, they shall dwell with confidence, when I have executed judgments upon all those that † despise them round about them; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD their God.

‖ Or, *with confidence.*

† Or, *spoil.*

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21. *Zidon*] Prophecy against Zidon (Joel iii. 4). Zidon was more ancient than Tyre and was the original metropolis of Phœnicia; it is mentioned in Gen. x. 19, where the name of Tyre does not occur, but in the times of Phœnician greatness it ever played a subordinate part. Only once (Judg. x. 12) do we find the *Zidonians* in conflict with Israel. The evil which they did was the seducing them to idolatry, as in the case of Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians. This is implied in *v.* 24, referring no doubt to Num. xxxiii. 55 and Josh. xxiii. 13. The capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar increased the importance of Zidon, which was a wealthy and flourishing town when Artaxerxes Ochus destroyed it. It has rallied from time to time, but has never attained to any great consequence (see Smith's 'Dict.' art. *Zidon*), but its ruin has not been so complete as that of Tyre. The terms of this prophecy against Zidon differ widely from those in which Tyre is denounced. "The modern Saida must be considered not so much a direct successor of the ancient Zidon as a small group of fortified houses which especially since the time of the Crusades has collected round the port of the old town. It is made up of ancient débris which are scarcely to be recognized, with the exception of the never-ending shafts of columns built into the walls, the gigantic blocks in the old port, and the cuttings in the rocks. Saida like Sour has preserved above ground no other vestige of its Phœnician history. Until the discovery of the great Necropolis situated around Mughâret Abloun, in 1855, it might have been said that the ancient Zidon, the mother in Canaan, had totally disappeared." 'Mission de Phénicie,' p. 361, 362.

25, 26. The contrast of the future of Israel with that of the surrounding nations. As we have seen that the prophecies against the heathen reached, not merely to the particular nations, but to the world-power which they represented, as the same predictions are directed against Tyre by Ezekiel, against Babylon by Isaiah, and against the Apocalyptic Babylon by St John; so this prophecy reaches far beyond a mere temporal restoration. It points to times of more permanent security, when from all nations and kingdoms the Church of Christ, the Israel of God, shall be gathered in, when the power of the world shall be for ever broken, and the kingdom of Christ shall be established for ever.

This transition from the enemies to the people of God is made to close the portion of

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *The judgment of Pharaoh for his treachery to Israel.* 8 *The desolation of Egypt.* 13 *The restoration thereof after forty years.* 17 *Egypt the reward of Nebuchadrezzar.* 21 *Israel shall be restored.*

IN the tenth year, in the tenth *month*, in the twelfth *day* of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt:

3 Speak, and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great [a]dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My

[a] Psal. 74. 13, 14. Isai. 27. 1. & 51. 9.

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the prophecies against the heathen, which concerns the nations in the immediate vicinity of the Israelites, *them that despise them round about them*, before passing to the more distant Egypt.

CHAP. XXIX. Prophecies against Egypt, Isai. xviii., xix., xxxi.; Jer. xlvi.; Joel iii. 19. This and the three following chapters uttered (with the exception of ch. xxix. 17 to end) in regular succession predict the downfall of Pharaoh Hophra and the desolation of Egypt. The form is much the same as in the denunciation of Tyre: (1) a prophecy against Egypt and her allies, xxix., xxx.; (2) an image of Egypt's greatness and her fall, xxxi.; and (3) a dirge over Egypt, xxxii. This prophecy (1—16) was delivered some months before the preceding prophecies against Tyre (see xxvi. 1), the prophecies against the nations being given, not in their chronological, but in their geographical order, according to their nearness to Jerusalem.

1—16. First prophecy against Egypt.

1. *the tenth year*] Jerusalem had been besieged, but not taken. It was about the time that Jeremiah delivered his prophecy against Egypt, when the approach of Pharaoh Hophra's army caused the Chaldæans for the time to raise the siege (Jer. xxxvii. 5). This was the solitary instance of Egypt meddling with the affairs of Palestine or Syria after the battle of Carchemish (comp. 2 K. xxiv. 7), and it met with a speedy punishment. But for a time there seemed a prospect of help from one like Pharaoh Hophra, who was evidently disposed to revive the military glory and conquests of Egypt, and regain the footing in Syria which his ancestor Necho had obtained by the battle of Megiddo.

2—16. A general prediction of ruin upon Egypt and her kings.

3. The king is addressed as the embodiment of the state.

dragon] Heb. *tannim* or *tannin*. The word is variously translated in our A.V., *whale*, *serpent*, *dragon*, see note on Gen. i. 21. It is a plural form (like the Latin *cete*), but applied to an individual here and Job vii. 12; Isai. li. 9; Ezek. xxxii. 2. See note on Job xli. No doubt by *dragon* is meant the crocodile, the great monster of the Nile. The crocodile is not now found in Lower Egypt or the Delta of which it was formerly an inhabitant. It was regarded very differently in different parts of Egypt. By some it was worshipped and embalmed after death, and cities were named after it *Crocodilopolis*. This was especially the case in the Arsinoite nome. Others viewed it with the utmost abhorrence. There is a well-known story in Juvenal of a furious battle between the neighbouring cities of Tentyra and Ombos, whose sacred crocodile the Tentyrites had seized and eaten (Juv. 'Sat.,' xv. 33). Wilkinson tells us that "Egypt produces two varieties of this animal, distinguished by the number and position of the scales on the neck. One has the front row composed of six scales, behind which is a cluster of four large central scales in two lines, with two smaller ones on each side of the uppermost of these lines; the other has in the front row four only, and the disposition of the other eight is thus: four central scales in two lines, with one smaller one on each side of the upper line, and two behind the second and lower line. The first row of the body consists of six scales, the former variety having only four. The other sides of the body are nearly alike in both. They do not exceed eighteen or nineteen feet, though travellers have mentioned some of stupendous size." Wilkinson's 'Manners and Customs of Egypt,' III. p. 79. The crocodile has immense strength, and is quite invulnerable to the ordinary weapons of attack, and were he to seize a man with his jaws escape would be hopeless. They are not usually disposed to attack men, but we find in Livingstone's 'Last Journal,' Vol. I. p. 293, "We found Mohamad Bogharib digging and fencing up a well to prevent his slaves being taken away by the crocodiles, as three had been eaten already." An animal so terrible, so venerated, and so abhorred, was an apt image of the proud Egyptian monarch—the more so, perhaps, because he was in truth less formidable than he appeared, and often became an easy prey to such as assailed him with skill and courage.

lieth in the midst of his rivers] Sais, the royal city, during the twenty-sixth dynasty was in the Delta, in the very midst of the various branches and streams of the Nile.

river *is* mine own, and I have made *it* for myself.

4 But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales, and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and all the fish of thy rivers shall stick unto thy scales.

5 And I will leave thee *thrown* into the wilderness, thee and all the fish of thy rivers: thou shalt fall upon the † open fields; thou shalt not be brought together, nor gathered: I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field and to the fowls of the heaven.

† Heb. *face of the field.*

6 And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I *am* the LORD, because they have been a [b] staff of reed to the house of Israel.

[b] 2 Kin. 18. 21 Isai. 36. 6.

7 When they took hold of thee by thy hand, thou didst break, and rend all their shoulder: and when they leaned upon thee, thou brakest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand.

8 ¶ Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee.

9 And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD: because he hath said, The river *is* mine, and I have made *it*.

10 Behold, therefore I *am* against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt † utterly waste *and* desolate, from the tower of † Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia.

† Heb. *wastes of waste.*

† Heb. *Seveneh.*

My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself] This quite agrees with Herodotus' account of the pride of Hophra (Apries), whose common boast it was that "not even a god could dispossess him of power" (Herod. II. 169). The river was at all times the source of fertility and wealth to Egypt, but especially so to the Saite kings, who not only had their royal residence on the river, but constantly encouraged intercourse with foreigners, by whose commerce the kingdom was greatly enriched. Psammetichus began this policy, and at the close of the dynasty Amasis especially maintained it.

4. *I will put hooks in thy jaws*] Comp. Job xli. 2. In this way the mighty crocodile is rendered an easy prey. Herodotus describes the mode of baiting a hook, and when the crocodile has swallowed the bait, dragging it upon shore (Herod. II. 70).

fish of thy rivers] The allies of Egypt shall be involved in her ruin.

6. *staff of reed*] Comp. Isai. xxxvi. 6. The *reed* was specially appropriate to Egypt as the natural product of its river.

7. The tense of the Hebrew verbs expresses that this was not a single occurrence, but a continuous result. So Egypt had continually proved to Israel, to Jehoiakim and to Zedekiah.

10. *from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia*] **from Migdol to Syene, even unto the borders of Ethiopia.** *Tower*, Heb. *Migdol*, the name of a town in Egypt, about two miles from Suez. See on Exod. xiv. 2. *Syene* (Heb. *Seveneh*, "towards Seven," the *eh* being the Hebrew affix for *towards*), the most southern town in Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia, in the Thebaid, on the eastern bank of the Nile, on a peninsula formed by this river (Plin. 'N. H.' v. 10), mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and other ancient authors, who tell us that the sun here on the longest day was immediately over the head, and that their bodies cast no shadow, *i.e.* it was within the tropics. The modern Assvan, well known in the middle ages, lies a little to the north-east of the ancient Syene (Winer, 'R.W.B.' v. *Syene*). The name itself is Old-Egyptian. The LXX. render the Hebrew words, "from Magdolum (*Migdol*) and Syene even unto the borders of Ethiopia." Our translators and Luther follow the Vulgate, but the known position of Syene makes this rendering untenable. The marginal rendering, *Seveneh*, seems to have been intended to suggest that the Hebrew word does not correspond with the Greek *Syene*, and may have denoted some place in the north of Egypt, and thus mark the northern limits of the country, as Ethiopia marks the southern. But we have no record of any such place, and the rendering of the LXX. (whose translation was made in Egypt) seems conclusive against any attempt to separate the Hebrew *Seveneh* from the well-known *Syene*.—*Ethiopia*, Heb. *Cush*. See on Gen. ii. 13. In xxx. 6 the phrase is repeated without the addition, *unto the border*, so that according to our A.V. we have, *from the tower of Syene*, without any other limit unto which the ruin was to extend. In both cases it is not improbable that the final *h* in the Hebrew word

11 No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years.

12 And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries *that are* desolate, and her cities among the cities *that are* laid waste shall be desolate forty years: and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.

13 ¶ Yet thus saith the Lord GOD; [e] At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered:

14 And I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return *into* the land of Pathros, into the land of their [‖] habitation; and they shall be there a [†] base kingdom.

15 It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.

16 And it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel, which bringeth *their* iniquity to remembrance, when they shall look after them: but they shall know that I *am* the Lord GOD.

17 ¶ And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year, in the first *month*, in the first *day* of the month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head *was* made bald, and every shoulder *was* peeled: yet had he

[e] Isai. 19. 23. Jer. 46. 26.

[‖] Or, *birth.*

[†] Heb. *low.*

Seveneh may be the affix commonly used to denote *towards* or *to*.

10—12. We have no record of the circumstances of the Chaldæan invasion of Egypt (see Note A at end of Chapter). We gather of what nature it must have been by comparing the description of the results of Sennacherib's conquest (Isai. xxxvii. 25 foll.), and of the ravages of an invading army in Joel. Compare also 2 K. xxi. 13 and Jer. xlvi. 19, where the removal of the inhabitants is especially mentioned. We are not to insist upon minute fulfilment of every detail of prophecy. Desolation and ruin are described by depicting their usual accompaniments. The prophecy insists upon the general fact that Egypt will for a time, described as forty years, be in a state of collapse.

forty years] No great stress is to be laid on the exact number of years. The number of years passed by the Children of Israel in the wilderness became to the Hebrews a significant period of chastisement. See above iv. 6 and Note B at end of Chapter.

13. A similar respite was promised to Moab (Jer. xlviii. 47) and to Ammon (Jer. xlix. 6), and eminently to Tyre (Isai. xxiii. 15). This partial restoration of Egypt is also foretold, Jer. xlvi. 26.

14. *Pathros*] (see Gen. x. 14; Isai. xi. 11) is the Thebaid or Upper Egypt, the original seat of the kingdom (Herod. II. 4).

the land of their habitation] Rather, as marg., *the land of their* birth. The word means properly "origin," and some have thought that *Pathros* or Upper Egypt is thus specially described as the birthplace of Egyptian greatness. It was the seat of empire under the Ethiopian dynasty, but it does not appear that it ever became so in later times, and it is therefore more probable that *Pathros* is here put as a part for the whole, and *the land of their birth* simply denotes the home of the restored exiles.

16. *which bringeth their iniquity to remembrance*] The false confidence of the Israelites *brought to remembrance*, *i.e.* discovered in the sight of God and man (for the phrase comp. xxi. 24) their *iniquity*, *i.e.* their treachery and perjury to the Chaldæans.

when they shall look after them] Their falsehood being made evident when they *look after* the Egyptians and seek their aid in rebellion. The ruin of Egypt shall put an end to all this.

17—20. Second prophecy against Egypt. A special prediction of the ruin of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar.

In putting together the various prophecies which he had delivered against Egypt, the prophet places this out of chronological order, that he may point out that which had not been stated in the foregoing prophecy, viz., that the agent which should strike the first blow on Egypt should be the Chaldæan king, Nebuchadnezzar. Compare a similar order in xxvi.: (1) a general prophecy against, (2) a special prophecy that Nebuchadnezzar should effect the ruin.

18. *yet had he no wages*] Some have concluded that Nebuchadnezzar failed to take Tyre after a siege of thirteen years (see Note

no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it:

19 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and [†] take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be the wages for his army.

20 I have given him the land of Egypt [‡] *for* his labour wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord GOD.

21 ¶ In that day will I cause the horn of the house of Israel to bud forth, and I will give thee the opening of the mouth in the midst of them; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

[†] Heb. *spoil her spoil, and prey her prey.*

[‡] Or, for *his hire.*

A on ch. xxvi.). Ezekiel, however, does not say that Tyre was not taken, and the supposition is inconsistent with xxvi. 7—14. Jerome, who does not however give us the source from which he derived it, says that Nebuchadnezzar imposed upon his soldiers a very heavy task in filling up the strait separating Tyre from the mainland, in order to be able to bring up his battering rams and other engines of war, and that the Tyrians, when they saw that the capture was inevitable, carried off their valuables by ships, and so deprived Nebuchadnezzar and his army of the rich spoil which they had anticipated. But it is very doubtful whether Nebuchadnezzar ever constructed a mole, as Alexander did, and Jerome's account may be simply his way of explaining this passage, founded upon Alexander's subsequent course of proceeding. It is indeed not improbable that the Tyrians before they surrendered their island citadel managed to remove much of their treasure, but Kliefoth suggests another explanation of *v.* 18, viz.:—that the siege and capture of Tyre may be regarded together, simply as the *work* appointed to him, and the possession of Egypt as the *reward* or *wages* for the work.

21. Egypt being the antagonist of the people of God, her overthrow inaugurated the triumph of good over evil. The prophet as usual sees the fruit in the germ, the perfect building in the ruin of the edifice cleared away to make room for the new structure. The destruction of heathen powers was leading up to the establishment of Messiah's kingdom.

I will give thee the opening of the mouth] When these things should begin to come to pass the prophet's mouth should be opened to declare their meaning, and to make known the end to which all was tending.

NOTE A.

ON THE KINGS OF THE 26TH DYNASTY—ESPECIALLY NECHO AND HOPHRA.

The cuneiform records of the deeds of Assurbanipal throw a new light on the establishment of the 26th or Saite dynasty, to which Pharaoh-Hophra (the Greek Apries) belongs, and shew how the Egyptian priests disguised from Herodotus such events as seemed to the national dishonour. Under their guidance Herodotus tells us that the glorious reign of Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, was followed by an internal revolution which parcelled out Egypt into twelve provinces, each ruled over by an independent prince, and that eventually one of them, Psammetichus, succeeded in overcoming the other eleven, and making Egypt again one monarchy under himself. But this, which Herodotus represents as an internal change accomplished by the Egyptians themselves, was, we now learn, the result of foreign invasion and conquest. The cylinders of Assurbanipal tell us that Tirhakah was defeated and driven out of his dominions by Esarhaddon, who set up *twenty* (not twelve) governors tributary to and dependent upon Assyria; that upon Esarhaddon's death Tirhakah reconquered Egypt and displaced the twenty, but in his turn was driven back again by Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's son; that the twenty rebelled, seeking Tirhakah's aid, and were again overthrown, but that one of them, Necho of Sais, was restored to favour and honour; that at Tirhakah's death his son Rudamnon made a fresh attempt to recover Egypt, but was foiled by Assurbanipal. ('History of Assurbanipal,' p. 15—51.) We gather that Psammetichus, the son of Necho, after the death of Assurbanipal succeeded in making Egypt independent of Assyria, whose power was now on the decline, and this explains why what Herodotus calls the dodecarchy (the rule of the tributary princes) is excluded from Egyptian history, and the reign of Psammetichus is reckoned to begin with the close of that of Tirhakah.

To this, the 26th or Saite dynasty, both Pharaoh-Necho and Pharaoh-Hophra of the Old Testament belong.

The determination of the dates of these kings is important for Scripture chronology.

The ancient historians differ as to the length of reigns of some of the kings of this dynasty; but we have sure data from monumental records.

1. There has been recently discovered by

Mariette a series of steles whereon are recorded the dates (in the years of the kings) of the birth, enthronement, death, and age of the Apises or Sacred Bulls who lived in the 26th dynasty.

2. There are two remarkable monumental tablets preserved, the one at Florence, the other at Leyden.

I. *Apis Steles.*

a. An Apis was born the 26th of Tirhakah, and died in the 20th of Psammetichus I.

b. An Apis born in the 53rd of Psammetichus, died in the 16th of Necho, aged 16 years, 7 months, 17 days.

This gives the reign of Psammetichus, 54 years.

c. An Apis born in the 16th of Necho, died in the 12th of Hophra, aged 17 years, 6 months, 5 days.

This gives the reign of Psammis (or Psammetichus II.), 5 years.

II. *The Florence Tablet.*

This is a tablet in memory of one Psammetichus, son of Kammath-bahar, born of the lady Gahrat, who was born on the 1st day of the month Payni, of the 3rd of Necho, lived 71 years, 4 months, and 6 days, died on the 6th day of the month Paopi, and in the 35th year of Amasis.

Rosselini, 'Monumenti Reali,' p. 152.

This gives 34 years of Amasis' reign, 5 of Psammis, and 13 or 14 of Necho; if we add 19 years for Hophra's reign (the length assigned to it by Manetho, according to Africanus, and by others) we account for the 71 years, 4 months, and 6 days of Psammetichus' life.

III. *The Leyden Tablet.*

This is a tablet in memory of another Psammetichus (Psammetichus was at this time no doubt a common appellative). In the 1st year of Necho, on the 1st day of the month Epiphi, was born Psammetichus, the son of Aahubon and Taankho, and he lived 65 years, 10 months, and 2 days; he was buried in the 27th year of Amasis, the 28th of the month Pharmuthi.

Leeman, 'Monuments portant des lignes royales,' Leyden, 1838.

This is an independent evidence exactly agreeing with the former.

This Psammetichus lived in

Amasis' reign		26 years
Hophra's	...	19 ,,
Psammis'	...	5 ,,
Necho's	...	15 or 16 yrs.

thus accounting for 65 years, 10 months, 2 days. It is possible that the interval may be longer by a month or so, which would be accounted for by the date of the close of Amasis' reign being the date of *burial*.

Now the date of Cambyses' invasion of Egypt has been determined with certainty to have been B.C. 525.

B.C. 525	Psammaritus (the successor of Amasis) reigned 6 months.	
	Amasis reigned	44 years.
,, 570	Accession of Amasis.	
	Hophra ,,	19 ,,
,, 589	Accession of Hophra.	
	Psammis ,,	5 ,,
,, 594	Accession of Psammis.	
	Necho II. ,,	16 ,,
,, 610	Accession of Necho II.	
	Psammetichus	54 ,,
,, 664	Accession of Psammetichus, dated from the death of Tirhakah.	

These dates, established on sure and independent grounds, accord with Scripture history. The battle of Megiddo in which Pharaoh-Necho defeated and slew Josiah took place three years before that of Carchemish (in the fourth year of Jehoiakim) in which the power of Egypt was broken. Supposing the battle of Megiddo to have taken place in the first year of Necho's reign, this would bring the battle of Carchemish to B.C. 606, the usual date. The captivity of Jehoiachin, eight years after the battle of Carchemish, will be B.C. 598, and the tenth year of that captivity B.C. 588, or 589, the latter being the date of the accession of Pharaoh-Hophra.

According to this view we must suppose that Pharaoh-Hophra at the very beginning of his reign entered upon the expedition against Sidon and Tyre, mentioned by Herodotus. His success in that campaign was probably due to the circumstance of Nebuchadnezzar being engaged in preparations for the siege of Jerusalem. When, in consequence of this success and as part of the campaign, Hophra made a demonstration in order to relieve Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar drove him back to his own kingdom. Again for many years Nebuchadnezzar was occupied with a siege, the siege of Tyre, and this may have allowed Hophra to prosecute various conquests undisturbed by the Chaldæans, until at last, Tyre being taken, Nebuchadnezzar turned his arms against Egypt.

NOTE B.

The Downfall of Pharaoh-Hophra and the Ruin of Egypt.

We have seen that the prophecies of Ezekiel against Egypt were in all probability delivered at the commencement of the reign of Apries or Pharaoh-Hophra (see Introduction § III). At this time Ezekiel predicted his downfall. That Pharaoh-Hophra was deposed and put to death is unquestioned, but the circumstance of his overthrow and the condition of Egypt

which ensued are stated by Herodotus in terms which do not appear to correspond with the prophecy of Ezekiel. According to Herodotus this monarch, after a series of brilliant victories, sustained a grievous failure in an expedition against Cyrene. This alienated the affections of his subjects, who fancied that they detected a design on the part of their king to weaken the military class by losses in battle, and to secure for himself more absolute power. This led to a revolt, by which they transferred the crown to Amasis, one of the chief captains, by whom Apries was thrown into prison, and for a time kindly treated, but at last strangled by the order of Amasis at the instigation of his subjects, who could not endure that the life of their enemy should be spared. We observe that in the account of Herodotus there is absolute silence as to Nebuchadnezzar, whereas Ezekiel expressly predicts the overthrow of Egypt and her allies by the hands of the Chaldæan monarch. Some refer to the case of the reversal of Nineveh's doom in consequence of the repentance of its inhabitants, and consider that Egypt was spared for a time on the principle enunciated, Jer. xviii. 8. But a more careful examination of the subject will lead us to conclude that Herodotus' statement was erroneous. It is notorious that Herodotus, while he faithfully recorded all that he heard and saw in Egypt, was indebted for his information on past history to the Egyptian priests, whose tales he adopted with blind credulity. It is a striking proof of the manner in which these informants dealt with history, that when they informed Herodotus of the successful battle of Necho at Megiddo, they left him in ignorance of the far more important event of his defeat at Carchemish. The whole story of Apries and Amasis is mixed with so much that is inconsistent and legendary that we may very well hesitate to adopt it as authentic history. It is by no means strange that the priests should endeavour to disguise the national dishonour of having been subjected to a foreign yoke, especially when the king in whose reign this occurred was one of the chief patrons of the priesthood and the services of religion. That Amasis was such a king we have the testimony both of Herodotus himself (II. 177) and of monumental records. On the other hand we have the affirmation of Megasthenes and Berosus that "Nebuchadnezzar conquered a great part of Africa, and having invaded Egypt took many captives, who were committed to the charge of persons appointed to conduct them after him to Babylon" (Wilkinson's 'Manners and Customs of the Egyptians,' I. p. 177). It is true that these historians are speaking of the times of Necho and the battle of Carchemish, but at any rate the silence of Herodotus in this matter shews on the one hand how ready the priests were to gloss over such events, and on the other hand how unlikely it was that when Hophra again endeavoured to obtain a footing in Syria, a conqueror like Nebuchadnezzar would leave him unpunished and his realm unvisited. The account therefore which Josephus gives us, that "Nebuchadnezzar, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt with a hostile army, slew the then king, and placed another upon the throne" (Joseph. 'Antiq.' X. 11), has at least probability on its side. There are also even in the account of Herodotus indications of some such relation between Amasis and a foreign prince. We are told by Herodotus that in the earlier part of his reign Amasis was little regarded by his subjects, but that he in the end obtained their confidence and respect (II. 170). Laying aside the grounds upon which Herodotus states such to have been the case, and the mythical story of the manner in which Amasis satisfied their scruples, we may accept the fact as a proof that the mode of Amasis' accession was not satisfactory to the people. And since, in the decline of Babylonian power under the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, Amasis may have very well shaken off the yoke and freed himself from the tribute; he would also in such case have established his authority over his own subjects. The stories of Cyrus requesting a physician to be sent by Amasis (Herod. III. 1; comp. 2 K. v. 7), and of Cambyses demanding his daughter (if they are more than mere stories), seem to shew that the Persians, who always considered themselves successors to the power of the Assyrians, looked upon Egypt as a state bound to do their bidding. It is therefore highly probable either that Amasis was set upon the throne of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, as Zedekiah had been upon the throne of Jerusalem, or that Nebuchadnezzar took occasion of the disorder arising upon the rebellion to confirm Amasis in his power, making him, however, tributary to the Assyrian empire.

There is yet another discrepancy between the narrative of Herodotus and the prophecy of Ezekiel. The prophecy speaks of the utter desolation of Egypt; the historian says that in the reign of Amasis the land was most flourishing, "both with regard to the advantages conferred by the river on the soil and by the soil on the inhabitants," and that the country "could boast no less than 20,000 inhabited cities" (Herod. II. 177). This is also confirmed by the existence of many monuments bearing the mark of this reign, which attest the wealth and luxury of the inhabitants (Wilkinson, I. p. 180).

Nebuchadnezzar's occupation of Egypt was of no long duration, and his ravages, though severe, must have been partial; when the army was withdrawn, Amasis took to building. Peace with Babylon was favourable to internal works, but since the peace was in truth subjugation, it was hollow and in fact ruinous. It is evident that wealth and luxury are at

all times consistent with a state of imminent ruin. Even in the later days of the Jewish monarchs we find prophets lifting up their voice against riches and magnificence (Jer. xxii. 14).

But the more complete solution of the difficulty is to be found in the observation, that God is often wont to fulfil his decree by a gradual rather than an immediate process. This was seen in the case of Jerusalem itself, where, after the captivity of Jeconiah, there followed a kind of lull which deceived many into the belief that the storm was over. And so in regard to Egypt. The ravages of Nebuchadnezzar were the beginning of the end, and all the desolation which followed may be looked upon as a continuous fulfilment of the decree of the Almighty Ruler of the universe. The savage fury with which Cambyses swept over Egypt amply realized all that Ezekiel foretold. So that when the Ptolemies established their New Egyptian kingdom, Old Egypt had become a riddle for the antiquary. It is true many places recovered a considerable degree of wealth and prosperity, as we find from the descriptions of Herodotus, Bubastis for instance (see on xxx. 17). But from his time the kingdom never again became really independent. The 28th dynasty, which lasted nearly 100 years, is simply a list of the Persian kings, from Cambyses to Darius Nothus. Then there was a partially successful attempt to replace foreign by Egyptian rulers, who struggled on for near seventy years, when under Ochus the Persians again became supreme, and so continued until they were replaced by the successors of Alexander the Great, to give place in turn to the imperial sway of Rome. So thoroughly was the prophecy of Ezekiel fulfilled: *They shall be there a base kingdom, it shall be the basest of kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.*

CHAPTER XXX.

1 *The desolation of Egypt and her helpers.* 20 *The arm of Babylon shall be strengthened to break the arm of Egypt.*

THE word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Howl ye, Woe worth the day!

3 For the day *is* near, even the day of the LORD *is* near, a cloudy day; it shall be the time of the heathen.

4 And the sword shall come upon Egypt, and great ‖pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. ‖ Or, *fear.*

5 Ethiopia, and †Libya, and Lydia, and all the mingled people, and Chub, and the †men of the land † Heb. *Phut.* † Heb. *children.*

CHAP. XXX. Third prophecy against Egypt.

1—19. No date is affixed to this passage, which has been considered by some as belonging to the earlier part of xxix. (the late prophecy, xxix. 17—21, having been interpolated for reasons given above). The repetition of xxix. 10, 12 in xxx. 5, 6 seems to favour this supposition. On the other hand, the mention by name of Nebuchadnezzar, xxx. 10, inclines us to consider it belonging to the later prophecy. See also on *v.* 5.

3. *the day is near*] Joel ii. 2, 3.

the time of the heathen] The time when the heathen (Egyptians) shall be judged. Comp. *her time*, xxii. 3, *the day of Egypt*, below *v.* 9.

5. *Ethiopia* (Cush) (see on xxix. 10), *and Libya* (Phut), *and Lydia* (Lud). It would certainly be better to preserve, as in xxvii. 10, the original words **Phut** and **Lud**. It is, to say the least of it, very doubtful if *Lud* answers to *Lydia* (see note on xxvii. 10).

the mingled people] Comp. *the mingled people*, Jer. xxv. 20, foreigners, who settled in Egypt. We hear of a *mixed multitude* in Exod. xii. 38, supposed to be remnants of the older races that inhabited Egypt (see note), in Neh. xiii. 3 inhabitants of Palestine of mixed descent. The Saite dynasty of Egyptian kings were especially favourable to foreign immigrants. Hophra employed many of them in his armies, and in this way, according to Herodotus, lost the affections of his Egyptian subjects.

Chub] The word occurs here only. From this passage we gather that it was some tribe in alliance with Egypt, either of African race like Lud and Phut, or settlers like the *mingled people*. Some have suggested emendations of the text on purely conjectural grounds. Commentators have sought to identify this people with the inhabitants of various known cities and countries. These are enumerated by Winer, 'R. W. B.' and Smith's 'Biblical Dictionary,' s. v. The most probable suggestion is that which connects it with *Coptos*, of which the Egyptian form was *Qeb*, *Qebt* or *Qabt*. Brugsch, 'Geog.' I. p. 199, III. p. 3.

the men of the land that is in league] Rather, following the original more literally, **the**

that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword.

6 Thus saith the LORD; They also that uphold Egypt shall fall; and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord GOD.

7 And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries *that are* desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities *that are* wasted.

8 And they shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and *when* all her helpers shall be † destroyed.

† Heb. *broken.*

9 In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Ethiopians afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, as in the day of Egypt: for, lo, it cometh.

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon.

11 He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations, shall be brought to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain.

12 And I will make the rivers † dry, and sell the land into the hand of the wicked: and I will make the land waste, and † all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: I the LORD have spoken *it*.

† Heb. *drought.*

† Heb. *the fulness thereof.*

13 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will also [a] destroy the idols, and I will cause *their* images to cease out of Noph; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt.

[a] Zech. 13. 2.

14 And I will make Pathros desolate, and will set fire in ‖ Zoan, and will execute judgments in No.

‖ Or, *Tanis.*

15 And I will pour my fury upon ‖ Sin, the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No.

‖ Or, *Pelusium.*

16 And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain, and No shall be rent asunder, and Noph *shall have* distresses daily.

‖ Or, *Heliopolis.*

17 The young men of ‖ Aven and of ‖ Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword:

‖ Or, *Pubastum.*

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children of the land of the covenant. The land of the covenant can be no other than Canaan (see xvi. 8). Our translators in the A.V. took the words to mean the allies in league with Egypt. But this would apply equally to all the tribes mentioned in this verse, whereas the phrase here employed stands among the names of distinct races or peoples. We know from Jer. xliii. that after the destruction of Jerusalem some of the Jews withdrew into Egypt. Many of these Jews would naturally enough be found in the Egyptian armies. This is in favour of the later date assigned to this section.

6. *from the tower of Syene*] **from Migdol to Syene.** See note on xxix. 10.

9. Comp. Isai. xviii. 1, 2. The Ethiopians shall tremble at Egypt's ruin (Exod. xv. 14; ch. xxix. 10).

careless Ethiopians] The Ethiopians who were dwelling in fancied security (Judg. viii. 11; Zeph. ii. 15).

13. *Noph*] Memphis, Isai. xix. 13, where see note.

14. *Pathros*] See on xxix. 14.

Zoan] Tunis, a city and nome of the Delta or of Lower Egypt, Num. xiii. 22. See note on Ps. lxxviii. 12.

No] Diospolis or Thebes, Jer. xlvi. 25, where see note.

16. *Sin*] Pelusium. See on Exod. xvi. 1.

17. *Aven*] No doubt the same as *On*, Gen. xli. 45 (the Hebrew words differ only in their vowel points), or *Heliopolis*. The word *Aven* means also "transgression." In Hosea x. 8 we have *Aven, the sin of Israel*, and in Amos i. 5 *the plain of Aven*. These *Avens* are not the same as the *Aven* here. Some have thought that here too Ezekiel substituted the word *Aven* for *On* to mark the *sin* of idolatry there in full vogue. Jer. xliii. 13, where see note. *Beth-shemesh*, the house of the sun, is probably the same as *On* or *Heliopolis*.

Pi-beseth (LXX. Βούβαστος, Vulg. Bubastus) is without doubt to be identified with the Bubastis mentioned by Herodotus (II. 90 and 136). The hieroglyphic name is "Pe-bast," the house of Bast (the Egyptian Artemis, the cat-headed goddess). Brugsch, 'Geograph. des Alten Egyptens,' I. p. 24. Herodotus speaks of the goddess Bubastis, whom he identifies with the Greek goddess Artemis, whose temple, in the centre of the town, he describes as not in-

and these *cities* shall go into captivity.

18 At Tehaphnehes also the day shall be [1] darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt: and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her: as for her, a cloud shall cover her, and her daughters shall go into captivity.

[1] Or, *restrained.*

19 Thus will I execute judgments in Egypt: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

20 ¶ And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first *month*, in the seventh *day* of the month, *that* the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

21 Son of man, I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt; and, lo, it shall not be bound up to be healed, to put a roller to bind it, to make it strong to hold the sword.

22 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms, the strong, and that which was broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.

23 And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.

24 And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword in his hand: but I will break Pharaoh's arms, and he shall groan before him with the groanings of a deadly wounded *man*.

25 But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall down; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I shall put my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall stretch it out upon the land of Egypt.

26 And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them among the countries; and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *A relation unto Pharaoh,* 3 *of the glory of Assyria,* 10 *and the fall thereof for pride.* 18 *The like destruction of Egypt.*

AND it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the third *month*, in the first *day* of the month, *that*

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deed the largest or the most sumptuous, but the most beautiful he had ever seen. Bubastis was situated on the easternmost, the Pelusian branch of the Delta. The road from Pelusium to Memphis lay through Bubastis and On. In the days of Herodotus Bubastis was the seat of one of the chief annual festivals of the Egyptians. The Persians took the town and razed the walls. It continued, however, to exist as a considerable city under the Roman empire. Ruins bearing the name Tel-Basta, seven leagues from the Nile, shew where Bubastis once stood, and attest the accuracy of the description of Herodotus (see Winer's 'R. W. B.' and Smith's 'Dictionary,' sub voce).

18. *Tehaphnehes*] *Tahapanes*, Jer. ii. 16, where see note.

darkened] Comp. *v.* 3, *a cloudy day;* also Isai. xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29.

the yokes] The same Hebrew word is rendered *bands*, Lev. xxvi. 13, and below, xxxiv. 27, in each of which passages it is followed by the word *yoke*. Here the word *yoke* does not follow the word equivalent to "bands" or "beams"—but clearly is understood. In the two former passages, *to break the bands of the yoke* = to liberate from the yoke. Here to *break the yokes of Egypt* is not to break the yokes imposed on Egypt, but to break the yokes imposed by Egypt, *i.e.* to break up the tyrannous dominion of Egypt over other lands.

20—26. Fourth prophecy against Egypt.

20. *in the eleventh year, in the first month*] Three months before the capture of Jerusalem (see on xxvi. 1), and three months after the prophecy of xxix. 1. Meantime Pharaoh-Hophra's attempt on Jerusalem had been foiled, and the Egyptians driven back into their own country (Jer. xxxvii. 5), where see note.

21. *I have broken*] Referring to former defeats, especially that at Carchemish, and declaring that that defeat shall not be repaired.

a roller] Bandage.

22. *the strong*] Such power as Egypt yet retained and exercised at home and over other nations.

that which was broken] The power which Egypt aimed at ineffectually, the conquest of Palestine and Syria.

CHAP. XXXI. 1. *in the third month*] This was something more than a month be-

the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, and to his multitude; Whom art thou like in thy greatness?

3 ¶ Behold, the Assyrian *was* a cedar in Lebanon [1]with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs.

[1] Heb. *fair of branches.*

4 The waters [1]made him great, the deep [1]set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her [1]little rivers unto all the trees of the field.

[1] Or, *nourished.* [1] Or, *brought him up.* [1] Or, *conduits.*

5 Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters, [1]when he shot forth.

[1] Or, *when it sent them forth.*

6 All the [a]fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations.

[a] Dan. 4. 12.

7 Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches: for his root was by great waters.

8 The cedars in the [b]garden of God could not hide him: the fir trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut trees were not like his branches; nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty.

[b] Gen. 2. 8.

9 I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden, that *were* in the garden of God, envied him.

10 ¶ Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height;

11 I have therefore delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen; [1]he shall surely deal with him: I have driven him out for his wickedness.

[1] Heb. *in doing he shall do unto him.*

12 And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land; and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him.

13 Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all

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fore Jerusalem was taken. Compare Jer. xxxix. 2.

3—9. Assyria's greatness. Fifth prophecy against Egypt.

3. The Assyrian. This prophecy is a warning to Pharaoh by the fate of the Assyrians. The Assyrian empire, after having been supreme in Asia for four centuries, had been overthrown by the united forces of the Babylonians and Medes, in the year of the battle of Carchemish (B.C. 606), which had broken the power of Egypt. This gives force to the warning to Egypt from Assyria's fall.

4. *his plants*] Rather, **about her plantation**.

her little rivers] The other trees were nourished by small rivulets, but the cedar by the full stream itself, and so the cedar has become greater than all the rest. The water represents the riches and might which flowed into Assyria.

5. *when he shot forth* may be, "when it sent them forth," *i.e* when the deep water sent forth its streams.

8. *garden of God*] Paradise, Gen. ii. 8. Comp. xlvii. 7. Not only was the cedar fairer than the trees of the earth in general, but even the trees of Eden could not equal it in beauty and stature.

10—14. Assyria's fall.

10. *thou hast lifted up*] Assyria is first addressed, and then is spoken of in the third person. The tenses of the verbs are in many cases future, not perfect, because the prophet is carried back to the time when Assyria was threatened. Since, however, the judgment is past, the prophet again returns to the past. The passage more accurately rendered would stand thus: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the clouds, and his heart is lifted up in its height, therefore I will deliver him, &c....he shall surely deal with him. I have driven him out, &c."

the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches:

14 To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees [1] stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth, in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit.

[1] Or, *stand upon themselves for their height.*

15 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day when he went down to the grave I caused a mourning: I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed: and I caused Lebanon [1] to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him.

[1] Heb. *to be black.*

16 I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water, shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth.

17 They also went down into hell with him unto *them that be* slain with the sword; and *they that were* his arm, *that* dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen.

18 ¶ To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden? yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden unto the nether parts of the earth: thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised with *them that be* slain by the sword. This *is* Pharaoh and all his multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *A lamentation for the fearful fall of Egypt.* 11 *The sword of Babylon shall destroy it.* 17 *It shall be brought down to hell, among all the uncircumcised nations.*

AND it came to pass in the twelfth year, in the twelfth month, in

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14. *neither their trees stand up*] The words rendered *their trees* should rather, as the margin indicates, be translated "unto themselves," "standing unto themselves" meaning "standing in their own strength." The clause will then run thus: "Neither all that drink water stand up" in their own strength. *All that drink water* is parallel to *the trees by the waters*, comp. *v.* 6, and means mighty princes to whom flow in wealth and prosperity. This is especially suitable in warning Egyptians, who owe everything to the waters of the Nile. The substance is that Assyria's fall was decreed in order that the mighty ones of the earth might learn not to exalt themselves in pride or to rely on themselves, seeing that they must share the common lot of mortality, and go beneath the earth with those who descend into the grave.

15—17. Effect of Assyria's fall.

15. *went down*] Comp. xxvi. 15 foll.

I covered the deep] We are not to think of the waters as a destroying flood (as xxvi. 19). To cover with sackcloth was an expression of mourning (xxvii. 31). The deep, the source of Assyria's prosperity (*v.* 4), was made to mourn, being dried up instead of giving forth its waters, its glad abundance.

for him] Upon his account.

floods] **rivers** (as *v.* 4).

great waters] **the multitude of waters**, as in *v.* 5. The same Hebrew words should have the same English rendering. The **rivers** and the **waters** no longer flowed around the cedars.

to mourn] Lit. "to be black," the garb of mourning. *Lebanon* represents the country which Assyria governed; *the trees*, the tributary princes.

16. *hell*] Heb. *sheol*. See note on Gen. xxxvii. 35.

comforted] Isai. xiv. 8.

17. *his arm, that dwelt under his shadow*] The subject princes who were his strength and support in war.

18. Application to Pharaoh.

the uncircumcised] The Egyptians, at least their nobles, were circumcised. See note, Vol. I. p. 480. This adds force to the picture that Pharaoh should be dishonoured with those whom the Egyptians themselves deemed unclean.

CHAP. XXXII. 1. *in the twelfth month*] About one year and seven months after the destruction of Jerusalem. In the meantime had occurred the murder of Gedaliah and the flight into Egypt of the Jews left behind by the Chaldæans under Johanan the son of Kareah (Jer. xli.—xliii.). Jeremiah, who had accompanied them, foretold their ruin (Jer. xliv.) in a prophecy probably contemporaneous

the first *day* of the month, *that* the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou *art* as a † whale in the seas: and thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst their rivers.

† Or, *dragon.*

3 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will therefore [a] spread out my net over thee with a company of many people; and they shall bring thee up in my net.

[a] chap. 12. 13. & 17. 20.

4 Then will I leave thee upon the land, I will cast thee forth upon the open field, and will cause all the fowls of the heaven to remain upon thee, and I will fill the beasts of the whole earth with thee.

5 And I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valleys with thy height.

6 I will also water with thy blood † the land wherein thou swimmest, *even* to the mountains; and the rivers shall be full of thee.

† Or, *the land of thy swimming.*

7 And when I shall † put thee out, [b] I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light.

† Or, *extinguish.*
[b] Isai. 13. 10. Joel 2. 31. & 3. 15. Matth. 24. 29.

8 All the † bright lights of heaven will I make † dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord GOD.

† Heb. *lights of the light in heaven.*
† Heb. *them dark.*

9 I will also † vex the hearts of many people, when I shall bring thy destruction among the nations, into the countries which thou hast not known.

† Heb. *provoke to anger,* or, *grief.*

10 Yea, I will make many people amazed at thee, and their kings shall be horribly afraid for thee, when I shall brandish my sword before them; and they shall tremble at *every* moment, every man for his own life, in the day of thy fall.

11 ¶ For thus saith the Lord GOD; The sword of the king of Babylon shall come upon thee.

12 By the swords of the mighty will I cause thy multitude to fall, the terrible of the nations, all of them: and they shall spoil the pomp of Egypt, and all the multitude thereof shall be destroyed.

13 I will destroy also all the beasts thereof from beside the great waters; neither shall the foot of man trouble them any more, nor the hoofs of beasts trouble them.

14 Then will I make their waters deep, and cause their rivers to run like oil, saith the Lord GOD.

15 When I shall make the land

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with the present prophecy of Ezekiel, which is delivered in the form of a dirge, as in the case of Tyre (xxvii.).

2—16. Sixth prophecy against Egypt. A dirge of Pharaoh.

2. *Thou art like a young lion*] Rather, **Thou wouldest be like to a young lion.**

and thou art] In contrast to what thou wouldest be.

a whale] Rather, *dragon* (or crocodile), as in xxix. 3, where see note. Pharaoh should have been like the king of beasts, but he is a mere sea-monster. There is strong irony here, because the Egyptian king was proud of the comparison between himself and the mighty crocodile.

seas] The word is often used of the waters of a great river, like the Nile.

thou camest forth with thy rivers] Rather, **in** *thy rivers.* *To come forth* means here **to burst forth**, as the crocodile does from the water into which he has plunged.

5. *fill the valleys with thy height*] A change of metaphor, as is common in Hebrew poetry. The prophet passes from the image of the crocodile to that of dead bodies of the slain heaped up on the land.

9. *when I shall bring thy destruction*] That is, the news of thy destruction.

among the nations] When distant nations shall hear of thy downfall. The phenomena here mentioned are the accompaniments of *the day of the Lord* (Joel ii. 10; Luke xxi. 25) or the day of judgment. The fall of Pharaoh represents the fall of the world-power before the Sovereignty of God.

14. A promise of a return of God's favour. This concerns not the restoration of Egypt's original power, but the establishment of the

of Egypt desolate, and the country shall be † destitute of that whereof it was full, when I shall smite all them that dwell therein, then shall they know that I *am* the LORD.

† Heb. *desolate from the fulness thereof.*

16 This *is* the lamentation wherewith they shall lament her: the daughters of the nations shall lament her: they shall lament for her, *even* for Egypt, and for all her multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

17 ¶ It came to pass also in the twelfth year, in the fifteenth *day* of the month, *that* the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

18 Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt, and cast them down, *even* her, and the daughters of the famous nations, unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down into the pit.

19 Whom dost thou pass in beauty? go down, and be thou laid with the uncircumcised.

20 They shall fall in the midst of *them that are* slain by the sword: ‖ she is delivered to the sword: draw her and all her multitudes.

‖ Or, *the sword is laid.*

21 The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword.

22 Asshur *is* there and all her company: his graves *are* about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword:

23 Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused ‖ terror in the land of the living.

‖ Or, *dismaying.*

24 There *is* Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.

Divine Ruler in the place of a heathen God-opposing power

16. *daughters of the nations*] heathen kingdoms. The seventh prophecy against Egypt. A funeral dirge founded on xxxi. 18, *thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword.*

17. *the month*] The number of the month is not given, but is to be supplied from xxxii. 1, *the twelfth*, so xlv. 18—20.

17—32. The figure is the same as in Isai. xiv., where see note. In this dirge Pharaoh is especially addressed. The other nations are represented by their kings, the nations' overthrow being depicted by the king's body laid low in the grave.

18. *cast them down*] See on iv. 2.

19. *Whom dost thou pass in beauty?*] Thou art not more beautiful than the nations which have gone before thee—thou shalt not escape their fate.

20. *she is delivered to the sword*] Rather, **the sword is put forth.**

draw her] Draw her down as one dragged to execution.

21. *hell*] See xxxi. 16.

they are gone down] They lie (in the pit), the *uncircumcised slain with the sword.*

they lie uncircumcised] Heb. **the** *uncircumcised. The uncircumcised* throughout this dirge is equivalent to heathen viewed as impure, ch. xxxi. 18.

22. In Jer. xxv. there is enumeration of nations destined to be subject to the fury of the Chaldæans. Here we find those of them who had already fallen not named by Jeremiah. See on xxxi. 3.

his graves are about him] Asshur is the king of Assyria, representing as usual the whole nation. The king is surrounded by the graves of his people.

23. *Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit*] Comp. Isai. xiv. 15.

24. Elam is coupled with Asshur in Gen. x. 22. Its name appears in Isai. xxi. 2, xxii. 6; Jer. xxv. 25, and a special prophecy is uttered against it, Jer. xlix. 34, where see note. It answers to the country known to the Greeks and Romans as Elymais, near Persia and Media. The Elamites were a fierce and warlike people. In the records of Assurbanipal we have a detailed account of five campaigns against Elam, and his final triumph over Elam seems to have been one of his proudest boasts. Elam no doubt in the decline of Assyrian power again asserted its independence and was again crushed by the Chaldæan conqueror (see 'History of Assurbanipal,' Part VII.).

25 They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude: her graves *are* round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword: though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit: he is put in the midst of *them that be* slain.

26 There *is* Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude: her graves *are* round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.

27 And they shall not lie with the mighty *that are* fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell † with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though *they were* the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.

† Heb. *with weapons of their war.*

28 Yea, thou shalt be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised, and shalt lie with *them that are* slain with the sword.

29 There *is* Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are † laid by *them that were* slain by the sword: they shall lie with the uncircumcised, and with them that go down to the pit.

† Heb. *given, or, put.*

30 There *be* the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain; with their terror they are ashamed of their might; and they lie uncircumcised with *them that be* slain by the sword, and bear their shame with them that go down to the pit.

31 Pharaoh shall see them, and shall be comforted over all his multitude, *even* Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the Lord GOD.

32 For I have caused my terror

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26. *Meshech, Tubal*] See above, xxvii. 13.

27. *And they shall not lie*] This translation agrees with the Vulgate. If it be adopted we must suppose a contrast between the graves of mighty conquerors and the burying of the conquered slain—they shall not repose in glory with their weapons under their heads, but their bones shall be cast forth in a common grave, their iniquity resting upon them. But this contrast is nowhere else indicated, and the whole tenor of the passage seems to imply the common meeting in the region of the grave of heathens once mighty, now slain. So it is better with most translators to consider the particles *and, not* to be used interrogatively (an usage quite borne out by grammar), "Shall they not lie?" or, "Are they not laid?" The custom of burying warriors with their swords, shields, or helmets, under their heads is well known, natural, and common to most warlike nations.

but their iniquities shall be upon their bones] They rested in all the glories of a warrior's sepulture, but their sins followed them to the grave, "with their sins upon their heads," as we say in English phraseology.

30. *the princes of the north*] The addition of the Sidonians clearly points to the nations that lay north of Palestine—the Tyrians and the Syrians.

with their terror they are ashamed of their might] Lit. "in their terror from their might they are ashamed." Vulgate, "paventes et in sua fortitudine confusi," whence probably our English translation. But the phrase *their terror* has been used throughout to mean not the terror which they felt, but that which they inspired, and so here the sense is rather, "in their reign of terror they fell in confusion from their power," as Rosenmüller explains it, "When their might and power were terrible to all, and they were contriving ruin against others, in the midst of their enterprises, they were shorn of their power and delivered over to shame and confusion." There are here six nations, Asshur, Elam, Meshech, Tubal, Edom, the prince of the north, Zidon, which added to Egypt make up SEVEN (see on xxv. 1). The section which contains the prophecies against the heathen, closing with this description of the kings who had gone down to the grave, accords with the general purport of the whole section, viz.:—the declaration that all the powers of the world shall be annihilated to make way for the kingdom of God.

31. *comforted*] See xiv. 22, xxxi. 16. Pharaoh, when he sees these who share his fate, shall be comforted by the knowledge that his ruin is no more than that of every world-power.

32. *my terror*] So K'ri, but Chetib, "his

in the land of the living: and he shall be laid in the midst of the uncircumcised with *them that are* slain with the sword, *even* Pharaoh and all his multitude, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *According to the duty of a watchman, in warning the people,* 7 *Ezekiel is admonished of his duty.* 10 *God sheweth the justice of his ways towards the penitent, and towards revolters.* 17 *He maintaineth his justice.* 21 *Upon the news of the taking of Jerusalem he prophesieth the desolation of the land.* 30 *God's judgment upon the mockers of the prophets.*

AGAIN the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, † When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman:

† Heb. *A land when I bring a sword upon her.*

3 If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people;

4 Then † whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

† Heb. *he that hearing heareth.*

5 He heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

6 But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take *any* person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

7 ¶ [a] So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me.

[a] chap. 3. 17, &c.

8 When I say unto the wicked, O wicked *man*, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked *man* shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

9 Nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it; if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.

10 Therefore, O thou son of man, speak unto the house of Israel; Thus ye speak, saying, If our transgressions and our sins *be* upon us, and we pine away in them, how should we then live?

11 Say unto them, *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, [b] I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for [c] why will ye die, O house of Israel?

[b] 2 Sam. 14. 14. chap. 18. 32.

[c] chap. 18. 31.

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terror," which is better, his terror, the terror caused by him (see on *v.* 30).

the land of the living] The land of God's people. It was Jehovah who caused Pharaoh to be terrible to his people, and now, when the time is come, Pharaoh is fallen, **I caused his terror in the land of the living, and he is laid**, &c.

THIRD GROUP.
WORDS OF COMFORT TO ISRAEL.
Chap. xxxiii. to end.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1—20. Some have thought that this portion of ch. xxxiii. belongs to the foregoing section, having been added in order to bring the prophecies against foreign nations home to the people of Israel. But there seems here to be a new designation of Ezekiel to the prophetical office, previously to his undertaking his new duty of encouraging his countrymen to hope for forgiveness and restoration. Hence we may regard it as the introduction to the third group, the date being reserved because it applies equally to the whole series.

1. *Again*] **And.** The same in the original as xxiv. 15.

2—6. A case put by way of comparison. This is more clearly marked in the original, of which the margin gives a literal translation. Comp. iii. 17—21.

7—10. Application of the case to Ezekiel and Jerusalem.

12 Therefore, thou son of man, say unto the children of thy people, The [d] righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day of his transgression: as for the wickedness of the wicked, he shall not fall thereby in the day that he turneth from his wickedness; neither shall the righteous be able to live for his *righteousness* in the day that he sinneth.

[d] chap. 18. 24.

13 When I shall say to the righteous, *that* he shall surely live; if he trust to his own righteousness, and commit iniquity, all his righteousnesses shall not be remembered; but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he shall die for it.

14 Again, when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if he turn from his sin, and do [†] that which is lawful and right;

[†] Heb. *judgment and justice.*

15 *If* the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity; he shall surely live, he shall not die.

16 None of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him: he hath done that which is lawful and right; he shall surely live.

17 ¶ Yet the children of thy people say, The way of the Lord is not equal: but as for them, their way is not equal.

18 When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby.

19 But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby.

20 ¶ Yet ye say, [e] The way of the Lord is not equal. O ye house of Israel, I will judge you every one after his ways.

[e] chap. 18. 25.

21 ¶ And it came to pass in the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth *month*, in the fifth *day* of the month, *that* one that had escaped out of Jerusalem came unto me, saying, [f] The city is smitten.

[f] 2 Kin. 25. 4.

22 Now the hand of the LORD was upon me in the evening, afore he that was escaped came; and had opened my mouth, until he came to me in the morning; and my mouth was opened, and I was no more [g] dumb.

[g] chap. 24. 27.

23 Then the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

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16. Comp. Lev. xxvi. 40—45. So had Ezekiel warned them (xviii. 23). Then they believed him not. Now they despair.

17—20. The lesson of xviii. enforced as a remedy against presumption and against despair. See Note A at end of xviii.

21. The date shews an interval of 1½ years from the taking of Jerusalem (Jer. lii. 12) to the arrival of the messenger. The confusion which followed the capture of the city may have retarded the arrival of one who would furnish full and authentic particulars. The general news that the city was taken must have reached them, but it was only when the messenger arrived that the prophet's mouth was opened (xxiv. 26).

one that had escaped] Lit. "the escaped" which though sing. may mean generally, "the fugitives," see xxiv. 26. It is not improbable that a body of men after the destruction of the city joined their brethren in Chaldæa, and if so this would account for the lapse of time, and supply a reason why Ezekiel on their arrival should commence a new series of prophecies.

22. *Now the hand of the Lord* **had been** *upon me in the evening afore he that was escaped came, and had opened my mouth, until*, &c.; *and my mouth* **had been** *opened, and I was no more dumb.* The prophet was under the hand of God in ecstatic trance (comp. iii. 22, viii. 1, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1) on the evening preceding the arrival (in which trance it was communicated to him that his enforced silence should cease) and continued in this state until the arrival of the messenger. The tense of the verb *was* should be *pluperf.* The last clause simply repeats the statement already made.

23—33. The exhortation to repentance. So the preaching of repentance by John the Baptist prepared the way for the Messiah's kingdom. Before God speaks comfort He searches the heart; for only those who truly repent shall receive the blessing. Ezekiel first addresses the remnant that still linger in their ancient home, and warns them against presumptuous hopes resting on false grounds (23—29), then he turns his eye to those near him, and points out that their apparent attention to his words was illusory.

24 Son of man, they that inhabit those wastes of the land of Israel speak, saying, Abraham was one, and he inherited the land: but we *are* many; the land is given us for inheritance.

25 Wherefore say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Ye eat with the blood, and lift up your eyes toward your idols, and shed blood: and shall ye possess the land?

26 Ye stand upon your sword, ye work abomination, and ye defile every one his neighbour's wife: and shall ye possess the land?

27 Say thou thus unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; *As* I live, surely they that *are* in the wastes shall fall by the sword, and him that *is* in the open field will I give to the beasts † to be devoured, and they that *be* in the forts and in the caves shall die of the pestilence.

† Heb. *to devour him.*

28 For I will lay the land † most desolate, and the [h]pomp of her strength shall cease; and the mountains of Israel shall be desolate, that none shall pass through.

† Heb. *desolation and desolation.*

[h] chap. 7. 24. & 24. 21. & 30. 6, 7.

29 Then shall they know that I *am* the LORD, when I have laid the land most desolate because of all their abominations which they have committed.

30 ¶ Also, thou son of man, the children of thy people still are talking against thee by the walls and in the doors of the houses, and speak one to another, every one to his brother, saying, Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the LORD.

31 And they come unto thee † as the people cometh, and ‖ they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words, but they will not do them: for with their mouth † they shew much love, *but* their heart goeth after their covetousness.

† Heb. *according to the coming of the people.*

‖ Or, *my people sit before thee.*

† Heb. *they make loves*, or, *jests.*

32 And, lo, thou *art* unto them as † a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not.

† Heb. *a song of loves.*

33 And when this cometh to pass, (lo, it will come,) then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them.

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24. *those wastes*] The desolate places in the Holy Land which had been devastated by the conqueror.

Abraham] Before, the inhabitants of Palestine clung to the belief that God would never destroy His own city, now they persist in believing that God will restore them the inheritance which He promised to Abraham. The argument is, Abraham was but one man, and he had the promise of the land, though he did not at once possess it; much more shall we, the descendants of Abraham, being many, retain this promise and possess the land, though for a time we are depressed and subject (comp. Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, 39).

25, 26. The prophet again reverts to the sins named in xviii.

To *eat flesh with the blood* was forbidden to Noah (Gen. ix. 4), again in the law (Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xvii. 10—14; Deut. xii. 16). It seems to have been connected with the idolatries of Canaan (comp. Lev. xix. 26 with Deut. xviii. 10—14). Saul in his better days had to purge the people from this offence, 1 S. xiv. 32, and the prohibition was, on account of its connection with idolatry, continued in the enactment of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29).

26. *Ye stand upon your sword*] Ye put your trust in your swords.

30—33. God had warned the prophet not to be dismayed by the people's opposition (5—9). He now warns him against being misled by their compliance.

30. *against thee*] Rather, **about** *thee*. Ezekiel's fellow-captives did not openly reject the prophet. They were willing to *hear* him, but not to do what he enjoined. Comp. xiv. 1, xxiv. 19.

by the walls] Rather, **within** *the walls*.

and in the doors] Inside and outside their houses.

31. *as the people cometh*] Lit. "according to the coming of a people," *i.e.* in crowds, as when a multitude come together to see or hear something.

as my people] They assume the attitude of God's people listening to His prophet. Comp. xiv. 1, xx. 1.

The more exact rendering of these verses is, (30) *The children of thy people* **who are** *talking about thee* **within** *the walls and* **at** *the doors of the houses.....from the Lord;* (31) **they shall come** *unto thee* **like the coming of a people**, *and* **shall** *sit before thee*, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *A reproof of the shepherds.* 7 *God's judgment against them.* 11 *His providence for his flock.* 20 *The kingdom of Christ.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, prophesy against [a] the shepherds of Israel, prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD unto the shepherds; Woe *be* to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks?

[a] Jer. 23. 1.

3 Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed: *but* ye feed not the flock.

4 The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up *that which was* broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with [b] force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.

[b] 1 Pet. 5. 3.

5 And they were scattered, [1] because *there is* no shepherd: and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered.

[1] Or, *without a shepherd*: and so ver. 8.

6 My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek *after them.*

7 ¶ Therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the LORD;

8 *As* I live, saith the Lord GOD, surely because my flock became a prey, and my flock became meat to every beast of the field, because *there was* no shepherd, neither did my shepherds search for my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock;

9 Therefore, O ye shepherds, hear the word of the LORD;

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for them.

11 ¶ For thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I, *even* I, will both search my sheep, and seek them out.

12 [1] As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among

[1] Heb. *According to the seeking.*

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33. *And when this cometh to pass*] But *when* this..., which the prophet is announcing (*lo, it will come* as surely as his former words have been fulfilled), *then* at last *shall they know that a prophet hath been among them.*

CHAP. XXXIV. The prophet, proceeding on his theme of restoration, has yet to pronounce a judgment, but not now upon the whole nation, but upon unfaithful rulers, whose very punishment will but further the good of those whom they have misguided. He shews what the rulers should have been, what they have been, and what in the coming times they shall be when the True King shall reign in the true kingdom. Hence follows a description of Messiah's reign.

1—10. The shepherds of Israel described and condemned.

2. *shepherds*] Not priests or prophets, but rulers and kings. See on Jer. ii. 8. The most ancient title for *ruler* is a monogram which occurs on the oldest monuments discovered in the cuneiform character. It was used by the primitive race that preceded the Chaldæo-Assyrians, who adopted it from their predecessors. In the Assyrian language it became RIU (comp. Heb. *roĕh* = shepherd). In the traditions of Berosus we find that Alorus, the first king in the world, received from the Divinity the title of Shepherd (Ποιμήν). The title, as well as the monogram, was preserved to the latest times of the Assyrian monarchy. Neriglissar, to express that he has the sovereignty over mankind, adopts the term *riuti*. (Ménant's 'Babylone et la Chaldée,' p. 50.) So Num. xxvii. 17. Comp. Jer. xxiii.; Zech. xi., where see notes. It was characteristic of the last kings of Judah that while the distress and misery of the people daily increased, the kings exacted more and more of their subjects and lavished more and more on personal luxury and show. Comp. Jer. xxii. 13, 14; Hab. ii. 6 foll.

11. Jehovah the shepherd of His people. He will do all which the shepherds should have done and did not.

12. *flock*] In the previous verses the word rendered *flock* is literally "sheep." Here another word is used, expressing the relation of the sheep to the shepherd, answering exactly

his sheep *that are* scattered; so will I seek out my sheep, and will deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day.

13 And I will bring them out from the people, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them to their own land, and feed them upon the mountains of Israel by the rivers, and in all the inhabited places of the country.

14 I will feed them in a good pasture, and upon the high mountains of Israel shall their fold be: there shall they lie in a good fold, and *in* a fat pasture shall they feed upon the mountains of Israel.

15 I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord GOD.

16 I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up *that which was* broken, and will strengthen that which was sick: but I will destroy the fat and the strong; I will feed them with judgment.

17 And *as for* you, O my flock, thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I judge between †cattle and cattle, between the rams and the †he goats.

† Heb. *small cattle of lambs and kids.*

18 *Seemeth it* a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pastures? and to have drunk of the deep waters, but ye must foul the residue with your feet?

† Heb. *great he goats.*

19 And *as for* my flock, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet; and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet.

20 ¶ Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD unto them; Behold, I, *even* I, will judge between the fat cattle and between the lean cattle.

21 Because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad;

22 Therefore will I save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey; and I will judge between cattle and cattle.

23 And I will set up one [c]shep-

[c] Isai. 40. 11. John 10. 11.

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to the English *flock*. Jehovah shall not only watch over the sheep as His property, but as His peculiar care. Comp. Isai. xi. 11; Jer. xxxi. 10.

The first step to renewed favour is to gather them together. These promises were partially fulfilled in the return from Babylon, and in the subsequent prosperity under the Maccabees, but point to the ingathering of all nations in the Church of Christ the Good Shepherd. Comp. Matt. xviii. 11; John x. 1—18; Rom. ix. 25—33.

in the cloudy and dark day] The day in which they have been *scattered*. This day of gloom is opposed to the day in which the Lord will be among them like a shepherd to gather them together again.

16. *with judgment*] It is characteristic of Jehovah as a shepherd that He judges between sheep and sheep, rejecting the proud and accepting the penitent and brokenhearted.

20—31. Jehovah having promised to be a Ruler of His people, the administration of the divine kingdom is now described, as carried on by One King, the representative of David, whose dominion should fulfil all the promises originally made to the man after God's own heart. David fell short of the obedience required as a condition, and so even his kingdom did not reach the promised limits, much less acquire that solid peace which should have been its chief glory. To understand fully the scope of the divine promises we must refer, first, to the terms in which under the Law they were made to Moses, to David, to Solomon, with the conditions of their fulfilment; next, to the passages in the prophets, in which these promises are reasserted in the very same words with additions and enlargements. The constant repetition of the same phrases shews that the subject is the same, and that the promises in the law were not merely such as should fall to the ground in case of a failure of the conditions, but living promises that should take effect, though not for those who might have attained, but by their own fault did not attain to them. Comp. St Paul's reasoning in Rom. xi. The prophet thus seems not so much to add to, as to explain and develope, the original promise; and as the complete fulfilment of the spiritual blessings, which the prophets were guided to proclaim, was manifestly never realized in any temporal prosperity of the Jews, and never could and never can be realized in any earthly kingdom, we recognize throughout the Sacred Volume the one subject of all prophecy—the Righteous King,

herd over them, and he shall feed them, *even* my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd.

24 And I the LORD will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them; I the LORD have spoken *it*.

25 And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land: and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods.

26 And I will make them and the places round about my hill a blessing; and I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing.

27 And the tree of the field shall yield her fruit, and the earth shall yield her increase, and they shall be safe in their land, and shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have broken the bands of their yoke, and delivered them out of the hand of those that served themselves of them.

28 And they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make *them* afraid.

29 And I will raise up for them a [d] plant [‖] of renown, and they shall be no more [†] consumed with hunger in the land, neither bear the shame of the heathen any more.

30 Thus shall they know that I

[d] Isai. 11. 1. Jer. 23. 5.
[‖] Or, *for renown.*
[†] Heb. *taken away.*

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the Anointed Prince, the Son and the Lord of David.

23. *one shepherd*] *One*, as ruling over an undivided people, the distinction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah having been done away. Comp. 1 K. xi. 39; Jer. xxiii. 6, below, xxxvii. 24; and Hos. iii. 5.

my servant David] David was a fit type of the True King because he was the true and faithful servant of Jehovah. That which David was partially and imperfectly, Christ is in full perfection. Comp. Matt. xii. 18; John v. 30; Heb. x. 7 Rosenmüller has referred to a Persian belief of the reappearance of man after a certain cycle of years, and has thence inferred that Ezekiel expected an actual reappearance of David. But there is no reason to think that this was an ancient belief of the Persians. It belongs to a later period than that of Ezekiel and occurs in very late writings. Others have taken up the idea, and called it a Chaldæan belief without the slightest authority. Hävernick well remarks that the only groundwork of truth in this hypothesis is this, that a person is here foretold. It is not a mere restitution of David's power or dominion, but an individual Ruler, who is styled *David the Servant of God*. That person is the Messiah, Jesus Christ our Lord.

25, 26. Comp. Lev. xxvi. 4, 6; Ps. lxviii. 9; Isai. xi. 6—9. The blessings here foretold are especially those of the old covenant. The *wilderness* and the *woods*, the places most exposed to beasts and birds of prey, are named to enhance the image of security. Under the new covenant Sion and the hills around are the representatives of God's Church, the place wherein He has set His name to dwell; and the temporal blessings, fitting for the land of Canaan, are typical of the blessings showered down upon Christ's Church by Him who has vanquished the powers of evil.

29. *a plant*] The Hebrew word occurs above, xvii. 7, *plantation*, xxxi. 4, *plants*, but there probably the more exact rendering would be "plantation." In Isai. lx. 21, lxi. 3, and Micah i. 6, *planting*. It does not occur elsewhere in Scripture, and in none of these passages does it properly represent a *plant* or tree, as it seems to do here, being equivalent to the *Branch*, under which name Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesy of the Messiah (Isai. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5, where see note). The verb *I will raise up* (the same word as in Jer. xxiii. 5; comp. also Judg. ii. 18; Jer. xxix. 15) favours this interpretation, according to which we have only to suppose a slight modification of meaning from "planting" or "plantation" to the *plant* itself. Others interpret it "plantation," and understand the words to mean, "I will provide a safe ground wherein the people may take root." Hengstenberg rendering the word *plant* or "tree" compares xlvii. 12, and thinks that by the *plant* is meant that spiritual food which was figured by the tree of life in Paradise. The contrast in this verse to hunger seems to favour the idea that the *plant* was for food, *i.e.* spiritual food, but this does not prevent its application to the Messiah. Comp. John iv. 14 and vi. 35, and the close connection of this chapter with Jer. xxiii. supports this view.

of renown] Or, as in marg., *for renown*. In the former case meaning *the renown* of the plant, a glorious plant; in the other, the *renown* of the people, to bring them glory, lit. "a name," instead of shame. Either rendering is possible, the latter preferable.

the LORD their God *am* with them, and *that* they, *even* the house of Israel, *are* my people, saith the Lord GOD.

[e] John 10. 11. 31 And ye my [e] flock, the flock of my pasture, *are* men, *and* I *am* your God, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The judgment of mount Seir for their hatred of Israel.

MOREOVER the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against mount Seir, and prophesy against it,

3 And say unto it, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O mount Seir, I *am* against thee, and I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee [†] most desolate.

[†] Heb. *desolation and desolation.*

4 I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate, and thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD.

[‖] Or, *hatred of old.* [†] Heb. *poured out the children.* [†] Heb. *hands.*

5 Because thou hast had a [‖] perpetual hatred, and hast [†] shed *the blood of* the children of Israel by the [†] force of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time *that their* iniquity *had* an end:

6 Therefore, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee: sith thou hast not hated blood, even blood shall pursue thee.

7 Thus will I make mount Seir [†] most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth.

[†] Heb. *desolation and desolation.*

8 And I will fill his mountains with his slain *men:* in thy hills, and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers, shall they fall that are slain with the sword.

9 I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

10 Because thou hast said, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will [a] possess it; [‖] whereas the LORD was there:

[a] Psal. 83. 4, 12. [‖] Or, *though the LORD was there.*

11 Therefore, *as* I live, saith the Lord GOD, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them; and I will make myself known among them, when I have judged thee.

12 And thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD, *and that* I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Is-

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the shame of the heathen] The shameful reproaches with which the heathen assail them.

31. *men*] This word is introduced in relation to *God*. The verse would be better translated, *Ye* **are** *my flock, the flock of my pasture* (comp. Jer. xxiii. 1), [ye are] *men, and I* [am] *your God.*

CHAPS. XXXV—XXXVI. 5. The devastation of Edom, and the restoration of Israel.

Edom was included among the nations against which Ezekiel prophesied (xxv. 12—14). But the fuller doom of Edom was reserved for this place, because Edom was one of the surrounding nations that profited at first by Judah's fall, and because it helps by way of contrast to bring out in a marked way the better future designed for Israel. Edom is the God-hating, God-opposing power, for Edom was ever distinguished for its bitter hatred against Israel, and so the ruin of Edom is the triumph of Israel in the power of God. See note on xxv. 12.

5. *perpetual hatred*] Comp. xxv. 12, *hast shed blood; blood* is not in the original, the verb rendered *shed* (marg. *poured out*) has for its object *the children of Israel, i.e.* thou hast scattered the children of Israel in confusion like stones poured down a mountain side (Micah i. 6).

by the force of the sword] Lit. "to the hands of the sword," *i.e.* "to the sword." Render, **and hast given up the children of Israel to the sword.**

in the time that their iniquity had an end] Lit. "in the time of the end of iniquity." The same phrase as in xxi. 29, the time when by the capture of the city the iniquity of Israel came to an end.

10. *These two nations*] Israel and Judah; *nations* like the heathen. See on ii. 3.

the LORD was there] Not only *was* there of old, but (as the LXX.) *is* there ever, in adversity no less than in prosperity.

rael, saying, They are laid desolate, they are given us † to consume.

† Heb. *to devour.*

13 Thus with your mouth ye have † boasted against me, and have multiplied your words against me: I have heard *them*.

† Heb. *magnified.*

14 Thus saith the Lord GOD; When the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate.

15 As thou didst rejoice at the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee: thou shalt be desolate, O mount Seir, and all Idumea, *even* all of it: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *The land of Israel is comforted, both by destruction of the heathen, who spitefully used it,* 8 *and by the blessings of God promised unto it.* 16 *Israel was rejected for their sin,* 21 *and shall be restored without their desert.* 25 *The blessings of Christ's kingdom.*

ALSO, thou son of man, prophesy unto the [a] mountains of Israel, and say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the LORD:

[a] chap. 6. 2.

2 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because the enemy hath said against you, Aha, even the ancient high places are ours in possession:

† Heb. *Because for because.*

3 Therefore prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; † Because they have made *you* desolate, and swallowed you up on every side, that ye might be a possession unto the residue of the heathen, and † ye are taken up in the lips of talkers, and *are* an infamy of the people:

† Or, *ye are made to come upon the lip of the tongue.*

4 Therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord GOD; Thus saith the Lord GOD to the mountains, and to the hills, to the † rivers, and to the valleys, to the desolate wastes, and to the cities that are forsaken, which became a prey and derision to the residue of the heathen that *are* round about;

† Or, *bottoms,* or, *dales.*

5 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the heathen, and against all Idumea, which have appointed my land into their possession with the joy of all *their* heart, with despiteful minds, to cast it out for a prey.

6 Prophesy therefore concerning the land of Israel, and say unto the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I have spoken in my jealousy and in my fury, because ye have borne the shame of the heathen:

7 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; I have lifted up mine hand,

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15. *Idumea*] **Edom.** The name Idumea is of later birth, and belongs to a different locality. See on xxv. 12.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1—15. The contrast to the preceding. Now, when the prophet speaks, Judæa is waste. The heathen nations around, and Edom in particular, rejoice in scorn: but the land of Israel is a holy land given by Jehovah to His people, and it shall be theirs. The promises are those of temporal blessings—the rebuilding of the cities, the peopling of the land—the fruitfulness and increase. Although these temporal blessings were typical of Messiah's reign, yet we may not doubt that this prophecy had for its first object the return of prosperity to the land, and to the people, after their return from Babylon. In fact, the Jews did, after their return, enjoy considerable wealth and prosperity, especially under the Maccabæan rulers. At the same time, since peace and plenty were ever characteristic of the kingdom of Messiah, we may believe that here, as elsewhere, the full consummation of all blessings in His kingdom is delineated and foretold.

1. *Ye mountains*] The *mountains of Israel* are opposed to *Seir*, the mount of Edom (xxxv. 3).

2. *the ancient high places*] Comp. the *everlasting hills* (Gen. xlix. 26), where for *everlasting* the same word is used, as here for *ancient*. Comp. also Deut. xxxii. 13.

in possession] Comp. xxxv. 10.

3. *the residue of the heathen*] Those of the surrounding nations which had survived Jerusalem's fall, may have profited by it.

5. *Idumea*] **Edom.** See xxxv. 15.

6. *borne the shame of the heathen*] Endured the taunts which the heathen heaped upon them.

7. *I have lifted up mine hand*] I have sworn. Comp. xx. 6.

Surely the heathen that *are* about you, they shall bear their shame.

8 ¶ But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people of Israel; for they are at hand to come.

9 For, behold, I *am* for you, and I will turn unto you, and ye shall be tilled and sown:

10 And I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, *even* all of it: and the cities shall be inhabited, and the wastes shall be builded:

11 And I will multiply upon you man and beast; and they shall increase and bring fruit: and I will settle you after your old estates, and will do better *unto you* than at your beginnings: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

12 Yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, *even* my people Israel; and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be their inheritance, and thou shalt no more henceforth bereave them *of men*.

13 Thus saith the Lord GOD; Because they say unto you, Thou *land* devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations;

14 Therefore thou shalt devour men no more, neither ‖ bereave thy nations any more, saith the Lord GOD.

‖ Or, *cause to fall.*

15 Neither will I cause *men* to hear in thee the shame of the heathen any more, neither shalt thou bear the reproach of the people any more, neither shalt thou cause thy nations to fall any more, saith the Lord GOD.

16 ¶ Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

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their shame] They shall find their taunts come home to themselves.

8. *they are at hand to come*] The people, or at least those of them that shall again people the land, are ready to come, will soon come, that is, under Zerubbabel.

13. *devourest up men*] Comp. Num. xiii. 32. The judgments which God sent upon the land, sword, famine, and pestilence, had so destroyed the inhabitants that those who looked on deemed it a fatal land, which brought destruction to all that should occupy it. Comp. 2 K. xvii. 25.

14. *bereave*] Or, as in marg. *cause to fall.* According to the text, the promise is the same as in the former clause. The land shall not bring death and bereavement on its inhabitants. According to the margin, the land shall not prove the ruin of its inhabitants by tempting them (as of old time) to the sin of idolatry.

thy nations] The nations that inhabit thee. When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown, strangers were brought in, and these set up their idols on the *high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt* (2 K. xvii. 29).

15. *hear in thee the shame of the heathen*] Hear the heathen putting thee to shame by their contemptuous words.

the reproach of the people] *Thy people* (thy rightful possessors) shall have no cause to reproach thee for want of fertility. Were the blessings promised here merely temporal they could not be said to be fulfilled. The land has been often subjected to heathen masters, and even to this day land and people have borne in a special manner the contempt and taunts of other nations. The words then must point to blessings yet future, and so even here enlarge the temporal promises by the prospect of spiritual blessings.

In the last section the subjugation of the world is contemplated in the overthrow of nations (Edom in particular) which immediately surrounded the Holy Land—the triumph of the kingdom of God in the restoration of the children of Israel to their native soil, a hint, but only a hint, being given at the close, of a more extensive and enduring dominion. In the following chapters to the end of xxxix. the conflict between the world and God is described in its most general form, and the absolute triumph of the kingdom of God fully depicted.

The honour of God is asserted in the gathering together, and the purification of His people. Dispersion is the breaking up of nationality. The first step towards the re-establishment of a kingdom must be the gathering together of the scattered members. As the dispersion of the children of Israel was far wider, and more lasting than the sojourn in Chaldæa, so the reunion here predicted is far more extensive and complete. The dispersion yet continues, the reunion will be in those days when Israel shall be gathered into the Church of God. The reunion shall be accompanied by repentance and conversion by the working of the Holy Spirit making them indeed the people of God.

16—20. The defilement of the people described in order to lead the way to its removal.

17 Son of man, when the house of Israel dwelt in their own land, they defiled it by their own way and by their doings: their way was before me as the uncleanness of a removed woman.

18 Wherefore I poured my fury upon them for the blood that they had shed upon the land, and for their idols *wherewith* they had polluted it:

19 And I scattered them among the heathen, and they were dispersed through the countries: according to their way and according to their doings I judged them.

20 And when they entered unto the heathen, whither they went, they [b] profaned my holy name, when they said to them, These *are* the people of the LORD, and are gone forth out of his land.

[b] Isai. 52. 5. Rom. 2. 24.

21 ¶ But I had pity for mine holy name, which the house of Israel had profaned among the heathen, whither they went.

22 Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; I do not *this* for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went.

23 And I will sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I *am* the LORD, saith the Lord GOD, when I shall be sanctified in you before [1] their eyes.

1 Or, *your*.

24 For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.

25 ¶ Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be

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17. *uncleanness*] Comp. Lev. xv. 19; Isai. lxv. 3, 4. There is a propriety in the comparison, because in such cases purification was preceded by separation from the congregation in the sanctuary.

20. *they profaned my holy name*] Caused it to be dishonoured by the heathen when the heathen said in scorn, This is the people of God. The heathen, seeing the miserable state of the exiles, fancied that Jehovah was no more than a national God, powerless to protect his subjects.

21. *I had pity for mine holy name*] The prep. rendered "for" is usually before the object upon whom the subject has pity—"to have pity" is "to have a pitiful regard to." Render, *I had pity* **upon** *mine holy name.*

22. *not...for your sakes*] Comp. Deut. ix. 6.

25. *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you*] Ezekiel the priest has in view the purifying rites prescribed by the Law—such as the purification of the unclean by sprinkling water in which the ashes of the heifer of purification had been steeped (Num. xix. 17); the cleansing of the Levites in order to their consecration to the service of the sanctuary (Num. viii. 5—22); the purification of uncleanness arising from the touch of a dead body by the water of separation (Num. xix. 11—22). The symbolical purport of these legal ordinances is exhibited in the Epistle to the Hebrews. See Heb. ix. 13, 14, and Heb. x. 22. As the Levites were consecrated with sprinkling of water, so should the approved remnant be made *priests unto the Lord*, Isai. lxi. 6; *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people*, 1 Pet. ii. 9; *kings and priests unto God*, Rev. i. 6. The rite thus prescribed by the Law and explained by the prophets, gave occasion to the use of water at the admission of proselytes in later days, and so to its adoption by John in his baptism unto repentance. It was hallowed by our Lord when in His discourse with Nicodemus, referring, no doubt, to such passages as these, He shewed their application to the Church of which He was about to be the Founder; and when at last He appointed baptism as the sacrament of admission into that Church. In this sacrament the full spiritual import of the legal ordinance is displayed,—the second birth by water and the Spirit. Israel throughout the prophecy of Ezekiel prefigures the visible Church of Christ, needing from time to time trial or purification—so does the renovated Israel represent Christ's mystical Church, *sanctified and cleansed with the washing of water by the word*, Eph. v. 26. The people, like the Church to which St Paul writes, are contemplated as a whole—but the spiritual character of the renovation presumes a personal application of the prophet's words. The personal application is more thoroughly brought out under the new covenant, *e.g.* Heb. xi. 16. Thus the prophecy of Ezekiel furnishes a medium through which we pass from the congregation to the individual, from the letter to the spirit, from the Law to the Gospel, from Moses to Christ. See Introduct. § v.

clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.

[c] Jer. 32. 39. chap. 11. 19.

26 A [c]new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh.

[d] chap. 11. 19.

27 And I will put my [d]spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do *them*.

28 And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.

29 I will also save you from all your uncleannesses: and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you.

30 And I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more reproach of famine among the heathen.

31 Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that *were* not good, and shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations.

32 Not for your sakes do I *this*, saith the Lord GOD, be it known unto you: be ashamed and confounded for your own ways, O house of Israel.

33 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities I will also cause *you* to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded.

34 And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by.

35 And they shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of [e]Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities *are become* fenced, *and* are inhabited.

[e] chap. 28. 13.

36 Then the heathen that are left round about you shall know that I the LORD build the ruined *places*, *and* plant that that was desolate: I [f]the LORD have spoken *it*, and I will do *it*.

[f] chap. 17. 24. & 22. 14. & 37. 14.

37 Thus saith the Lord GOD; I will yet *for* this be inquired of by the house of Israel, to do *it* for them; I will increase them with men like a flock.

38 As the [†]holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

[†] Heb. *flock of holy things.*

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28. *ye shall be my people*] Comp. 2 Cor. vi. 16—18; Heb. viii. 10. The writers of the New Testament appropriated these and similar phrases of the Old Testament to the Church of Christ. The restoration of the Jews to their native soil which did actually take place was a step, a preparation, as well as a type of the establishment of the kingdom of Christ; and so the hills and the valleys of Israel, in the most enlarged sense of prophecy, are that better land which is to be the seat and the possession of the universal Church of Christ. Between the restoration of the Jews (the first step) there are many steps towards the end—the spread of Christ's Church throughout the world, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the acknowledgment of the true God—and we are justified in looking forward to a time when the Gospel shall be preached in all the world, and the earth become the kingdom of God in a fuller sense than it has ever yet been. But all these are *steps*. Our prophecies look beyond all this to the kingdom of God in the heavens. The reference to the garden of Eden, the condition of the earth before man's fall to be renewed after his recovery, confirms us in this view of our prophecy—which is further supported and illustrated by the closing Revelation of John, when a new heaven, and a new earth, and a new Jerusalem, marked the time when *the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people*, Rev. xxi. 3.

36. *the heathen that are left*] Those of the heathen who shall be gathered out of heathendom into the community of God—the residue that will be accepted and redeemed.

37. Comp. xiv. 3. Their sin prevented God's hearing them. Now their purification opens God's ears to their words.

38. *As the holy flock*] There is a reference here to the flocks and herds brought up to Jerusalem to be consecrated and offered unto the Lord, see 2 Chro. xxxv. 7, and elsewhere. Thus the idea is brought out (1) of the multiplication of the people, (2) of their dedication to the service of God.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 By the resurrection of dry bones, 11 the dead hope of Israel is revived. 15 By the uniting of two sticks, 18 is shewed the incorporation of Israel into Judah. 20 The promises of Christ's kingdom.

THE hand of the LORD was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the LORD, and set me down in the midst of the valley which *was* full of bones,

2 And caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, *there were* very many in the open [1] valley; and, lo, *they were* very dry.

3 And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord GOD, thou knowest.

4 Again he said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the LORD.

5 Thus saith the Lord GOD unto these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live:

6 And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.

7 So I prophesied as I was commanded: and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone.

8 And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above: but *there was* no breath in them.

9 Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the [1] wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

[1] Or, *champaign.*

[1] Or, *breath.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Vision of Dry Bones.

By the image of the resurrection of the body Ezekiel prefigures the reinstatement of Israel now scattered and lifeless, as a community restored to their home, and reinvigorated with spiritual life. This prophecy concerns not only the Israel after the flesh, but the Israel of God, points to a home in heaven, and to a life of immortality.

1—10. Ezekiel sees in a vision dead men raised to life. This is not the picture of the general resurrection, but the resurrection of a certain number of men. The vision, as in other cases, has its meaning given (11—14). In this vision, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is at least implied. Such a figure would only have force with those who were familiar with this idea. That such was the case with the Jews may be gathered from such passages as 1 S. ii. 6; Job xix. 25—27; Ps. xvi. 10, 11; Dan. xii. We may also believe that this vision was intended not only to comfort the despairing children of Israel, but also to impress upon them the great truth of the resurrection, which was gradually developed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but found its clear and unambiguous enunciation in the New. The particulars of the vision are such as to apply specially to the condition of Israel.

1. *the valley*] The same word as *the plain* iii. 22, viii. 4, perhaps the same place seen in vision as that on which the prophet had actually stood, surrounded by hills. In such places such a spectacle was not uncommon after the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, fulfilling what the prophet had foretold. The *dry bones* represented the Israelites dispersed abroad, destitute of life national and spiritual.

4. *Prophesy*] Not as vi. 2, xi. 4 in the sense of predicting what was to come to pass, but simply in that of speaking under the inspiration of God. In *v.* 5 not *I will cause*, but I **cause** or am causing. The future tense, not in the original, was perhaps adopted by our translators under the idea that to *prophesy* must be to speak of future events.

7. *bone to his bone*] Each bone to its proper place in the frame to which it belonged.

9. *Prophesy unto the wind*] Rather, to the *breath*, as in *v.* 5. The same Hebrew word is used for *wind* (as in this verse the *four winds*), for *breath*, and for *spirit*. The *breath* of men is from the *Spirit* of God (Gen. ii. 7).

upon these slain] Observe that the bones are the bones of the *slain*, because the scene which the prophet describes was one which was likely to occur in the time of the Chaldæan invasion, and also the fact of violent death reminded him of the miserable condition of the people.

10 So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

11 ¶ Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.

12 Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

13 And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves,

14 And shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the LORD have spoken *it*, and performed *it*, saith the LORD.

15 ¶ The word of the LORD came again unto me, saying,

16 Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and *for* all the house of Israel his companions:

17 And join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand.

18 ¶ And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not shew us what thou *meanest* by these?

19 Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which *is* in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, *even* with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand.

20 ¶ And the sticks whereon thou

11—14. The words *these bones are the whole house of Israel* say plainly that what follows is the explanation of the vision. In the vision, the bones were scattered on the earth; in the explanation, they are to be raised from their graves. But the difference is easily explained. The bones must have been seen in the vision, in order that the process of revivification might be exhibited. In the explanation, the dead condition of the people is described by the usual figure of bodies gone down to the grave. The restoration of the people to the land of Israel had reference to a primary fulfilment in the return from Babylon, but the chief purport of the vision was the promise of restoration from a death in trespasses and sins to a new life of holiness, fulfilled in the Gospel dispensation (John v. 25), but having its consummation in the general resurrection at the last day.

11. *we are cut off for our parts*] That is, "as for us, we are cut off." The message here given was to raise the people from the despair into which they had now fallen.

16—28. A prophecy of the reunion of Israel and Judah, the incorporation of Israel under one Ruler, the kingdom of Messiah upon earth and in heaven.

16. *one stick*] So in Num. xvii. 2, the names of the tribes had been written on rods or sticks.

For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions] To the house of David had remained faithful, not only Judah, the principal tribe, but also Benjamin, Levi, and part of Simeon, and individual members of various tribes (2 Chro. xi. 12—16). In the course of time others came over from Israel to Judah under Asa (2 Chro. xv. 9), under Hezekiah (2 Chro. xxx. 11—18, xxxi. 1). See Introd. § VI.

Joseph...Ephraim] Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 67; Hos. v. 5 foll. *Joseph* is the general name here for the ten tribes, including *Ephraim*, the chief tribe, and his companions. The insertion of *for* before *all the house* in our English Version is incorrect. Write upon it, *For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and all the house of Israel his companions.* *All the house of Israel* is here the ten tribes, not as in *v.* 11, *the whole house of Israel*, which included Israel and Judah.

19. *in the hand of Ephraim*] Because Ephraim was the ruling tribe, contrasted with *in mine hand*.

20. This sign was literally enacted in the presence of the people, not, like some signs, merely in vision (see Note at end of iii.).

writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes.

21 And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land:

22 And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and [a] one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all:

23 Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions: but I will save them out of all their dwellingplaces, wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God.

24 And [b] David my servant *shall be* king over them; and they all shall have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them.

25 And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, *even* they, and their children, and their children's children for ever: and my servant David *shall be* their prince for ever.

26 Moreover I will make a [c] covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them: and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my [d] sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.

27 My tabernacle also shall be with them: yea, I will be [e] their God, and they shall be my people.

28 And the heathen shall know that I the LORD do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore.

[a] John 10. 16.

[b] Isai. 40. 11. Jer. 23. 5. & 30. 9. chap. 34. 23.

[c] Psal. 89. 3. chap. 34. 25.

[d] 2 Cor. 6. 16.

[e] chap. 11. 20. & 14. 11.

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21. The gathering together of the children of Israel was to take effect in the first place in the return from Babylon, when the distinction of Israel and Judah should cease (see Introd. § 11.), but as only a portion of the people then returned, there would still be a "dispersion," and so it continued till the fall of Jerusalem under the Romans. The full completion concerns yet later times, and indeed times still future, when all Israel shall come in to acknowledge the rule of Christ.

22. *one king*] See xxxiv. 23. Comp. Zech. xii. 8 to the end of the book. The reign of the One King David is the reign of Christ in His kingdom, the Church. First will come the restoration of Israel (portions of the united Israel under the name of Jews) to their native soil. That will lead the way to the coming of the promised King, the Son of David, who will gather into His kingdom the true Israel, the term including not only the converted descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, but all who shall by faith be acknowledged as the Israel of God.

25, 26. We have now an enlargement of the promises. The kingdom is to be an eternal one, established *for ever*, the covenant which the true David shall make shall be *everlasting*. This looks forward to the consummation of all God's promises in the Eternal Heavens, when *the kingdom shall be delivered up unto the Father,...and God shall be All in All*, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28.

27. *My tabernacle also shall be with them*] This gives a final blessing which is reserved for God's accepted servants. The tabernacle and temple were outward symbols of His presence. The re-erection of the temple by Zerubbabel was the first step to a restoration of the presence of God. The second step was the presence of Christ, first in the flesh, then in His Church, and finally the eternal presence of God and of the Lamb in the New Jerusalem, the Heaven of Heavens. The words of Ezekiel are taken up and their true meaning disclosed by their adoption in Rev. xxi.

NOTE A. (ON *vv.* 1—14.)

This vision has been variously explained. 1. Grotius and others, who adopt throughout the more historical and material method of interpretation, say that the resuscitation of the bones is no more than an apt figure, neither expressing a belief in, nor implying a knowledge of, the doctrine of the resurrection, employed to portray the gathering of the Israelites

from the countries of their exile, and their restoration to their native land, which was effected in the return under Zerubbabel.

Kliefoth is at great pains to combat the notion that *vv.* 11—14 is the explanation of the vision (*vv.* 1—10). He conceives that xxxvii. 11—14 is the true continuation of xxxvi. 16—38, that the substance of this continuation is a distinct promise, that hereafter the true Israelites shall be raised from their graves to life and immortality, but that because the doctrine of a future resurrection, though intimated, was not as yet clearly revealed, Ezekiel was commissioned to introduce parenthetically a distinct announcement of the resurrection of the body, in order that on the basis of this general truth the children of Israel might rest their assurance of the promises about to be given.

Hävernick, agreeing with Kliefoth in connecting xxxvii. 11—14 with xxxvi. 16—38, considers the vision (1—10) to be mainly intended to set forth the creative power of God, His power to restore the dead to life, in order thereby to give confidence and hope to the children of Israel. He conceives that in the vision Ezekiel had in view not the general resurrection, but such instances of the raising of the dead as those by Elijah and Elisha, and perhaps a passage in Isai. xxvi. 19.

The interpretation adopted in the notes is substantially that of Hengstenberg and Ewald.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *The army,* 8 *and malice of Gog.* 14 *God's judgment against him.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

2 Son of man, set thy face against [a] Gog, the land of Magog, [1] the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him,

3 And say, Thus saith the Lord

[a] Rev. 20. 8.

[1] Or, *prince of the chief.*

CHAPS. XXXVIII., XXXIX. The last conflict of the world with God, and the complete overthrow of the former.

The place occupied by this section shews that it refers to times subsequent to the restoration of Israel. Hitherto the prophecies have been directed against the more immediate neighbours of God's people. Their fall is to make room for Israel's triumph. But as the Church (the true Israel) waxes stronger and stronger, more distant nations will come into collision and must be overthrown before the triumph is complete. Hence the present prophecy is directed against peoples dwelling in remote regions of the north. From this quarter had come the terrible invasion of the Scythians, who had possession of Asia twenty-three years, and in the course of this time they had certainly overrun Syria, and had probably made their appearance in the Holy Land (Herod. I. 104, 105). Some have thought that this prophecy is directed against these Scythians, foretelling their fall, like that of the other invaders of the land of Israel. But in this prophecy there is little distinctive of one nation. It is a gathering together of the enemies of Jehovah to make their last effort, and to be overthrown. The seer passes now to the final struggle between Good and Evil, and the triumphant establishment of the Divine Rule. It is the same struggle which is depicted in the Book of Revelation (xx. 7—10), where St John adopts words and phrases of Ezekiel, indicating thereby that he is predicting the same event which Ezekiel had foretold. See Introd. §§ X., XI.

There are four main divisions of this prophecy: (1) xxxviii. 1—13, describing Gog's march on a peaceable and unoffending people; (2) xxxviii. 14—23, his punishment; (3) xxxix. 1—16, the completion of his ruin; (4) xxxix. 17—29, the issue of Gog's ruin in Israel's redemption and sanctification. Each division, however, is broken up like a poem into stanzas, where the subject is from time to time reintroduced and treated with variety, while the same phrases recur, giving force and unity to the whole.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 2. *Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal*] **Gog of the land of Magog, prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal.** *Gog* is here the name of a captain from *the land of Magog*. In Gen. x. 2 *Magog* appears as a son of *Japheth*, placed between *Gomer* and *Madai* (the Cimmerians and Medes), evidently as the name of a people of the north. In the 'History of Assurbanipal from cuneiform inscriptions' (p. 97), we find side by side with "Birighudri, a chief of Madai" (Media), "Sariti and Pariza, sons of *Ga-a-gi*, a chief of the Saka (Scythians)," whom Mr Smith identifies with *Gog*. In Rev. xx. 8 *Magog* is a prince, companion of *Gog*. *Chief prince*, marg. *prince of the chief*. The Hebrew word (*rosh*) is often used for *chief* or *chieftain*. LXX. "prince of Rosh." Jerome notes this, and adds that he has preferred to understand the word as meaning *chief*, because he does not find any other mention of the people. But we have in this very book more than one name occurring once only, *e.g. Chilmad* (xxvii. 23), *Chub* (xxx. 5). Traces of the name have been found by Bochart and Frahn in "Ar-ras," the Arabian name for the river Araxes, and the people who inhabit its shores—by Michaelis, in οἱ Ρῶς, found in the Byzantine historians,

GOD; Behold, I *am* against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal:

4 And I will turn thee back, and put [b] hooks into thy jaws, and I will bring thee forth, and all thine army, horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts *of armour*, *even* a great company *with* bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords:

5 Persia, Ethiopia, and [l] Libya with them; all of them with shield and helmet:

6 Gomer, and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands: *and* many people with thee.

7 Be thou prepared, and prepare for thyself, thou, and all thy company that are assembled unto thee, and be thou a guard unto them.

8 ¶ After many days thou shalt be visited: in the latter years thou shalt come into the land *that is* brought back from the sword, *and is* gathered out of many people, against the mountains of Israel, which have been always waste: but it is brought forth out of the nations, and they shall dwell safely all of them.

9 Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee.

10 Thus saith the Lord GOD; It shall also come to pass, *that* at the same time shall things come into thy mind, and thou shalt [l] think an evil thought:

11 And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell [l] safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates,

12 [†] To take a spoil, and to take a prey; to turn [l] thine hand upon the desolate places *that are now* inhabited, and upon the people *that are* gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, that dwell in the [l] midst of the land.

[b] chap. 39. 2.

[l] Or, *Phut.*

[l] Or, *conceive a mischievous purpose.*

[l] Or, *confidently.*

[†] Heb. *To spoil the spoil, and to prey the prey.*

[l] Heb. *navel.*

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from which the Russians are thought to derive their name. See Rosenm., Häver., and Hitzig; also Gesen. 'Thesaur.' *Meshech* and *Tubal*, see xxvii. 13 and xxxii. 26.

4. *I will turn thee back*] Not turn back *from* the Holy Land, but *to* that land. The Lord will draw on Gog and his army to their destruction. For the metaphor see xxix. 4. Comp. Joel iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 1, 2, 3.

5. Libya and Ethiopia, mixed with the northern invaders, are tribes from the extreme south, to shew that this is a general combination of the foes of God's people.

6. *Gomer*] The Cimmerians. Gen. x. 2; 1 Chro. i. 5.

7. *Be thou prepared, and prepare for thyself*] A strain of irony as in Isai. viii. 9, 10 and Jer. xlvi. 3, 4. Make all thy preparations, they will be in vain.

8. This verse does not speak of the punishment and overthrow of Gog's army, but of their attack upon Israel; but as Gog was drawn on to this attack in order to his ultimate ruin, his preparations and his advance were in truth the first step in his visitation from the Almighty.

After many days] **For** *many days.* Lit. "From many days." Many a long day shall the hand of God be upon thee, drawing thee on to thy ruin, and in the latter days shalt thou come.

into the land] Lit. *into* **a** *land brought back from the sword, and gathered out of many* **peoples**, a land once laid waste by the sword, but now delivered from it, whose inhabitants once scattered have been gathered together from out of many peoples.

always] Rather, **a long time.** The mountains, which had been long waste, were at the time of Gog's advance again cultivated and populous.

and they shall dwell] Rather, **and they dwell.** It is not a promise of the future, but a description of the present, the condition at the time of Gog's invasion. Comp. Judg. xviii. 7, 27; also below, v. 11, and xxxiv. 25, 27. Such was the condition of the restored Jews in their prosperous days, after which came invasion and war. Such shall be the condition of the Church previous to the final conflict between good and evil.

11. *unwalled villages*] Comp. Zech. ii. 4, 5.

12. *cattle and goods*] As in patriarchal times, Gen. xxxiv. 23, xxxvi. 6.

in the midst of the land] **in the midst of the earth.** Comp. v. 5.

13 Sheba, and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof, shall say unto thee, Art thou come to take a spoil? hast thou gathered thy company to take a prey? to carry away silver and gold, to take away cattle and goods, to take a great spoil?

14 ¶ Therefore, son of man, prophesy and say unto Gog, Thus saith the Lord GOD; In that day when my people of Israel dwelleth safely, shalt thou not know *it?*

15 And thou shalt come from thy place out of the north parts, thou, and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army:

16 And thou shalt come up against my people of Israel, as a cloud to cover the land; it shall be in the latter days, and I will bring thee against my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes.

17 Thus saith the Lord GOD; *Art* thou he of whom I have spoken in old time † by my servants the prophets of Israel, which prophesied in those days *many* years that I would bring thee against them?

† Heb. *by the hands.*

18 And it shall come to pass at the same time when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord GOD, *that* my fury shall come up in my face.

19 For in my jealousy *and* in the fire of my wrath have I spoken, Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel;

20 So that the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the field, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth, and all the men that *are* upon the face of the earth, shall shake at my presence, and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the ‖ steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground.

‖ Or, *towers*, or, *stairs.*

21 And I will call for a sword against him throughout all my mountains, saith the Lord GOD: every man's sword shall be against his brother.

22 And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that *are* with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.

23 Thus will I [c] magnify myself, and sanctify myself; and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

[c] chap. 36. 23. & 37. 28.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *God's judgment upon Gog.* 8 *Israel's victory.* 11 *Gog's burial in Hamon-gog.* 17 *The feast of the fowls.* 23 *Israel, having been plagued for their sins, shall be gathered again with eternal favour.*

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14. *shalt thou not know it?*] LXX., οὐχὶ γνώσῃ καὶ ἐγερθήσῃ; "shalt thou not know and arise?" Gog will mark the prosperous security of the people, and rise up against them as an easy prey.

16. *I shall be sanctified in thee*] I shall be shewn to be holy and just in avenging myself of mine enemy. Comp. xxxvi. 23.

17. *Gog* is not mentioned by name in any existing prophecy before Ezekiel's time. The reference here shews (1) that the conflict with Gog does not represent a particular event, but one of which the prophets in general had to speak; (2) that in the interpretation of Old Testament prophecy we are to look beyond special fulfilments. Events in the world's history come within a prophet's ken as parts of the divine administration whereby evil struggles against but is overcome by good. As every such conflict is a prelude to the final struggle, so its prediction has reference ultimately to the consummation here foretold.

19—23. "The visible creation takes part in this great catastrophe. A dreadful scene of confusion ensues, and ruin bursts forth from every side upon the head of sinners. In fierce bewilderment they draw their swords one upon another. All conceivable plagues work together for their destruction, and so Jehovah is manifested as the Holy God." Hävernick.

22. *great hailstones*] Comp. xiii. 11.

THEREFORE, thou son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I *am* against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal:

2 And I will turn thee back, and [1] leave but the sixth part of thee, and will cause thee to come up from [†] the north parts, and will bring thee upon the mountains of Israel:

3 And I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

4 Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of Israel, thou, and all thy bands, and the people that *is* with thee: I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every [†] sort, and *to* the beasts of the field [†] to be devoured.

5 Thou shalt fall upon [†] the open field: for I have spoken *it*, saith the Lord GOD.

6 And I will send a fire on Magog, and among them that dwell [1] carelessly in the isles: and they shall know that I *am* the LORD.

7 So will I make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel; and I will not *let them* pollute my holy name any more: and the heathen shall know that I *am* the LORD, the Holy One in Israel.

8 ¶ Behold, it is come, and it is done, saith the Lord GOD; this *is* the day whereof I have spoken.

9 And they that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth, and shall set on fire and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the [1] handstaves, and the spears, and they

[1] Or, *strike thee with six plagues; or, draw thee back with an hook of six teeth, as chap. 38. 4.*
[†] Heb. *the sides of the north.*
[†] Heb. *wing.*
[†] Heb. *to devour.*
[†] Heb. *the face of the field.*
[1] Or, *confidently.*
[1] Or, *javelins.*

CHAP. XXXIX. The present chapter proceeds to describe the defeat of Evil and the triumph of God and His people. We must bear in mind that Ezekiel is not predicting the invasion of an actual army, but the advance of Evil under that *figure*. So he declares the overthrow of Evil by the *figure* of a host routed and slain, and the consequent purification of a land, partially overrun and disturbed. It is the manner of Ezekiel to dwell upon the details of the *figurative acts* which he portrays, bringing them before the mind as vivid pictures, and employing, so to speak, the strongest colouring. This has led some so to rest on the picture as to forget that it is a *figure*. Thus they have searched history to find out some campaign in the land of Israel, some overthrow of invaders, on which to fix this prophecy, and have assigned localities to the burial-place, and even thought to discover the spot, to which belongs the appellation, *Hamon-Gog*. But in truth the details are set forth in order to carry out the allegory, and their very extravagance, so to speak, points out that we have but the shadow of a great spiritual reality, which man can only faintly represent and feebly grasp *in a figure*. See Introd. § VIII.

The chapter divides itself into three parts:—I. *vv.* 2—7. The devoted army is seen marching, with birds of prey hovering over their heads, falling on the open field, stricken down by fire from heaven, while the power of God is asserted in their destruction. II. 8—16. The battle-field is seen strewn with the corpses and the spoils of the dead. The land is being purged from the defilement of the slain—the extent of the work denoting the greatness of the victory. III. 17 to the end. The prophet goes back to his starting-point, and takes in the whole subject from beginning to end. Beasts and birds of prey are summoned to feast upon the bodies of those who seem so mighty but are drawn on to prove to the heathen that the Lord is God, to shew the purpose of His dealings with His people, and to prepare the way for their perpetual enjoyment of His presence and His favour.

2. *and leave but the sixth part of thee*] **and lead thee along.** LXX. καθοδηγήσω σε. Vulg. "educam te." The rendering in the text supposes that the verb is derived from the Hebrew numeral "six." The margin alternatives, *strike thee with six plagues*, or *draw thee back with an hook of six teeth*, all rest upon the supposed derivation, which is however not recognized by the LXX. or Vulg. Most of the modern commentators follow the LXX. and Vulg.

6. *I will send a fire*] Comp. Rev. xx. 9.

in the isles] The judgment which is described, xxxviii. 20, as universal is here extended to *the isles* to shew that it should fall not only on Gog and his land, but on those who share Gog's feelings of hatred and opposition to the kingdom of God.

9. *they shall burn them with fire seven years*] The weapons of the army left on the field of battle shall be so numerous as to supply fuel for the people of the land for *seven years*. The furnace in Daniel was to be *seven* times hotter than of wont, Dan. iii. 19. Comp.

shall ‖ burn them with fire seven years:

‖ Or, *make a fire of them.*

10 So that they shall take no wood out of the field, neither cut down *any* out of the forests; for they shall burn the weapons with fire: and they shall spoil those that spoiled them, and rob those that robbed them, saith the Lord GOD.

11 ¶ And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* I will give unto Gog a place there of graves in Israel, the valley of the passengers on the east of the sea: and it shall stop the ‖ *noses* of the passengers: and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude: and they shall call *it* The valley of ‖ Hamon-gog.

‖ Or, mouths.

‖ That is, *The multitude of Gog.*

12 And seven months shall the house of Israel be burying of them, that they may cleanse the land.

13 Yea, all the people of the land shall bury *them;* and it shall be to them a renown the day that I shall be glorified, saith the Lord GOD.

† Heb. *men of continuance.*

14 And they shall sever out † men of continual employment, passing through the land to bury with the passengers those that remain upon the face of the earth, to cleanse it: after the end of seven months shall they search.

15 And the passengers *that* pass through the land, when *any* seeth a man's bone, then shall he † set up a sign by it, till the buriers have buried it in the valley of Hamon-gog.

† Heb. *build.*

16 And also the name of the city *shall be* ‖ Hamonah. Thus shall they cleanse the land.

‖ That is, *The multitude.*

17 ¶ And, thou son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD; Speak † unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field, Assemble yourselves, and come; gather yourselves on every side to my ‖ sacrifice that I do sacrifice for you, *even* a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh, and drink blood.

† Heb. *to the fowl of every wing.*

‖ Or, *slaughter.*

18 Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth, of rams, of lambs, and of † goats, of bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan.

† Heb. *great goats.*

19 And ye shall eat fat till ye be full, and drink blood till ye be drunken, of my sacrifice which I have sacrificed for you.

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1 K. xix. 18. *Seven* was a number connected with the cleansing after contact with the dead (Num. xix. 11 foll.), and this purification of the land by the clearance of the heathenish spoils was a holy work. Comp. *v.* 12, *seven months.*

11. *a place there of graves in Israel*] A place where there may be burial for them in Israel. What part of the Holy Land may be thus defiled? The prophet pictures to himself as a fitting place some valley, probably imaginary (a *valley* is also mentioned in Zech. xiv. 5), at the extremity of the Holy Land.

the valley of the passengers] Because they who there lie buried were but as a cloud passing over and gone. There is also, as is common in Hebrew, a play upon words—there were *passengers* to be buried, *passengers* to walk over their graves, *passengers* to bury them (*v.* 15).

east of the sea] Of the Dead Sea, a place frightful in its physical character, and admonitory of past judgments.

stop the noses] The word thus rendered occurs only once more in Scripture, Deut. xxv. 4, where it is rendered *muzzle.* Comp. Isai. xxxiv. 3.

Hamon-gog] *i.e.* the multitude of Gog, as in *v.* 16, *Hamonah,* the multitude.

14. *men of continual employment*] Lit. as marg., *men of continuance,* that is, men regularly appointed to this business, to express the magnitude of the work and the systematic way in which it is performed. According to the Mosaic law a dead body caused a peculiar defilement to all with which it came in contact, Num. xix. 11 foll. So that as the land of Israel represents figuratively the Church of Christ, the purification of that land is a proper part of the figure to indicate such a sanctification and cleansing of His Church, as St Paul describes in Eph. v. 26, 27.

17 to end. Comp. Rev. xix. 17. The destruction of the enemy, viewed as to its results with reference to the people of God. The purposes of the past dispensation shall be made clear to God's people themselves and to the heathen. All shall see that the judgments which have fallen upon the chosen race were no sign of any change of purpose of the Almighty, but the consequence of their sins, and that, these sins once abandoned, the favour of their God will return in yet more abundance.

20 Thus ye shall be filled at my table with horses and chariots, with mighty men, and with all men of war, saith the Lord GOD.

21 And I will set my glory among the heathen, and all the heathen shall see my judgment that I have executed, and my hand that I have laid upon them.

22 So the house of Israel shall know that I *am* the LORD their God from that day and forward.

23 ¶ And the heathen shall know that the house of Israel went into captivity for their iniquity: because they trespassed against me, therefore hid I my face from them, and gave them into the hand of their enemies: so fell they all by the sword.

24 According to their uncleanness and according to their transgressions have I done unto them, and hid my face from them.

25 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; Now will I bring again the captivity of Jacob, and have mercy upon the whole house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name;

26 After that they have borne their shame, and all their trespasses whereby they have trespassed against me, when they dwelt safely in their land, and none made *them* afraid.

27 When I have brought them again from the people, and gathered them out of their enemies' lands, and [a] am sanctified in them in the sight of many nations;

[a] chap. 36. 23.

28 Then shall they know that I *am* the LORD their God, [†] which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen: but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there.

[†] Heb. *by my causing of them, &c.*

29 Neither will I hide my face any more from them: for I have [b] poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

[b] Joel 2. 28. Acts 2. 17.

CHAPTER XL.

1 *The time, manner, and end of the vision.* 6 *The description of the east gate,* 20 *of the north gate,* 24 *of the south gate,* 32 *of the east gate,* 35 *and of the north gate.* 39 *Eight tables.* 44 *The chambers.* 48 *The porch of the house.*

IN the five and twentieth year of our captivity, in the beginning

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29. *I have poured out my spirit*] Comp. Joel ii. 28; Zech. xii. 10; and Acts ii. 17. There St Peter distinctly appropriates these prophecies to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and the inauguration of the Church of Christ by that miraculous event. But this was the beginning of the fulfilment of these verses of the prophets. They shall find their consummation when time shall be no more.

CHAPS. XL.—XLVIII. The vision of the restored temple and the reinhabited land. A development of the promise contained in xxxvii. 27. The subject of the closing chapters of Ezekiel is the restitution of the kingdom of God. This is expressed by a vision, in which are displayed not only a rebuilt temple, but also by a reformed priesthood, reorganized services, a restored monarchy, a reapportioned territory, a renewed people, and, as a consequence, the diffusion of fertility and plenty over the whole earth. The return from Babylon was indeed the beginning of this work, but only a beginning, introductory to the future kingdom of Christ, first upon earth, finally in heaven. The vision must therefore be viewed as strictly *symbolical;* the symbols employed being the Mosaic ordinances. These ordinances had indeed in themselves a hidden meaning. The Tabernacle in the midst of the tents of the tribes, and afterwards the Temple in the capital of the land of inheritance, was intended to signify the dwelling of Jehovah among His people, the priesthood was to denote the mediation between God and man, the monarchy the sovereignty of God, the people the saints of God, the territory their inheritance. So that the symbols here employed have an essential propriety, yet they are truly *symbols*, and as such are they to be regarded. See Kliefoth 'Tempel Gesicht Ezechiel's.' See Note at end of xlii.

CHAP. XL. 1. *In the five and twentieth year*] This was the fiftieth year from the 18th of Josiah, the year of his memorable passover (2 K. xxiii. 22). See note on i, 1. If that was a jubilee year, which is highly probable, this vision too falls in a jubilee year, which seems appropriate. The jubilee year began with the month of Tisri, on the tenth day of which was the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29, 30). The month Tisri was the first month of the

of the year, in the tenth *day* of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the city was smitten, in the selfsame day the hand of the LORD was upon me, and brought me thither.

2 In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain, ‖ by which *was* as the frame of a city on the south.

‖ Or, *upon which.*

3 And he brought me thither, and, behold, *there was* a man, whose appearance *was* like the appearance of brass, with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed; and he stood in the gate.

4 And the man said unto me, Son of man, behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears, and set thine heart upon all that I shall shew thee; for to the intent that I might shew *them* unto thee *art* thou brought hither: declare all that thou seest to the house of Israel.

5 And behold a wall on the outside of the house round about, and in the man's hand a measuring reed of six cubits *long* by the cubit and an hand breadth: so he measured the breadth of the building, one reed; and the height, one reed.

† Heb. *whose face was the way toward the east.*

6 ¶ Then came he unto the gate † which looketh toward the east, and

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civil year, but we do not know that this reckoning was adopted till after the captivity. However, the fact of the jubilee year commencing in this month would be a sufficient reason for speaking of the time as, *in the beginning of the year.*

2. *visions of God*] Comp. i. 1, viii. 3.

a very high mountain] Higher than the actual temple-hill to mark increased dignity. So Isai. ii. 2, *the mountain of the* LORD'S *house shall be established in the top of the mountains.* Comp. Micah iv. 1.

by which] As in marg., *upon which.* The building was not *by* or near the hill, but *upon* it (xliii. 12).

as the frame of a city] It is not *a city* which is seen, but a building (the temple and its courts) like a city in its construction, surrounded by massive walls.

on the south] **southward**, *i.e.* on the southern slope, just as the temple actually stood on Mount Moriah. The temple was at the north-east corner of the city—part of the western portion of the city being more to the north, but no part directly north of the temple.

3. *thither*] To the building from the place where Ezekiel first saw it.

like the appearance of brass] Brightly shining, i. 7.

a line of flax] For measuring the ground plan.

a measuring reed] For the walls (comp. Jer. xxxi. 38, 39; Rev. xxi. 15). To *measure* implied a separation for sacred purposes, comp. Rev. xi. 2. The measurements are (1) *exact*, to shew that the promise is not vague, but certain; (2) *equal*, to denote harmony; (3) *vast*, to mark majesty and grandeur. The extraordinary massiveness of the walls may have had reference to the enormous structures raised at this time by Nebuchadnezzar, who was not only the greatest conqueror, but the greatest builder in the world. See note on xxiii. 14.

5. THE BOUNDARY WALL OF THE TEMPLE-COURTS. See Plan II.

a wall on the outside of the house] The wall enclosing the courts in which were the entrance gates, not the wall of the area and precincts (xlii. 20).

by the cubit and an hand breadth] Comp. xliii. 13. The Jews, according to Rabbinical statement, first used a small cubit of fifteen inches, applying it principally to the vessels and furniture of the temple; next a cubit of eighteen inches (*a hand-breadth* longer than the former cubit); and lastly, after the captivity, the Babylonish cubit of twenty-one inches (another *hand-breadth* more). But in the *temple measurements* they used only the cubit of eighteen inches. For exactly the same dimensions are given in the Books of Kings and of Chronicles, in Ezra and in Ezekiel, in Josephus and the Talmud. Now we know that Josephus reckoned by the Greek cubit of eighteen inches. The measurements of Herod's temple agree with this (Fergusson's 'Temple and Holy Sepulchre,' p. 79). So that we may conclude that the *cubit and hand-breadth* is the cubit of eighteen inches.

the breadth of the building] The *building* is here the enclosing wall—the *height* and *breadth* of this wall are given, but not the length, which is determined hereafter, and shewn to enclose a square, a side of which is 500 cubits.

6—16. THE EAST GATE-BUILDING. See Plan III. This is particularly described, all the other gate-buildings being exactly like it. This gate-building led from the precincts to the outer court.

went up the stairs thereof, and measured the threshold of the gate, *which was* one reed broad; and the other threshold *of the gate, which was* one reed broad.

7 And *every* little chamber *was* one reed long, and one reed broad; and between the little chambers *were* five cubits; and the threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate within *was* one reed.

8 He measured also the porch of the gate within, one reed.

9 Then measured he the porch of the gate, eight cubits; and the posts thereof, two cubits; and the porch of the gate *was* inward.

10 And the little chambers of the gate eastward *were* three on this side, and three on that side; they three *were* of one measure: and the posts had one measure on this side and on that side.

11 And he measured the breadth of the entry of the gate, ten cubits; *and* the length of the gate, thirteen cubits.

12 The † space also before the

† Heb. *limit*, or, *bound*.

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6. *stairs*] *Seven* in number (*v.* 22).

the threshold...broad] Lit. "the threshold of the gate one reed broad, and the threshold of the gate one reed broad," the usual Hebrew mode of expressing **each threshold of the gate one reed broad.** Some have thought that this refers to the two thresholds, the one at the entry from the precincts, the other at the entry into the court. But as the measurements are being taken from east to west, it will be better to consider that the two thresholds belong to the easternmost *gateway*. The *gate-building* consisted of (1) a covered gateway (with two thresholds) from the precincts; (2) an uncovered space, along the sides of which were the guard-chambers; (3) another covered gateway into the court.

7. *And every little chamber was*] **And the guard-chambers, each** *one reed long and one reed broad.* In our translation the words *was* and *were* are continually introduced, but are not in the original. They would be better away. The substantives depend upon the verb *measured* throughout.

little chamber] The Hebrew word (*tha*) occurs 1 K. xiv. 28; 2 Chro. xii. 11, of a series of chambers for the Levites who kept watch in the temple. It is a different word from that rendered *chambers* in *v.* 17. The noun *tha* is singular, used collectively. So in *vv.* 14, 16, *the post*, for a series of posts or pillars. Comp. xl. 29, xli. 11.

between the little chambers] Between two guard-chambers there was from east to west a space of five cubits. The seer, having passed along the way with guard-chambers on either side, comes to *the threshold of the gate by the porch*. This corresponds to the second threshold in the easternmost gateway.

porch] (Heb. *ulam.*) The LXX. αἰλάμ. Vulg. *vestibulum*. The word probably means porch or portico, connected with *ail* = post or pillar.

8. This verse is not found in some Hebrew MSS., or in the LXX. or Vulg. It is rejected by Hitzig and others as inconsistent with *v.* 9. But there is no inconsistency, the measurements are taken in different ways. Here it is from east to west, as generally.

9. The porch is now measured from north to south, in *width*, as before in *depth*. In *v.* 11 we are told that the *breadth of the entry of the gate* was *ten cubits*, which is made up of the *eight cubits*, with a *cubit* for a *post* or pillar on each side

posts] (Heb. *ail* = ram.) A projection like a ram's horn. Hence in architecture a column projecting from the wall with its base, shaft and capital, or it may be the *base* only, as in *vv.* 16, 49. In the former case *column* might be a better translation, but as there is a distinction between *post* and *pillar* (as between *base* and *shaft*) it is better to keep the word *post*, remembering that it represents the lower part of the column, and that the dimensions given are those of the section of the base. The word (though sometimes the plural occurs, as in *v.* 14) is usually singular, a collective noun, which is expressed in our Version by the insertion of *every*.

the porch of the gate was inward] *i.e.* towards the court.

10. *eastward*] The seer, having passed through the gate-building westward, now turns back eastward, and tells us that there were three guard-chambers *on this side and on that*, on either side of the roadway, and in front of each guard-chamber columns, whose *posts* (bases) were each one cubit square.

11. *the length of the gate*] The length of the gateway (including the porch) from the court to the uncovered space. The threshold we are told was *six cubits*, and the porch *six*. In addition one cubit was probably allowed in front of the porch, as before the porch of the temple itself (*v.* 49).

12. The space in front of the guard-cham-

little chambers *was* one cubit *on this side*, and the space *was* one cubit on that side: and the little chambers *were* six cubits on this side, and six cubits on that side.

13 He measured then the gate from the roof of *one* little chamber to the roof of another: the breadth *was* five and twenty cubits, door against door.

14 He made also posts of threescore cubits, even unto the post of the court round about the gate.

15 And from the face of the gate of the entrance unto the face of the porch of the inner gate *were* fifty cubits.

16 And *there were* †narrow windows to the little chambers, and to their posts within the gate round about, and likewise to the ‖arches: and windows *were* round about ‖inward: and upon *each* post *were* palm trees.

17 Then brought he me into the outward court, and, lo, *there were*

† Heb. *closed.*

‖ Or, *galleries, or, porches.*

‖ Or, *within.*

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bers corresponded to the measure of the *posts* in front of these chambers (*v.* 10).

13. This measurement is across the gate-building from north to south. We have thus the breadth of the entry including a post on either side ... ... 10 cubits
on either side a guard-chamber ... ... 6 cubits
a space ... ... 1 cubit

7 cubits × 2 = 14 cubits

24 cubits

An additional cubit was taken to make the breadth of the gate-building exactly half its length.

14. *He made*] The angel is exhibiting a newly constructed building, and therefore is said to make it.

posts of threescore cubits] Vulg. *Et fecit frontes per sexaginta cubitos.* This expresses that the sixty cubits were the length of a series of columns. This gives us another feature of the gate-building. Between the porch and the two most western guard-chambers was a space of five cubits (through which the road passed), forming a kind of hall with columns along the sides. This hall is called the *arches*, *v.* 16. The whole breadth of the gate-building being twenty-five cubits, the united length of the sides of this hall would be sixty cubits. The threshold of six cubits, *v.* 7, (forming the roadway) extended one cubit beyond the hall into the uncovered way. It is probable that in one of these halls (that of the eastern gateway of the inner court) the prince *ate bread* on solemn festivals (xliv. 3). A hall of the same dimensions was between the boundary wall and eastern guard-chambers (see on *v.* 31).

unto the post of the court round about the gate] This hall or colonnade extended the whole breadth of the building to the *pavement* (*v.* 18). Outside the building on the pavement was a series of pillars (*the post* used collectively, see on *v.* 9).

15. *the face of the gate of the entrance*] The front of the gate-building looking to the precincts. The whole length of the gate-building was fifty cubits, thus made up:—

Thickness of boundary wall ...	6	cubits
Hall of entrance	5	,,
Three guard-chambers (six cubits each)	18	,,
Spaces between guard-chambers	10	,,
Hall of porch	5	,,
Porch	6	,,
	50	cubits

16. *narrow*] Lit. "closed." Ewald, "closed with network." Vulg. *obliquas*, the jambs sloping towards the opening. This, however, though common in later styles, is not in accordance with the architecture, in which all the lines were straight and the spaces rectangular.

to their posts within the gate round about] These *narrow windows* were within the gate-building in the walls bounded by the *pavement* between the outside pillars (*v.* 14), and in that part of the western front which was clear of the porch, so as to light up both the guard-chambers and the hall. Similar windows were in the temple of Solomon, 1 K. vi. 4, where observe the marginal renderings.

the arches] (Heb. *elammoth*, in *v.* 22 *elammim*, probably derived from *ul* = *post*, and perhaps connected with *ulam* = *porch*.) The word *arches* is not happy, as the *arch* was at this time unknown in architecture. This word probably denotes the hall or colonnade mentioned in note on *v.* 14. The plural form of the noun corresponds with the two parts of this hall on either side the roadway.

For the gate-building see Plan No. III.

upon each post were palm trees] The *post* was a square base on which stood the shaft in the form of a palm-tree, as we see in ancient buildings in the East.

17—19. THE OUTER COURT. The *outward* or outer *court* corresponds to what

chambers, and a pavement made for the court round about: thirty chambers *were* upon the pavement.

18 And the pavement by the side of the gates over against the length of the gates *was* the lower pavement.

19 Then he measured the breadth from the forefront of the lower gate unto the forefront of the inner court ‖ without, an hundred cubits eastward and northward.

‖ Or, *from without.*

20 ¶ And the gate of the outward court † that looked toward the north, he measured the length thereof, and the breadth thereof.

† Heb. *whose face was.*

21 And the little chambers thereof *were* three on this side and three on that side; and the posts thereof and the ‖ arches thereof were after the measure of the first gate: the length thereof *was* fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

‖ Or, *galleries, or, porches.*

22 And their windows, and their arches, and their palm trees, *were* after the measure of the gate that looketh toward the east; and they went up unto it by seven steps; and the arches thereof *were* before them.

23 And the gate of the inner court *was* over against the gate toward the

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was in Herod's temple the Court of Women, into which all Jews, but not Gentiles, were admitted.

17. *chambers*] See Jer. xxxv. 2.

a pavement] Of mosaic work (2 Chro. vii. 3; Esther i. 6). This pavement came up to the sides of the gate-buildings, and was carried along the sides of the court parallel to the boundary-wall, thus forming a border of forty-four cubits to the court.

round about] On each side of the court in which there were gates, *i.e.* on the east, north, and south sides. We are not told what were the dimensions or position of these chambers. They were probably placed symmetrically, five on each side of the three gates, each chamber standing by itself, so as to leave a space between the gates and the chambers, and between the several chambers, the spaces being occupied by the *pavement* on which the *chambers* are therefore said to stand. If, as is not improbable, each chamber was a square of twenty-five cubits, this would allow of a space of ten cubits or more between each chamber, the corners of the courts being occupied by kitchen courts, xlvi. 21, and a line of pavement of nineteen cubits in front of the series of chambers.

18. *the lower pavement*] The outer court being lower than the inner (*v.* 31), the *pavement* running round, it was naturally called the *lower pavement* to distinguish it from the pavement of the inner court. It may be remarked that the insertion by our translators of *were* and *was* in this and in other verses weakens the force of the description, the words *lower pavement* are in apposition with *the pavement by the side of the gates.*

19. There were, as we shall see, eastern, northern, and southern gates of entrance from the outer to the inner court. Keil and others suppose that these gates projected into the outer court. But we observe that the measurement is said to be taken, *from the fore-front of the lower gate* not *to the fore-front of the inner* gate, but *to the fore-front of the inner court.* There are also difficulties connected with the sacrifices (see *v.* 39) in supposing the inner gateways to have projected into the outward court. The inner court proper was the open space (100 cubits square) left free for the performance of the sacrifices, but there may have been a border with the gates, a pavement as in the outer court, which was fenced off from the outer court, and yet not reckoned to the inner court proper. This boundary wall was the *fore-front of the inner court*, and in this the gates stood, like the gates in the outer boundary wall, with steps of ascent, their porches being in the same direction as those of the outer gates towards the inner court.

without] Not as in margin, *from without*, but as LXX., looking outwards, that is, the outward front of the inner gate towards the outer court.

eastward and northward] From gate to gate *eastward*, and in like manner from gate to gate *northward*, for corresponding to these gates already described there were northern gates, which the seer now approaches.

20—33. THE GATES BOTH OF THE OUTER AND OF THE INNER COURT.

20. *the gate of the outward court that looked toward the north*] This was of precisely the same dimensions as the eastern gate, and placed no doubt in the middle of the northern boundary wall.

22. *they went up unto it by seven steps*] There was the same number of steps no doubt to each of the gates from the precincts to the outer court.

the arches thereof] See on *v.* 16.

before them] Adjoining the seven steps and entrance threshold. *Were* should be omitted in both places in this verse. See on *v.* 18.

23. Opposite to the northern and eastern

north, and toward the east; and he measured from gate to gate an hundred cubits.

24 ¶ After that he brought me toward the south, and behold a gate toward the south: and he measured the posts thereof and the arches thereof according to these measures.

25 And *there were* windows in it and in the arches thereof round about, like those windows: the length *was* fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

26 And *there were* seven steps to go up to it, and the arches thereof *were* before them: and it had palm trees, one on this side, and another on that side, upon the posts thereof.

27 And *there was* a gate in the inner court toward the south: and he measured from gate to gate toward the south an hundred cubits.

28 And he brought me to the inner court by the south gate: and he measured the south gate according to these measures;

29 And the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, according to these measures: and *there were* windows in it and in the arches thereof round about: *it was* fifty cubits long, and five and twenty cubits broad.

30 And the arches round about *were* five and twenty cubits long, and five cubits † broad.

† Heb. *breadth.*

31 And the arches thereof *were* toward the utter court; and palm trees *were* upon the posts thereof: and the going up to it *had* eight steps.

32 ¶ And he brought me into the inner court toward the east: and he measured the gate according to these measures.

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gates of the outer court were corresponding northern and eastern gates from the outer to the inner court, the distance from outer gate to inner gate being in each case 100 cubits.

24—31. The gates on the south were precisely the same as those on the north. The south gate of the outer court is described (24—26), the distance from gate to gate is noted 100 cubits (*v.* 27), and the south gate of the inner court is described (*vv.* 28—31). *The south gate* is described, and not the *north gate*, because the seer entered the inner court by the south gate, but had only seen the outside of the north gate. In *v.* 28 the English translation is, *he brought me* TO *the inner court*, in *v.* 32, *he brought me* INTO *the inner court*. There is, however, no such difference in the original. In each case it should be **into**.

31. *utter court*] It is the same word in the original which is elsewhere rendered *outward court*. Our translators seem to have thought that here and in some other places not the *outward court*, but the *precincts* were spoken of. There is, however, no doubt that it is the same court in each case, the outward court surrounding the inner court on all sides except the west. In all the passages where we find in our translation *utter court* we should substitute **outward court**. So below, *v.* 37, and xlii. 1, 7, 14, xliv. 19, xlvi. 20, 21.

The description of this gate is marred in our English Version by the introduction of the verbs *was*, *were*, not in the original. The whole of the substantives are governed by the one verb, *he measured*. Bearing this in mind we observe that in each description of an inner gate *the arches* are mentioned twice, the latter being distinguished from the former as *the arches toward the outward court*. This agrees with the interpretation of the *arches* as a columned hall, and shews that there was one such hall at each gateway. See note on *v.* 16.

eight steps] So for the east (*v.* 34) and north gates (*v.* 37). From the precincts to the outer court were *seven* steps, from the outer to the inner court *eight*, making together the number of the Psalms (Ps. cxx.—cxxxiv), supposed by some to have been called Psalms of Degrees, because they were sung by the choir of Levites upon the steps (*degrees*) of the temple-courts. In the later temple there were fifteen steps from the court of Women to the court of Israel, and Lightfoot ('Chorography,' § 130) quotes from the Talmud:—"The Levites with harps, trumpets, and infinite other musical instruments, stood upon the fifteen steps going down out of the court of Israel into the women's court, singing according to the number of the fifteen Psalms of Degrees." It is *possible* that these *fifteen* steps may have corresponded to psalms used by the singers in procession from the precincts to the inner court, but if so it was a different use from that of later times, when these Psalms were used as pilgrims' songs by the Jews who went up from their abodes in foreign countries to Jerusalem on the solemn feasts. See Hengstenberg's Introduction to Ps. cxx.

32. *toward the east*] Having entered by

33 And the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, *were* according to these measures: and *there were* windows therein and in the arches thereof round about: *it was* fifty cubits long, and five and twenty cubits broad.

34 And the arches thereof *were* toward the outward court; and palm trees *were* upon the posts thereof, on this side, and on that side: and the going up to it *had* eight steps.

35 ¶ And he brought me to the north gate, and measured *it* according to these measures;

36 The little chambers thereof, the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, and the windows to it round about: the length *was* fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.

37 And the posts thereof *were* toward the utter court; and palm trees *were* upon the posts thereof, on this side, and on that side: and the going up to it *had* eight steps.

38 And the chambers and the entries thereof *were* by the posts of the gates, where they washed the burnt offering.

39 ¶ And in the porch of the gate *were* two tables on this side, and two tables on that side, to slay thereon the burnt offering and the sin offering and the trespass offering.

40 And at the side without, ‖ as one goeth up to the entry of the north gate, *were* two tables; and on

‖ Or, *at the step.*

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the south gate of the inner court the seer now passes into this court and proceeds to the eastern gate, which is in all respects similar to the south gate just described.

35. He now proceeds to the north gate of the inner court, exactly similar to the other two.

38. The paragraph mark ¶ should be here and not at *v.* 39. The seer now describes the adjuncts of the north gate.

the chambers] Render, **and chambers.** There is no definite article in the Hebrew, and its introduction is unwarranted. Certainly not *the chambers* of the gate (or guard-chambers), nor any chambers hitherto described. Some have thought it *a chamber* wherein they washed the burnt-offerings, but it is unlikely that while the slaughter and preparation of the sacrifices were on tables in the open air the washing should have had a *chamber* specially assigned to it. The noun is collective, and speaks of *chambers*, to be hereafter described.

by the posts of the gates] By the pillars which were in front and along the sides of the gate-building. *Gates* must here be used (as in *v.* 11) for the gates proper, of which there were more than one in the gate-building. Keil considers that the word *gates* is meant to include the other gates of the inner court, and remarks that the prince was to bring offerings to the east gate (xlvi. 2), and that therefore a chamber was no less proper at the eastern than at the northern gate. But even if there were such a chamber at the other gates (of which we have no clear mention) it would scarcely be mentioned in a verse which is in the very midst of the description of one (the north) gate and its adjuncts.

where they washed the burnt offering] This points not to the place *wherein* the washing took place, but the place *where* the chambers stood, *i.e.* north of the altar. In Lev. i. 11—13 we are told that the washing of the burnt-offering was *on the side of the altar northwards.*

39. *in the porch*] Not under the covered portico, which was only ten cubits broad (*v.* 9), but in the angles formed by the porch and gate-front. We might render the preposition *by* instead of *in*. The position of these *eight* tables is accurately defined, *two* on each side of the porch, and *two* on either side of the gate without. This makes it impossible to accept the assumption that the gate-buildings projected into the outer court with their porches towards that court, for then the slaughter and preparation of the sacrifices must have taken place in the outer court, and the sacrifices have been carried through the gateway after being prepared for the altar, a supposition inconceivable in itself, and directly opposed to the directions of the Law. See Lev. i. 11, vi. 25, and vii. 2. The animals were to be killed *on the side of the altar northward before the Lord*, but if the gate-building projected with its porch forward on to the pavement of the inner court, the tables were fitly placed for carrying out the directions of the Law.

40. *at the side without*] On either side of the entrance of the north gate [from the inner court], two tables on the one side and two tables on the other side of the porch. In 2 Chro. iv. 8 we have mention of *ten tables* placed *in the temple*, but these were probably to serve different purposes.

the other side, which *was* at the porch of the gate, *were* two tables.

41 Four tables *were* on this side, and four tables on that side, by the side of the gate; eight tables, whereupon they slew *their sacrifices*.

42 And the four tables *were* of hewn stone for the burnt offering, of a cubit and an half long, and a cubit and an half broad, and one cubit high: whereupon also they laid the instruments wherewith they slew the burnt offering and the sacrifice.

43 And within *were* ‖ hooks, an hand broad, fastened round about: and upon the tables *was* the flesh of the offering.

‖ Or, *end-irons*, or, *the two hearth-stones*.

44 ¶ And without the inner gate *were* the chambers of the singers in the inner court, which *was* at the side of the north gate; and their prospect *was* toward the south: one at the side of the east gate *having* the prospect toward the north.

45 And he said unto me, This chamber, whose prospect *is* toward the south, *is* for the priests, the keepers of the ‖ charge of the house.

46 And the chamber whose prospect *is* toward the north *is* for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar: these *are* the sons of Zadok among the sons of Levi, which come near to the LORD to minister unto him.

‖ Or, *ward*, or, *ordinance*: and so ver. 46.

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42. *And the four tables were of hewn stone for the burnt offering*] **four tables of hewn stone for the burnt-offering**, neither *the* nor *were* are in the original. These *four tables* are not the same as those mentioned before. The *eight tables* were for slaying and preparing the victims, and were probably of wood, these were *of hewn stone*. There may be in the number *twelve* a reference to the twelve tribes of Israel.

43. *hooks*] The alternative renderings given in the margin indicate the doubtfulness of the translation of the original word. It occurs again only in Ps. lxviii. 13, translated *pots*, where see note. A kindred word is rendered, Gen. xlix. 14, *two burdens*, Judg. v. 16, *sheepfolds*. The root is a verb *to set*. The form is dual, and it has the def. art. before it, indicating that it is some object, usually found in pairs. Ewald and others, following the LXX. and Vulg., suggest that there were borders or ledges set, on either side of the tables, a handbreadth from the edges, to prevent the instruments placed on them from falling off. Comp. xliii. 13, of the brasen altar, *the border thereof by the edge thereof shall be a span*. The order of the words in the original differs from our English Version. It would be better rendered thus:—"And the borders fixed one handbreadth within round about." The rendering *hooks* is due to the Chaldee paraphrast, and is adopted by Kimchi, Keil, Benisch, Gesenius, and Fürst, who explain it thus: that these hooks were set on the wall *within*, that each hook was forked (hence the *dual* form), and projected from the wall one span; and that on these hooks were hung the carcases of the slain animals. But we seem here to have an appendage of the *tables*, to which carcases could scarcely have been hung.

44. *without*] Outside of the gate in the inner court. On the positions of these chambers see Note A at end of Chapter.

singers] These were Levites of particular families, those of Heman, Asaph, and Merari, whose genealogy is carefully traced up to Levi in 1 Chro. vi. 31 foll. See notes on 1 Chro. ix. 31, and on 1 Chro. xvi. 7. *The singers* are also mentioned as an order (2 Chro. ix. 11). Comp. also 1 Chro. xxv. 1 foll.; 2 Chro. v. 12, 2 Chro. vii. 6.

45. *the keepers of the charge of the house*] In Num. iii. 25 foll. we have an account of the charge of various parts of the Tabernacle and its furniture being committed to the families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. But it is also said that *Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary* (Num. iii. 32). The priests, whose chambers are here provided, were those whose business it was to exercise this oversight which had devolved upon them as descendants of Aaron. The Vulg. translates our text, *sacerdotum qui excubant in custodiis templi*, the priests who keep watch as guards of the temple.

46. *the keepers of the charge of the altar*] The priests had to attend to the sacrifices offered on the brasen altar, and to take care that the sacred fire was not extinguished (Lev. vi. 12, 13). The position of the *chamber* looking to the north commanded a view of the brasen altar and the sacrifices, which were, as we have seen, prepared at the north side of the altar.

the sons of Zadok] The priests were all descended from one or other of the two sons of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar. David distributed the priestly offices between the families of Zadok, the representative of Eleazar, and Ahimelech, the representative of Ithamar

47 So he measured the court, an hundred cubits long, and an hundred cubits broad, foursquare; and the altar *that was* before the house.

48 ¶ And he brought me to the porch of the house, and measured *each* post of the porch, five cubits on this side, and five cubits on that side: and the breadth of the gate *was* three cubits on this side, and three cubits on that side.

49 The length of the porch *was* twenty cubits, and the breadth eleven cubits; and *he brought me* by the steps whereby they went up to it: and *there were* pillars by the posts, one on this side, and another on that side.

(1 Chro. xxiv. 3). The high-priesthood had for many years been in the line of Ithamar, to which Eli belonged, but Solomon, removing Abiathar from the high-priesthood and appointing Zadok, restored this office to the family of Eleazar (see note on 1 K. ii. 26). After this time not only the highpriesthood, but the priesthood itself, so far as concerned its service, that of offering upon the two altars, seems to have been confined to the descendants of Zadok (see 1 Chro. vi. 49—53). Perhaps the other offices, such as those mentioned in *v.* 45, were performed by the descendants of Abiathar and Ithamar. Comp. 1 S. ii. 36, and below, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11. The priests who had charge of the sacrifices were distinguished from the rest of the Levitical priests, as *they which come near to the Lord*, and (xlii. 13) *the priests that approach unto the Lord*.

47. *the court*] The inner court, the open space in front of the temple, independently of the *chambers* erected on either side, as in the case of the outer court. The dimensions of the brasen altar are given, xliii. 13.

The new chapter would begin better at *v.* 48 of ch. xl., as here the seer passes from the court to the temple itself, beginning with the porch.

48, 49. THE PORCH OF THE HOUSE. The front of the temple-porch consisted of a central opening with two columns on either side. Two columns with the space between them were called *a post of the gate*, the word *post* being used as elsewhere collectively. As there was *a breadth of the gate* on either side, it cannot be the *central* opening, but must be *a side* opening, that is, the opening between two columns. The columns having (as throughout) bases of a cubit square, two columns, and the *breadth of the gate*, which we are told was *three cubits*, made up the *five cubits* on either side the central entrance, which, like the entrance into the temple itself, was ten cubits. Thus we have twenty cubits for the porch-front.

49. The porch of Solomon's temple was twenty cubits broad and ten deep (1 K. vi. 3). This corresponds so nearly with the dimensions of Ezekiel's porch, that we cannot doubt that what is here called the *length* of the porch was *according to the breadth of the house*, and that *the breadth* here was *the breadth before the house*. There is indeed a difference of one cubit in the last measurement, the breadth of the porch in Solomon's temple being ten cubits, the breadth here being eleven. This may be explained by supposing a space of one cubit in front of the porch, as before the porches of the gates of the courts, and before the chambers (see above *vv.* 11, 12) The circumstance of this porch being approached by stairs makes this more probable, a small space in front of the porch being naturally required.

steps] The LXX. has *ten steps*, and this may probably have been the number, as in the later temple.

there were pillars by the posts] Lit. to *the posts*, meaning that upon the bases (*posts*) stood shafts (*pillars*). These shafts were probably in the form of palm-trees (*v.* 16). The porch with its steps must have jutted into the inner court. See on *v.* 19.

NOTE A. (ON *vv.* 44—46.)

For *singers* the Chaldee paraphrast has "Levites," and the Syriac "princes," as if the reading had been *sarim* instead of *sharim*. The Vulg., like our own Version, follows the Masoretic reading, but the LXX. differs widely, thus:—"He brought me into the inner gate, and behold two chambers in the inner gate, one at the back of the gate which looks to the north and bearing to the south, and one at the back of the gate which looks to the south and bearing to the north." Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Keil, have accepted this rendering, and proposed emendations in the Hebrew text to adapt it to this sense. The necessary changes are not great, as will be seen by noting the forms of the Hebrew words: for שרים, *singers*, שתים, *two;* for אשר, *which*, אחת, *one;* for הקדים, *the east*, הדרום, *the south*. Other corrections which may seem desirable are not indispensable, as we need not suppose the LXX. to be a *literal* translation. The passage will then stand thus:—*And without the*

inner gate two chambers (*i.e.* rows of chambers) *in the inner court*, one *at the side of the north gate, and their prospect toward the south, one at the side of the* south *gate, and the prospect towards the north.* The fact that old Versions (Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate) follow in the main the present text, and that the Masorets adopted it, throws a difficulty in the way of making conjectural corrections, even if we felt at liberty to treat the text, on the accurate transcription of which so much pains was bestowed, like that of an ordinary book, where we might not be surprised at mistakes of copyists. Hävernick identifies these *chambers* with those already described in the *outer court*, whose purpose, he says, has not yet been named, and connects *in the inner court* with *singers*, *singers in the inner court*, and makes the *singers* identical with those *that kept the charge of the house*, and supposes that the chambers looking to the north were those northwards of the east gate, from which the priests might watch the offerings as they were brought into the court. Two things are clear, (1) that the *singers* cannot be the same as the *priests* (see note on *v.* 44), and (2) that the chambers in *vv.* 45, 46 are the same as those in *v.* 44. If then we abide by the present Hebrew text, we must suppose that these chambers served two purposes, which is by no means improbable. They may have been for those *singers* and those *priests* who were for the time being engaged in the services of the temple. Other chambers hereafter to be described (xlii. 1 foll.) were for the use of the *priests* at other times; and the Levites and singers, when *not* on duty, would find accommodation in the thirty chambers of the outer court. The chambers here described need not have been large or the rooms numerous, to accommodate the *priests* and *singers* on duty (perhaps used as a kind of vestry or sacristy). No such chambers are mentioned on the southern side of the court; and if there is a departure here from the symmetry elsewhere observed, it may be accounted for by the fact that as the sacrifices were to be made on the *north* side of the altar, and therefore the *tables* for the sacrifices were on this side only, so those who had charge of the house and its singers might have a room near, by the north gate looking to the south, and those who had special charge of the altar a room by the east gate looking to the north, so as to command a view of the preparations for sacrifice made on the north side of the court. Whether this room was on the north or on the south side of the eastern gate is not said, probably on the north.

CHAPTER XLI.

The measures, parts, chambers, and ornaments of the temple.

AFTERWARD he brought me to the temple, and measured the posts, six cubits broad on the one side, and six cubits broad on the other side, *which was* the breadth of the tabernacle.

2 And the breadth of the ‖ door *was* ten cubits; and the sides of the door *were* five cubits on the one side, and five cubits on the other side: and he measured the length thereof, forty cubits: and the breadth, twenty cubits.

3 Then went he inward, and measured the post of the door, two cubits; and the door, six cubits; and the breadth of the door, seven cubits.

‖ Or, *entrance.*

CHAP. XLI. 1—11. THE TEMPLE.

1. *the temple*] (*hechal.*) Properly the holy place, as distinguished from the porch and the Holy of Holies (1 K. vi. 17, vii. 50).

the posts] The outer wall of the temple was six cubits thick (*v.* 5). The eastern posts of this wall forming part of the front of the temple were ornamented with pillars, six cubits on each side.

which was the breadth of the tabernacle] [*He measured*] *the breadth. Which was* is not in the original and must be omitted. *Tabernacle* (*ohel*), the proper word for the Tabernacle of the congregation, but also commonly used for a *tent* or *covered place*. Here it is the interior (*the covered portion*) of the temple. This breadth was twenty cubits.

2. The door opening into the holy place was ten cubits, on either side of it a wall of five cubits, thus making up the twenty cubits of breadth; the measurements are internal, the same as in the temple of Solomon.

3. *went he inward*] Towards the Holy of Holies. It is observable that in this case it is not said, *he brought me in*, but *he went in*, because the Holy of Holies was not to be entered even by a priest like Ezekiel, but only by the high priest once a year. So the *angel* enters and announces the measurements.

the post of the door] On either side of the entrance was a pillar, the two together making up two cubits.

and the breadth of the door, seven cubits] The LXX. Version runs thus:—"and the wings of the doorway seven cubits on this side and seven cubits on that." Ewald reforms the text to give this sense, and Villalpandus

4 So he measured the length thereof, twenty cubits; and the breadth, twenty cubits, before the temple: and he said unto me, This *is* the most holy *place*.

5 After he measured the wall of the house, six cubits; and the breadth of *every* side chamber, four cubits, round about the house on every side.

6 And the side chambers *were* three, † one over another, and ‖ thirty in order; and they entered into the wall which *was* of the house for the side chambers round about, that they

† Heb. *side chamber over side chamber.*
‖ Or, *three and thirty times*, or, *foot.*

adopts it as an explanation of the text as it stands, remarking that in this way the seven cubits on each side from the door to the wall with the breadth of the opening said to be *six cubits*, make up exactly the twenty cubits of the temple's width. But it is difficult to get this meaning out of the Hebrew, and the proposed alteration in the text is too material to be adopted on mere conjecture. Keil considers the first measure of the door to be the height, but there is no other measurement of height throughout this description. It is more simple to suppose that the first measurement of the door was from *post* to *post*, six cubits, and the second measurement, *the breadth of the door*, was the breadth of the actual doors which shut off the Holy of Holies (*v.* 23), and which may have been so hung that each of the *posts* projected half a cubit beyond the hinge of the door (which opened inwards), so as to secure the complete closure of the Holy of Holies.

4. The measurements of the Holy of Holies exactly correspond with those in Solomon's temple (1 K. vi. 20).

before the temple] *The temple* here is the Holy Place as distinguished from the Most Holy, *the Oracle*, which is *before* the Holy Place, inwards. Comp. 1 K. vi. 20, *the oracle in the forepart.*

5. *the wall of the house*] This was the outer wall of the temple itself. Its thickness of six cubits corresponds with the colossal proportions of the architecture of the East.

every side chamber] **the side-chambers.** The noun is collective, to denote the whole series of side-chambers. *Side-chambers* were a marked feature in Solomon's temple, described in detail, 1 K. vi. 5—10. They were probably used as storehouses for the furniture and property of the temple (1 K. vii. 51). Comp. 1 Chro. xxviii. 11. The arrangement of these side-chambers differed in some respects from that of Solomon's temple, the object of Ezekiel's vision being throughout to bring all things to a more exact proportion, and to extend harmony and perfection wherever there might seem to be any incompleteness. The first difference is a diminution (the width of the lower series of side-chambers was in Solomon's temple five cubits, here it is only four), but this is no doubt in order to bring in all the other measurements in exact proportions.

6. *three, one over another, and thirty in order*] Lit. "three, thirty times." That is, there were three stories, and each story was divided into thirty chambers. The remainder of this verse introduces us to a striking difference of construction in the side-chambers of Ezekiel's and in those of Solomon's temple. The LXX. gives us the clue to this, stating clearly that there was an open passage between the temple and the side-chambers. Ewald proposes to alter the Hebrew text so as to conform it to the LXX. We may, however, regard the LXX. as an explanatory version, and derive the same meaning from the existing Hebrew text.

they entered into the wall which was of the house for the side chambers] The wall here described is not the wall of the temple but another wall parallel to it, built for the side-chambers, and may be said to be *of the house*, *i.e.* belonging to it. In *v.* 9 it is expressly said that *the thickness of the wall which was for the side-chambers was five cubits*. Now the thickness of the wall of the temple was *six* cubits (xli. 5), so that the two walls were plainly different. The side-chambers of Solomon's temple were built against the temple-wall, but in Ezekiel's vision the desire to keep the temple still more separate and holy led to a fresh arrangement, viz. that another wall should be built at such a distance from the temple-wall as to allow of chambers being built against it, facing the temple-wall, and opening into a passage or corridor, separating them from the temple itself.

that they might have hold, but they had not hold in the wall of the house] **that they might have hold, but not have hold on the wall of the house.** This agrees with 1 K. vi. 6, *that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house.* This has led to the belief that the structures must have been identical. The truth is that the same purpose was effected in different ways. In Solomon's temple care was taken that the beams of the chambers should not enter into the wall of the temple, in order to keep the holy building clear of rooms devoted to more common uses. In Ezekiel's temple this was more completely effected by building up the chambers against another wall, thus leaving the temple-wall of equal thickness throughout, and separating the chambers from it altogether.

might † have hold, but they had not hold in the wall of the house.

† Heb. *be holden.*

† Heb. it was *made broader, and went round.*

7 And † *there was* an enlarging, and a winding about still upward to the side chambers: for the winding about of the house went still upward round about the house: therefore the breadth of the house *was still* upward, and so increased *from* the lowest *chamber* to the highest by the midst.

8 I saw also the height of the house round about: the foundations of the side chambers *were* a full reed of six great cubits.

9 The thickness of the wall, which *was* for the side chamber without, *was* five cubits: and *that* which *was* left *was* the place of the side chambers that *were* within.

10 And between the chambers *was* the wideness of twenty cubits round about the house on every side.

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7. *there was an enlarging*] The same arrangement for the several stories was adopted as in Solomon's temple, only here it is the *wall for the side-chambers*, not the temple-wall, which is dealt with. This wall had for the ground story its full thickness of five cubits—then it was diminished one cubit, so as to form a ledge whereon to rest the beams of the floor of the second story, and again was further diminished one cubit for the floor of the third story. Thus there was an *enlarging* of the second story of the chambers by one cubit, and of the third story by two cubits beyond the breadth of the chambers on the ground-floor.

a winding about still upward] The upper stories were approached by winding stairs, *still upward* from one story to another.

the winding about of the house went still upward round about the house] There was more than one winding staircase in the building of the side-chambers which extended *round about the house*, on the north, west, and south sides. *The winding about of the house* is put collectively for "the winding stairs of the house." The stairs and side-chambers all formed part of the temple-building, and are so estimated where the whole breadth and length are taken (*v.* 12), and so the stairs are called the *winding about of the house*.

the breadth of the house was still upward] The house must here be the side-chamber-building. The breadth of the interior of this building increased, as has been explained, one cubit for each story.

and so increased from the lowest chamber to the highest by the midst] Rather, "and the lowest story was such that one went by the middle story up to the highest." The winding stairs were not visible outside, so that one could not go to the upper story without passing through the middle story. This verse would be more clearly rendered thus:—"And there was to the side-chambers an enlarging and a winding about still upwards—for the winding stairs of the house went still upward round about the house, so that the enlarging of the house was upward, and from the lowest one went by the middle up to the highest story."

8. *the foundations of the side chambers*] The height of the side-chambers from the floor was six cubits, there being three stories: this makes the whole height correspond, sufficiently, with the twenty cubits which we know was the height of the temple itself.

six great cubits] Lit. "six cubits to the armpit," which many have taken to mean cubits of a greater length than the ordinary cubit measured to the elbow, and so our translators have *great cubits*. There is, however, no reason to believe that the cubit was ever thus measured, and Ezekiel speaks of *the cubit and handbreadths* (xl. 5), but makes no other distinction. It has been already seen that the *cubit* employed throughout was that of eighteen inches, and so the notion of a *great cubit* differing from this is scarcely tenable. The Hebrew word signifies in the first instance *joining*, hence *the armpit*. It is therefore most probable that it was used as an architectural term to denote line of junction between two stories, which would be that of the ceiling of the lower and the floor of the upper story. If this be so the reading of the clause should be, "The floor of the side-chambers to the ceiling six cubits."

9. *The thickness of the wall, which was for the side chamber*] Better, omit *which was*.

and that which was left] The vacant space over and above that occupied by the buildings, that is, the passage between the side-chambers and the temple-wall, was five cubits. See *v.* 11.

the place of the side chambers that were within] **within the side-chambers which belong to the house.** Comp. *which was of the house* (the same Hebrew words) *v.* 6. The English words *place* and *within* are each the representative of the same Hebrew word (*beth*), *house*, which also signifies *within* or *between*. It should be rendered **within** where A. V. has *the place*, and **the house** where A. V. has *within*. The seer is giving first the height of the side-chambers, and then the breadth, from the outside of the wall of these chambers to the temple-wall. The verb *I saw* governs the whole of the eighth and ninth verses.

10. *the wideness of twenty cubits*] Be-

11 And the doors of the side chambers *were* toward *the place that was* left, one door toward the north, and another door toward the south: and the breadth of the place that was left *was* five cubits round about.

12 Now the building that *was* before the separate place at the end toward the west *was* seventy cubits broad; and the wall of the building *was* five cubits thick round about, and the length thereof ninety cubits.

13 So he measured the house, an hundred cubits long; and the separate place, and the building, with the walls thereof, an hundred cubits long;

14 Also the breadth of the face of the house, and of the separate place toward the east, an hundred cubits.

15 And he measured the length of the building over against the separate place which *was* behind it,

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tween the outer wall of the side-chambers and the wall of the court.

on every side] On the north, south, and west sides.

11. *toward the place that was left*] The doors of the side-chambers opened on to the vacant space, the passage or corridor, between the chambers and the temple-wall. As the rows of chambers ran east and west, one set of chambers opened to the south, another to the north.

the breadth of the place that was left] *i.e.* of the open corridor, *was five cubits*. Thus we get the whole breadth of the court:

The wall of the temple	...	6 cubits
The corridor	...	5 ,,
The chambers	...	4 ,,
The wall of the chambers	...	5 ,,
The space between the wall of the chambers and the wall of the court	...	20 ,,
		40 cubits

on either side of the temple, add the internal width of the temple, and we have 100 cubits for the whole breadth.

For the length:

The vacant space at the west ...		20 cubits
The wall of the side-chambers		5 ,,
The chambers	...	4 ,,
The corridor	...	5 ,,
The temple-wall ...	...	6 ,,
The internal length of the temple		60 ,,
		100 cubits

the porch being reckoned as belonging to the court (xl. 49).

12. *the separate place*] The word (*gizrah*) occurs only in this chapter. It is derived from *gazar* = *cut off*. An *uninhabited land* is called (in Lev. xvi. 22) *g'zerah*, as *cut off* from other lands. We gather from 2 K. xxiii. 11 and 1 Chro. xxvi. 18 that there was in Solomon's temple a western entrance, which implies that there must have been some space west of the temple. The name, which seems one of discredit, has led Kliefoth (with the approval of Keil) to conjecture that the purpose of this place and its building was to receive the offal of the sacrifices and sweepings of the courts, to be carried thence by a postern gate. This was in all probability the *appointed place of the house without* the sanctuary where the carcase of the sin-offering was to be burnt, xliii. 21. The building itself was, we are told, seventy cubits wide, with walls five cubits thick (eighty cubits in all), leaving ten cubits on each side to make up the 100 cubits from north to south. The length was ninety cubits, which, adding as before the thickness of the walls, gives 100 cubits in length. Thus we have for the whole temple-building from west to east:

The separate places (the walls included)	...	100 cubits
The temple with its vacant space of twenty cubits	...	100 ,,
The inner court		100 ,,
The two eastern gates (fifty cubits each)... ...	...	100 ,,
The length between gate and gate	...	100 ,,
		500 cubits

From north to south:

The two northern gates with the length between them	...	200 cubits
The inner court	...	100 ,,
The two southern gates with the length between them	...	200 ,,
		500 cubits

14. *toward the east*] Not that the *separate place* was toward the east, but it was measured on its eastern side, for the western was not approachable for the purpose of measurement.

15. DETAILS OF TEMPLE ORNAMENTS. The description of certain details is introduced by a summary statement of what had been already done. The buildings measured had been *the gates of the courts*, *the temple*, and *the build-*

and the ‖ galleries thereof on the one side and on the other side, an hundred cubits, with the inner temple, and the porches of the court;

16 The door posts, and the narrow windows, and the galleries round about on their three stories, over against the door, † cieled with wood round about, ‖ and from the ground up to the windows, and the windows *were* covered;

17 To that above the door, even unto the inner house, and without, and by all the wall round about within and without, by † measure.

18 And *it was* made with cherubims and palm trees, so that a palm tree *was* between a cherub and a cherub; and *every* cherub had two faces;

19 So that the face of a man *was* toward the palm tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm tree on the other side: *it was* made through all the house round about.

20 From the ground unto above the door *were* cherubims and palm trees made, and *on* the wall of the temple.

21 The † posts of the temple *were* squared, *and* the face of the sanctuary; the appearance *of the one* as the appearance *of the other*.

‖ Or, *several walks*, or, *walks with pillars.*

† Heb. *cieling of wood.*

‖ Or, *and the ground unto the windows.*

† Heb. *measures.*

† Heb. *post.*

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ing on the separate place. For *And he measured* read **So** *he measured.* In the eastern side of the separate place (which is here said to be measured) we have the front of the buildings, and on either side *galleries* (*ethekim*). The word occurs only here and in *v.* 16 and xlii. 3, 5. There is no Hebrew root from which we can derive the word, and the old translators vary. The Vulg. leaves the word untranslated, coining the word *ethecas*, but in xlii. has *porticus*; the LXX., περίστυλον and στοαί. In xlii. the meaning seems to be *galleries* rising in three tiers unsupported by columns. This agrees very fairly with the LXX. and Vulg., and we may suppose that on either side of the eastern front of the building on the separate place was a gallery of ten feet, under which was an approach to the building, by which the refuse was to be carried in by openings in the north and south, and then carried out by a western postern.

16. Details, some of which have been already given.

door posts] Both on the gate-buildings and the temple itself, all probably of the same dimensions, viz. a cubit square.

narrow windows] Both in the gate-buildings (xl. 16) and in the temple-walls (1 K. vi. 4).

galleries] (See on *v.* 15.) The upper story of the side-chambers was probably built in the form of an open gallery.

over against the door] The rows of the side-chambers extended to the front of the temple, so that they were *over against* the opening, but did not extend so far as the porch.

cieled] **overlaid.** The word occurs only here. Pillars, galleries, narrow windows, all are overlaid with wood (1 K. vi. 15, 16).

were covered] Omit *were*: from the ground up to the windows and round the windows in the inside of the temple all *covered* with wood.

17. *To that above the door*] **Over above** *the door.....within and without* **was** *by measure.* Comp. *v.* 20, *unto above the door.* This verse does not repeat *v.* 16, as might at first appear, but asserts that all the overlaying was done by careful measurement, accuracy of measure being, according to Hebrew ideas, an ingredient of perfection.

18. *with cherubims and palm trees*] On the symbolic meaning of *cherubim* see note on ch. i. *Palm-trees* were symbolical of life. The device of cherubim was employed on the curtains of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 1, xxxvi. 8).

every cherub had two faces] Not as in ch. i., *four faces.* Convenience of delineation upon a wall might in itself have suggested the alteration. The cherubic devices in the Tabernacle were no doubt like the cherubim over the ark, of which we have no reason to suppose that each had *two faces.* The symbolical character admitted of the deviation.

21. *The posts*] Not the word in xl. and in xli. 3 (see on xl. 9). These *posts* are rather pilasters forming part of the inner walls. The noun is a collective one, and therefore the *plural* is better than the *singular* rendering suggested in the margin. The Italics in this verse mark the words introduced by our translators.

the appearance of the one as the appearance of the other] Lit. "the appearance like appearance," *i.e.* the appearance in this vision was the same as in other visions, and as in the actual temple; see xliii. 3. The whole verse would be better rendered thus:—**For the temple the pillars were squared; for the front of the sanctuary the appearance was as of old.**

22 The altar of wood *was* three cubits high, and the length thereof two cubits; and the corners thereof, and the length thereof, and the walls thereof, *were* of wood: and he said unto me, This *is* the table that *is* before the LORD.

23 And the temple and the sanctuary had two doors.

24 And the doors had two leaves *apiece*, two turning leaves; two *leaves* for the one door, and two leaves for the other *door*.

25 And *there were* made on them, on the doors of the temple, cherubims and palm trees, like as *were* made upon the walls; and *there were* thick planks upon the face of the porch without.

26 And *there were* narrow windows and palm trees on the one side and on the other side, on the sides of the porch, and *upon* the side chambers of the house, and thick planks.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 *The chambers for the priests.* 13 *The use thereof.* 19 *The measures of the outward court.*

THEN he brought me forth into the utter court, the way toward the north: and he brought me into the chamber that *was* over against the separate place, and which *was* before the building toward the north.

2 Before the length of an hundred cubits *was* the north door, and the breadth *was* fifty cubits.

3 Over against the twenty *cubits* which *were* for the inner court, and over against the pavement which *was*

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22. *The altar of wood*] This was the altar for incense (see Exod. xxx. 1 foll.); *the altar of gold* (1 K. vii. 48), of which the dimensions are not given, but were probably the same as in the tabernacle, two cubits in height, one in length, and one in breadth.

walls] Not the same word rendered *sides* (marg. *walls*) in Exod. xxx. 3, but one which rather denotes the corner pieces of the altar, rising into projections called in Exod. *horns*, here *corners*.

table] *Table* and *altar* were convertible terms, Mal. i. 7.

23. *two doors*] The doors of the temple and of the Holy of Holies are described in 1 K. vi. 31 foll. Each was composed of two leaves, called in *v.* 24 *turning leaves*.

24, 25. The door and its ornaments correspond with the description in 1 K. vi. 35.

25. *thick planks*] In 1 K. vii. 6, *thick beam*. The Hebrew word is of doubtful origin, and is variously interpreted. Ewald translates it *leaf-work*, comparing the Aramaic word, *ngof*=*leaf*, which agrees very well with the context, *and there were* **leaves in wood** *on the face of the porch without*.

26. *upon* should be omitted. We have heard of *posts* with *palm-trees* and *narrow windows* to the *guard-chambers* (xl. 16).

and thick planks] and **the leaves**, described in *v.* 25.

CHAP. XLII. 1. OUTER CHAMBERS FOR THE PRIESTS.

utter court] **outward** *court*, so *v.* 3. See on xl. 31. LXX., *inner court*, but this is wrong, as the *chambers* were certainly in the outer court.

into the chamber] **to** *the* **chambers**. The seer approached, but did not enter them. **Chambers**, because the Hebrew is a collective noun (xl. 7).

against the separate place, and which was before the building] **over against** *the*.... The same Hebrew particle as that just rendered *over against*. *The building* is the temple-building, for this row of chambers was built against eighty cubits of the wall bounding *the separate place* and twenty cubits of the wall of the temple-court.

toward the north] The direction in which the *chambers* lay. It would be well to place a comma between *building* and *toward*.

2. *Before the length*] [He brought me] *before* a row of chambers 100 cubits long, east and west.

was the north door] **the door by the north**. *The door* (or *doors* if the noun be used collectively) lay on the north side of the chambers. The priests entered in this way from the outer court; the breadth of this block of chambers was fifty cubits, north and south.

3. From xlvi. 19 we learn that these *chambers* did not reach to the western wall; between it and them lay a court for cooking, probably forty cubits by thirty; such court with its approaches filling up the corner of fifty cubits square, as in the case of the kitchen-courts for the people. In these chambers were dining-rooms for the priests (see *v.* 13), and baths; for no priest could enter upon his daily ministry without having first bathed. By a somewhat similar arrangement in the second temple there were at the northern and southern sides of the priests' court buildings for various purposes, *e.g.* for the sacrifices, for the high priest,

for the utter court, *was* gallery against gallery in three *stories*.

4 And before the chambers *was* a walk of ten cubits breadth inward, a way of one cubit; and their doors toward the north.

5 Now the upper chambers *were* shorter: for the galleries ‖ were higher than these, ‖ than the lower, and than the middlemost of the building.

6 For they *were* in three *stories*, but had not pillars as the pillars of the courts: therefore *the building* was straitened more than the lowest and the middlemost from the ground.

7 And the wall that *was* without over against the chambers, toward the utter court on the forepart of the chambers, the length thereof *was* fifty cubits.

8 For the length of the chambers that *were* in the utter court *was* fifty cubits: and, lo, before the temple *were* an hundred cubits.

9 And ‖ from under these chambers *was* ‖ the entry on the east side, ‖ as one goeth into them from the utter court.

‖ Or, *did eat of these.* ‖ Or, *and the building* consisted *of the lower and the middlemost.*

‖ Or, *from the place.* ‖ Or, *he that brought me.* ‖ Or, *as he came.*

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for the Sanhedrin (Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 31). The *chambers* here being 100 feet in length, thus extended beyond the separate place to the wall of the temple-court, on the other side of which wall was the twenty cubits space (xli. 14). The *pavement* was no doubt continued along the temple-wall, so that these priests' chambers, like the thirty chambers, stood upon *a pavement*, and were, on the east side, *over against* this *pavement*.

was gallery] *was* should be omitted. The nature of the building is here described *in three stories*. The translation of *vv.* 1—3 would be much improved by slight alterations, chiefly by abandoning English words not in the original: *Then he brought me forth into the* **outward** *court, the way toward the north, and he brought me* **to** *the* **chambers** which **were** *over against the separate place, and which* **were over against** *the building, towards the north* **along the front** *of the length of an hundred cubits,* **with the door by the north**, *and the breadth fifty cubits over against the twenty cubits which were* **in** *the inner court, and over against the pavement which was* **in the outward** *court,* **gallery upon** *gallery in three stories.*

4. The LXX. have, "And opposite the chambers a walk 10 cubits in width to 100 cubits in length." Ewald, Hitzig, and Keil, think that the Hebrew text should be reformed to agree with this; but the text as it stands admits of explanation. The word for *walk* may mean *gangway*, and there may have been in the middle of the chambers a *gangway* leading *inward*, with stairs to the upper stories, *ten cubits* wide, while along the north front of the building there was a kerb of one cubit, as before the guard-chambers (xl. 12), on which kerb the north doors (leading to the basement) opened. **In the front** *of the chambers* was a **gangway** *of ten cubits breadth* **[leading** *inward*, **a path** *of one cubit, and their doors toward the north.*

5. To be rendered thus:—*And the upper chambers were* **shortened, for galleries took off from them**, lit. (did eat of them) **from** *the lower and* **from** *the middlemost* [chambers] *of the building.*

The building rose in terraces, as was usual in Babylonian architecture, and so each of the two upper stories receded from the one below it.

6. The front of the higher stories was not supported on pillars, but **there was a narrowing from** *the lowest* [chambers] *and* **from** *the middlemost* [chambers] *from the ground.*

7. *the wall*] Rather **a** *wall*, not *chamah* (as xl. 5), or *kir* (as xli. 5), *the wall of a city or of a house*, but *gader* (in *v.* 10 *geder*), a *fence*; rendered *hedge* (xiii. 5, xxii. 30); *wall* of a vineyard (Num. xxii. 24). The *wall* here must be one from north to south, fencing off from the outer court the passage along the east side of the chambers, and therefore fifty cubits long. Here and in *vv.* 8, 9 for *utter* read **outward**.

8. *the length*] This must be from north to south. The *chambers* on the north opened on the outer court, therefore they are described as being *in the* **outward** (not *utter*) *court*.

before the temple] This describes their position in a general way; more precisely they lay over against partly the *separate place* and partly the *temple*-court (*v.* 1).

9. *from under these chambers*] The entry from these chambers to the temple-court was by a passage lying to the east fenced off by the *geder*. This is described as lying *under* the chambers, being on the basement, and also having access by steps to the temple-court, which was raised many steps above the outer court.

as one goeth into them from the **outward** (not *utter*) *court*] There was an entrance at the north of this passage by which the priests entered into the chambers and into the temple courts.

10 The chambers *were* in the thickness of the wall of the court toward the east, over against the separate place, and over against the building.

11 And the way before them *was* like the appearance of the chambers which *were* toward the north, as long as they, *and* as broad as they: and all their goings out *were* both according to their fashions, and according to their doors.

12 And according to the doors of the chambers that *were* toward the south *was* a door in the head of the way, *even* the way directly before the wall toward the east, as one entereth into them.

13 ¶ Then said he unto me, The north chambers *and* the south chambers, which *are* before the separate place, they *be* holy chambers, where the priests that approach unto the LORD shall eat the most holy things: there shall they lay the most holy things, and the meat offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering; for the place *is* holy.

14 When the priests enter therein, then shall they not go out of the holy *place* into the utter court, but there they shall lay their garments wherein they minister; for they *are* holy; and shall put on other garments, and shall approach to *those things* which *are* for the people.

15 Now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house,

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10. *thickness*] The word is commonly rendered *breadth*, but in xli. 9, 12 *thickness* of a wall (*kir*, not *geder* as here). The *wall* (*geder*) must be the same as in v. 7. The verse is describing the chamber-building as seen from the outer court. On the east was the *wall* (*geder*), along the boundary wall of *the separate place* and of the *building* (the temple) lay the *chambers*. The verse should be rendered, **Breadth-wise** [was] **the wall towards the east, in front of the separate place and of the building** [were] **the chambers.**

11, 12. Translate the two verses thus:—**And along the front of them—like** (lit. as the appearance of) **the chambers which were towards the north, as long as they and as broad as they, and** [like] **all their goings out, and like their fashions, and like their doors, even so were the doors of the chambers which were towards the south;** (with) **a door at the head of the way, the way of the wall adjoined eastwards as one entereth into them** (the chambers). Our Authorized Version needs much correction. In the Hebrew there is a full (though not the fullest) stop after *before them*. The gender of *them* shews that *they* are not the *chambers*, but the *separate place* and *building*. The word rendered *way* is often used for *in the direction of*.

And the way before them] here is equivalent to *over against the separate place and the building* in v. 1.

Vv. 11, 12 assert that on the south side of the *separate place* was a block of chambers precisely similar to that on the north.

directly before the wall] The Hebrew word for *directly* occurs only here, but it is connected with a Chaldaic adjective signifying *straight, fitted, fitting*. Here the form may be adjectival, and, if so, qualify *the wall* (*gedereth*, the same as *geder*), describing it as "the wall adjoined eastwards."

as one entereth into them] At the entrance of these chambers from the temple courts.

13. In Lev. x. 13 it was prescribed that the priests should eat of the sacrifices in the *holy place*. This was originally before the altar in the inner court—now separate chambers are assigned, and these become *the holy place* for this purpose. Of the *trespass-offering* and *meat-offering* what was not consumed was eaten (Lev. vii. 6, x. 13), but the *sin-offering* was burnt without the camp (see xliii. 21). Probably the carcase was brought from the altar to the chamber before being carried out.

14. Comp. Lev. xvi. 23.

utter court] **outward** *court*.

and shall approach to those things which are for the people] And then when they have changed their garments they shall approach to that which belongs to the people, viz. the outer court.

15—19. THE PRECINCTS. The temple and its courts having been described the seer comes to the precincts, not now as in Solomon's temple (and as in fact they ever remained) an irregular vacant space round the temple, but an area of exact dimensions 3000 cubits (1500 yards) square. See Plan IV.

15. *the inner house*] Not the temple, but the temple and its courts, all that lay within the *wall on the outside of the house* (xl. 5); *the gate* is the eastern gate of the outer court.

he brought me forth toward the gate whose prospect *is* toward the east, and measured it round about.

16 He measured the east [1] side with the measuring reed, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed round about.

17 He measured the north side, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed round about.

18 He measured the south side, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed.

19 ¶ He turned about to the west side, *and* measured five hundred reeds with the measuring reed.

20 He measured it by the four sides: it had a wall round about, five hundred *reeds* long, and five hundred broad, to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place.

[1] Heb. *wind.*

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measured it round about] He measured not the gate nor the outer *court*, but the precincts, into which he had brought the seer through the eastern gate of the outer court.

20. *the sanctuary* proper was the Most Holy place as distinguished from the rest of the temple (xli. 23, xlv. 3); but the term was capable of extension first to the whole temple, then to all the ground that was separated to *holy* as distinguished from *profane*, *i.e.* common uses. So xlv. 2. The word may, however, both here and in xlv. 2 have the usual meaning, because the wall in separating the holy ground separated the most Holy Place.

NOTE A.

The Vision of the Temple.

In order to understand this Vision we must be perfectly acquainted with the arrangements of the Tabernacle in the wilderness and of the Temple of Solomon which was an enlargement of it (see Exod. xxv. xxvi. and 1 K. vi., and notes).

The Temple of Ezekiel follows the plan of the Temple of Solomon, but with significant variations.

1. The Temple itself. See Plan I. The interior was unaltered, consisting of A the Holy Place, 20 cubits broad by 40 long; and B the Holy of Holies, 20 cubits square. These dimensions were held sacred, and remained the same even in the temple of Herod, who, with all his changes, did not venture to interfere with them. They contained the same holy things, and were used in the same manner by the ministering priests. It must however be added that the ark, having been in some way destroyed, in Nebuchadnezzar's siege, was never replaced. In its stead there was within the veil a flat stone on which the High Priest poured the blood on the day of atonement.

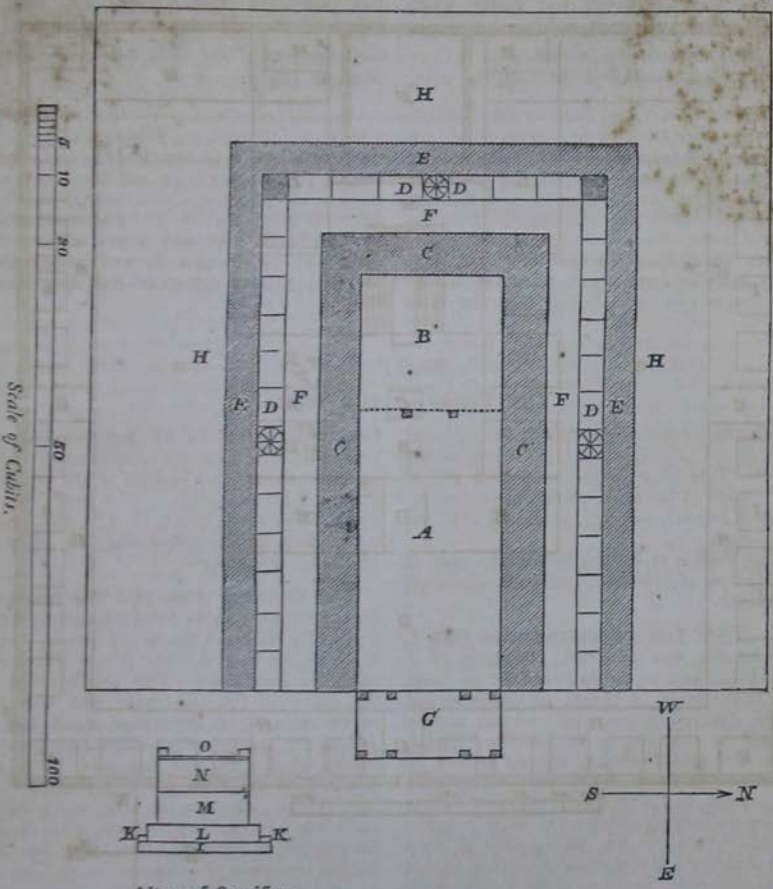
Externally there were considerable modifications. The width of the wall C was increased to 6 cubits, its massiveness evidently being intended to mark dignity. The side chambers D, 4 cubits deep, which in Solomon's temple abutted on the northern, southern, and western walls, were now detached from the house altogether, and built against separate walls E, 5 cubits thick, and they opened on a passage or corridor, F. The upper stories of these chambers were reached by winding stairs, xli. 7, separating them from the temple-walls. This increased the external breadth of the building from 40 to 60 cubits. (See note on xli. 11.) There was a porch G, 20 cubits broad by 10 deep, at the eastern end, the Holy of Holies being due west.

The Courts. Plan II. The aspect of the courts in the vision differed materially from that of the courts of Solomon's temple. In 1 K. vi. 36, we have mention of only one court, called *the inner court*. This corresponded to the court of the tabernacle, and was the enclosure in which the temple stood, and in which the priests offered sacrifices on the brasen altar. It was separated from the precincts in which the people assembled by a low wall or parapet, as the court of the tabernacle was by a fence of curtains. It is doubtful whether in Solomon's time there was any further enclosure. *The Great Court* (2 Chro. iv. 9) need not have been enclosed. In the course of time buildings were erected on this area, partly for the use of the Levites, partly for other purposes. (See Jer. xxxv.)

The erection of such chambers led to the formation of courts, and thus we read of the *two courts* in Manasseh's time (2 K. xxiii. 12), of *the Middle Court* (2 K. xx. 4), and of the *New Court* (2 Chro. xx. 5). In Ezek. viii.—x. we have intimations of what the courts were in his day, for he is there referring to the temple as then standing, not to the temple of a future vision, and we find an *Inner Court* with a gate

PLAN I.

TEMPLE-COURT AND TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.



Altar of Sacrifice.

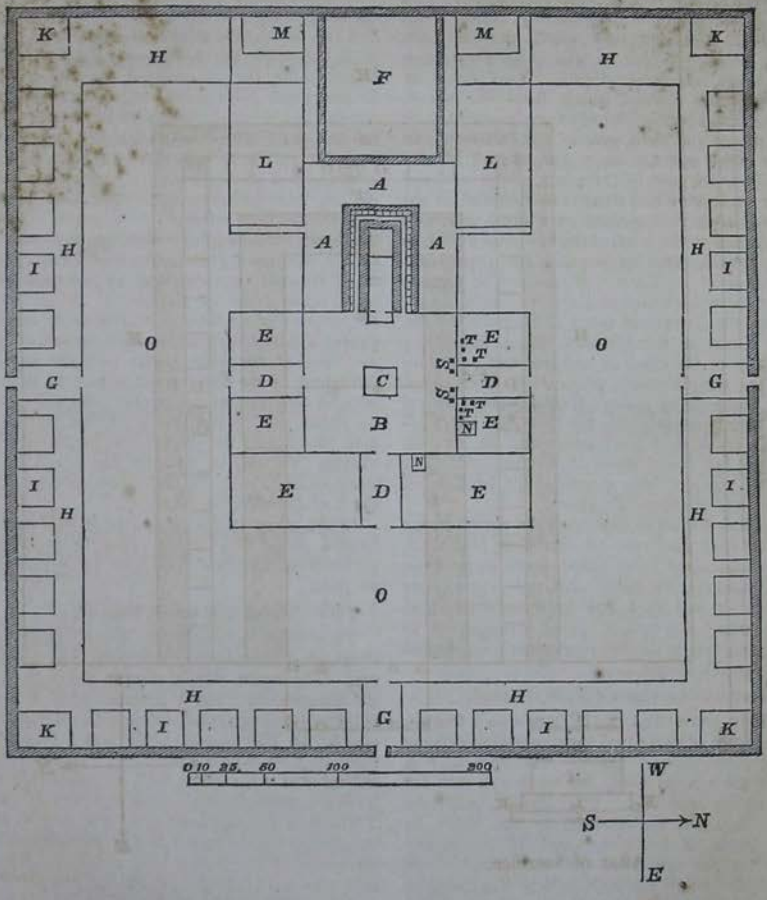
A. The Holy Place.
B. The Holy of Holies.
C. Wall of the House.
D. Side Chambers.
E. Wall of Side Chambers.
F. Corridor.
G. Porch.
H. Space of xx. Cubits.

ALTAR.

I. Base.
K. Border.
L. Lower Settle.
M. Upper Settle.
N. Square block (Harel).
O. Slab with Horns (Ariel).

PLAN II.

TEMPLE-COURTS.



A. Temple-Court.
B. Court of Sacrifice.
C. Brasen Altar.
D. Inner Gate-Buildings.
E. Upper Pavement.
F. Separate Place.
G. Outer Gate-Buildings.
H. Lower Pavement.
I. Chambers.
K. Cooking Chambers.
L. Priests' Chambers.
M. Cooking Chambers for Priests.
N. Chambers for Singers and Priests in charge.
O. Outer Court.
T. Wooden Tables.
S. Stone Tables.

to the east (viii. 16), and one to the north (viii. 5), and probably an Outer Court with a gate to the north (viii. 7, comp. ix. 2). But it does not follow that these courts were reduced to regularity and order. In the outer courts were gathered the idolatries of the later kings (2 K. xxi. 5, xxiii. 7, 11, 12; 2 Chro. xxviii. 24; xxxiii. 5); and on this account in the vision the precincts, a vast area nearly a mile square, are surrounded by a wall and separated from the city. In the midst of this area were two courts, the outer for the adoring people, the inner for the temple and the sacrificing priests. This court of the people differed much from the corresponding court in Herod's temple—the Court of Israel and the Court of the Women. In the latter case the court (or courts) lay entirely to the east of the inner court, and did not enclose it; and there is no mention in the vision of the arrangement by which a strip was separated at the west as the Court of Israel, as the special place of worship for those who came *before the Lord*. We are not to suppose that the outer court of Ezekiel's vision anticipates the outermost court of Herod's temple, the Court of the Gentiles, which indeed lay outside of the *Chel*, or terrace, the boundary of the temple courts proper. It quite suited the temporising policy of the Idumean Herod to make provision for the Gentiles; but Ezekiel's vision does not contemplate the presence of any but worshippers of the true God. The very precincts were sanctified to exclude all that was common or profane.

It was a marked feature of the courts in the vision that they rose on successive platforms, the outer court being raised seven steps above the precincts, the inner court eight steps above the outer, and the temple itself ten steps above the court of sacrifice. This arrangement of courts rising in successive terraces was adopted in Herod's temple.

THE INNER COURT A, B, Plan II.

This court was, as in Solomon's temple, composed of two equal squares (the sides being 100 cubits each). On the western square A was the temple itself; the eastern B was the court of sacrifice. The division of these two squares was marked in the vision by an ascent of ten steps, and by the widening of the east front of the temple. In Herod's temple the division was completed by the addition of wings to the temple front. The whole front of the temple and its chambers being 60 cubits, left a vacant space H (Plan I.) of 20 cubits on either side. The court of sacrifice B was 100 cubits square, but the addition of gate-buildings D made it necessary for the sake of room to move back the wall or parapet separating the inner from the outer court 50 cubits, which 50 cubits were occupied by a pavement E, extending up to the sides of the gate-buildings, and forming a kind of border to the court (but not reckoned as part of the inner court proper), like the *lower pavement* in the outer court (xl. 17), so called, probably in distinction to this, the upper pavement. This pavement had a special use, see on xlv. 3. It must be noted that Keil and others imagine that the gate-buildings of the inner court projected into the outer court, and were reversed, so that the porches of these inner gateways faced the porches of the outer gateways, and the other face of the gate-buildings was in a line with the wall bounding the inner court. But the position of the tables for slaughter (xl. 39) and for instruments of sacrifice (xl. 42) is inconsistent with this view. For it seems quite inconceivable that acts connected with the sacrifices should have been generally performed in the outer court, especially when we are told that these acts were done in the inner court of the temple of Solomon. That the inner gate-buildings stood in a precisely similar position to the outer, resembling them in all respects, is confirmed by the measurement taken *from the forepart of the gate* to *the forepart of the inner court*, not, as we might expect if Keil's explanation were correct, *to the forefront of the inner gate*. On the upper pavement in the inner court were two chambers for singers and ministering priests N, and on either side of the porch of the northern gate four tables for slaying and preparing the victims (T), and in front of the porch four stone tables (S) for *the flesh of the offering* and the instruments of sacrifice.

In the midst of the court, as in Solomon's temple, stood the Brasen Altar of sacrifice, particularly described in ch. xliii. 13, 17, where see note.

THE OUTER COURT O, Plan II.

This court enclosed the inner court on three sides, the eastern, southern, and northern. The space which was at the west of the temple court was a *separate place* F 100 cubits square, communicating with the temple court. In this separate place was a building extending its whole length, 70 cubits wide, exclusive of walls which were five cubits thick, leaving a passage of 10 cubits on either side. This court was surrounded by a wall 6 cubits thick; the whole area inclosed, including the thickness of the walls, was a square whose side was 500 cubits. In the middle of the eastern, northern and southern walls were gate-buildings G, each exactly opposite to a similar gate-building in the eastern, northern, and southern walls of the inner court. The outward face of these gate-buildings (50 cubits in length) corresponded with the face of the wall, so that they projected into the court 44 cubits. On either side of these gates was *the lower pavement* H, on which stood 30 chambers I, probably five on either side of each gate. In the four corners of the outer court

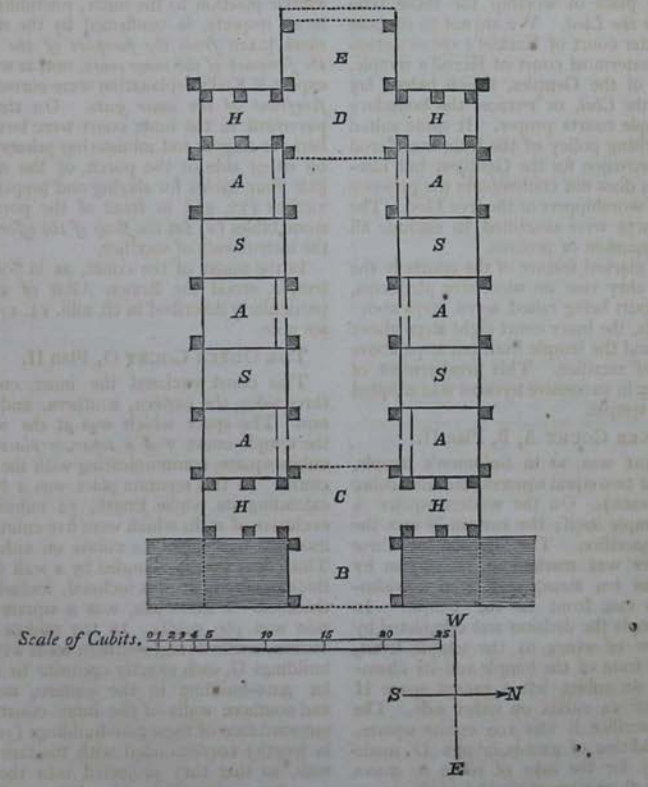
were small courts 40 cubits by 30, containing cooking places for the people K. Against the northern and southern walls of the separate place was a block of buildings for the priests L, 100 cubits by 50 cubits, not reaching however to the western wall, but leaving in each case a corner for the cooking court of the priests M, similar to the cooking courts of the people.

Gate-Building, Plan III.

This was a building 50 cubits long by 25 broad, through which ran a roadway 8 cubits broad. It was composed of two covered gateways, 11 cubits each, and an intermediate space, 28 cubits long, on either side of which were three guard-chambers A, each 6 cubits square, with intervening spaces of 5 cubits each. There was a space of one cubit in front of the chambers, and columns one cubit square. Of the two gateways in each gate-building the outermost consisted of a threshold B, of 6 cubits, passing through the thickness of the wall, a second threshold C, passing through a columned hall H, 5 cubits wide; the inner gateway had also two thresholds, one D passing through a second hall of the same dimensions as the former, the other E belonging to a porch, 6 cubits deep.

PLAN III.

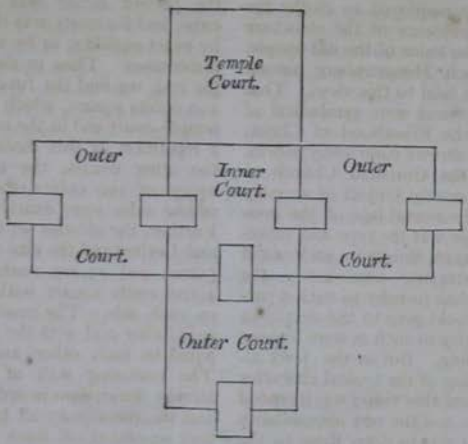
GATE-BUILDING OF ONE OF THE COURTS OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.



A. Guard-Chambers.
B. Threshold.
C. Second Threshold.
D. Second Inner Threshold.
E. Inner Threshold (threshold of the Porch).
S. Spaces.
H. Halls.

The gates in Herod's temple were prominent features in the building, especially the great eastern Beautiful gate, but they did not very closely resemble those of the vision. The Royal Porch in Herod's temple, though very different in details, may very well give a general notion of such an approach to the Courts of the temple. See Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 21.

Fergusson ('Holy Sepulchre and Temple,' p. 84), while he allows that the Rabbis uniformly



reckoned the temple-courts at 500 cubits square, considers this to be "an error which would have been at once corrected if they had been at the pains to examine the measures of Ezekiel." He conceives that the temple-court being 100 cubits, the inner court 100 cubits, and the outer court 100 cubits, the whole must be 300 cubits. But he omits altogether *the separate place*, assumes, without giving his reason, that the gate-buildings stood half within and half without the enclosing wall, and interprets xl. 15 to denote the measurement from an upper to a lower gate, instead of the length of one gate-building. The notes on the several verses shew that the measurements confirm the Rabbinical reckoning of 500 cubits.

Fergusson also conjectures that the word *Outer Court* denotes three courts, each 100 cubits square, with an outer gateway to the precincts, and another opposite to it leading to the inner court.

But it was in the outer court that the great body of worshippers were to assemble, and only those were admitted into the inner court who entered by turns to appear before the Lord and then rejoined the general body (see note on xlvi. 9). Any such subdivision therefore of the outer court seems improbable.

Fergusson (ibid. p. 86) lays stress on the statement of Hecatæus, quoted by Josephus ('c. Apion.' I. 22), that in his time the enclosure of the temple was "a stone enclosure of about five plethra in length and 100 cubits in breadth." Five plethra (500 feet) answers, Fergusson thinks, to the 300 cubits which he reckons for the length of the building, and conjectures that Zerubbabel, working on the design of Ezekiel's vision, left unexecuted the northern and southern outer courts. But *five plethra* is by no means exactly 300 cubits, and there is no proof that Zerubbabel followed the lines of Ezekiel's vision.

Purpose and scope of the Vision.

It was probably a jubilee year when this vision was seen (see note on xl. 1). The temple and city were in ruins, but God was pleased in this way to revive the hopes of His people.

Grotius and others have conceived that Ezekiel was simply guided to leave behind patterns on the basis of which the temple should in after days be rebuilt, and its services restored. But an examination of the vision will shew the insufficiency of this explanation. Not only was this plan never carried out, but it was, as Ezekiel must have known, incapable of execution. The physical features of the land would not admit of the separation of precincts a mile square, surrounded by a territory sixteen miles by forty-eight (xlviii. 10). The river, though connected with the stream brought by conduit pipes into the actual temple (see on xlvii.), soon passes into a condition wholly ideal (xlvii. 1 foll.), and the equal apportionment of the land to each of the

twelve tribes is compatible neither with history nor geography.

The same objections lie to the explanation of Hengstenberg, who, in a somewhat different manner, makes the vision refer to the reconstruction of the material temple. The details he conceives were never intended to be carried out, but were simply employed to clothe the thought of the magnificence of the structure to be erected upon the ruins of the old temple. The exception which Hengstenberg himself allows in the river is fatal to this view. That the temple and its services were symbolical of the Sacrifice and of the Priesthood of Christ, the Epistle to the Hebrews sufficiently proves. The assemblage of the Christian Church around Christ as the central Object of worship was that of which the assemblage of the people around the temple was the type and representative, and it is more simple to understand the vision as portraying immediately the Church of Christ, than to refer to such a partial fulfilment as would give to the details an unreality, discouraging to such as were looking to an actual rebuilding. But as the Jews already knew something of the typical character of the temple services, this vision was intended to teach them more, and the very impossibility of realizing its form was to draw them to the substance, and to give them prospects looking beyond any material reconstruction, just as Haggai consoled them for their disappointment at the erection of the second temple by promises of spiritual glory (Hagg. ii. 3).

Others have looked upon the vision as purely allegorical, and disregarding its symbolical character have interpreted it according to mere fancy. But many of the details had an actual existence in the original temple, and some were exactly repeated, as though they were essential and not accidental. The vision does not contemplate this system as abrogated, but as going on to its true end: this end is the dispensation of the Messiah, but the preparatory dispensation is still kept in sight.

If we are surprised at the minuteness of the details, we must remember that it is of the essence of a vision that the seer has before him every line, as in a carefully drawn picture. In verbal illustration much is left undescribed, and the figures employed are often not carried out; but in a vision the seer at least has all before him, and it is the manner of Ezekiel to describe all he sees, and so to put his reader in the same position as himself. This may account for the insertion of details unimportant in themselves; but the numbers and figures employed are not without their meaning.

Bähr has, in an elaborate treatise, ('Symbolik,') shewn that among the eastern nations numbers and figures have ever had a highly symbolical character, and has applied such symbolism to the details of the tabernacle and of the temple. Without entering into particulars we may remark that the symbolical numbers of the temple of Solomon were repeated in the vision of Ezekiel, which reproduces with scrupulous accuracy the leading dimensions of the most holy parts of the edifice, and, even where there are variations, employs constantly the same fundamental numbers and figures. Among the Hebrews the perfect figure was the square or the cube, and harmony was thought to be attained by exact equality, or by the repetition of like dimensions. Thus in the ideal temple, as in the real, we find the fundamental measure of 100 cubits square, which is maintained in the temple-court and in the court of sacrifice. By a repetition of this measurement are formed the other courts, the outer court being a square of 500 cubits, the precincts a square whose sides were exactly six times as long. Further, the *oblation* set apart for the priests and Levites and the city was to be *foursquare* (xlviii. 20) 25,000 reeds, and the city itself 4,500 reeds square with twelve gates, three on each side. The courts communicate with each other and with the precincts by six gates equal to each other and similarly situated. The enclosing wall of the outer court has strange dimensions in order that height, width, and thickness, may all be equal. The territory separated off from the allotments to the tribes and to the prince is another square. The land is divided so as to assign to each tribe an equal portion, without regard to inequalities of population or differences of soil. The minute details are after the same pattern. The guard-chambers, the bases of the columns, are all square. The series of chambers for the Levites and for the priests are in fixed numbers and symmetrically placed. The dimensions of the brasen altar are changed that one part may be the double of another throughout, see on xliii. 13. The number of sacrifices is in certain instances increased and made more uniform.

Most readers, when they have come to the xlvi. chapter, will have been struck with the small number of services described, and with the omission of one of the three great Festivals, see on xlv. 25, and even the Day of Atonement. Now if we were to expect to find in the vision directions for the re-enactment of the temple-ritual, this would be quite unaccountable. But if we view these selected rites in relation to the temple-building, and give to that building its true symbolical character, all is found to be just and harmonious. The vision is intended to depict the perpetual worship of the God of Heaven in the kingdom of Christ. To the mind of an Israelite the proper figure to represent this would be the temple and its services, with people, priest and prince, each doing their fitting part. The most appropriate services to exhibit this worship would be those of continual recurrence, in which day by day, week by week, month by month, prayer and praise

ascended to the throne of Heaven. The Morning Sacrifice, the Sabbath and the New Moon Festival. Here we have the Israelite symbol of perpetual public adoration.

In other parts of this book Ezekiel points forward to the spiritual teaching of the Gospel; here to a people mourning over a ruined temple, scattered priesthood, and a captive king the seer sets forth in visions that which the last of the prophets foretold in words—*From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts.* (Mal. i. 11.) This will also account for the absence of all mention of the high priest and his office. In the old dispensation the chief function of the high priest was the performance of the great Act, which typified the Atonement wrought by the sacrifice and death of Christ for the sins of the world. This Atonement was effected once for all upon the Cross, and in the new dispensation Christ appears in the midst of His people as their Prince and Head, leading and presenting their prayers and praises day by day to His Father in Heaven.

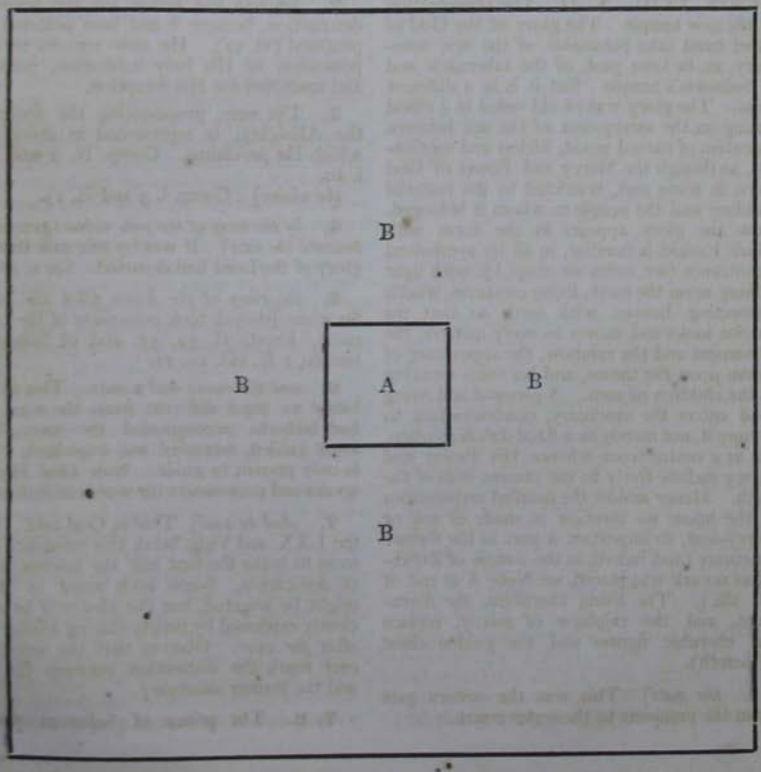
It is to be observed that the vision represents the coming dispensation as a kingdom, and in this respect has especial reference to the Rule of Messiah, foretold under the name of David (xxxiv. 24). We find that Solomon took a special part in the temple services as king, and here there are new and remarkable provisions for the prince. One of the gateways is reserved for him; special offerings are to be made by him. There is a particular order for the prince's inheritance; and, moreover, we note that the gate reserved for the prince is that by which *the Lord, the God of Israel, entered in* (xliv. 2); and thus is brought forth, as a leading feature in the vision, the figure of a king reigning in righteousness, the representative of Jehovah upon earth.

PLAN IV.

THE TEMPLE-COURTS AND THE PRECINCTS.

A. The Temple and its Courts, 500 cubits square.

B. The Precincts, 500 reeds (3000 cubits) square.



CHAPTER XLIII.

1 The returning of the glory of God into the temple. 7 The sin of Israel hindered God's presence. 10 The prophet exhorteth them to repentance, and observation of the law of the house. 13 The measures, 18 and the ordinances of the altar.

AFTERWARD he brought me to the gate, *even* the gate that looketh toward the east:

2 And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east: and his voice *was* like a noise of many [a]waters: and the earth shined with his glory.

3 And *it was* [b]according to the appearance of the vision which I saw, *even* according to the vision that I saw [‖]when I came to destroy the city: and the visions *were* like the vision that I saw by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face.

4 And the glory of the LORD came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect *is* toward the east.

5 So the spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of the LORD filled the house.

6 And I heard *him* speaking unto me out of the house; and the man stood by me.

7 ¶ And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, *neither* they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places.

8 In their setting of their thresh-

[a] chap. 1. 24.

[b] chap. 1. 4, & 8. 4.

[‖] Or, *when I came to* prophesy *that the city should be destroyed*: see chap. 9. 2, 5.

CHAP. XLIII. 1—11. The consecration of the new temple. The glory of the God of Israel must take possession of the new sanctuary, as, in time past, of the tabernacle and of Solomon's temple. But it is in a different form. The glory was of old veiled in a cloud resting on the mercy-seat of the ark between cherubim of carved wood, lifeless and motionless, as though the Mercy and Power of God were, in some sort, restricted to the material building and the people to whom it belonged. Now the glory appears in the form with which Ezekiel is familiar, in all its symbolical significance (see notes on chap. i.), with light shining upon the earth, living creatures, wheels connecting heaven with earth so that the chariot looks and moves to every quarter, the firmament and the rainbow, the appearance of a man upon the throne, and his voice speaking to the children of men. A personal and living God enters the sanctuary, condescending to occupy it, not merely as a fixed dwelling-place, but as a centre from whence His Power and Mercy radiate freely to the utmost ends of the earth. Hence amidst the detailed preparations of the house no mention is made of ark or mercy-seat, so important a part in the former sanctuary (and indeed, in the temple of Zerubbabel no ark was placed, see Note A at end of ch. xlii.). The living cherubim, the firmament, and the rainbow of mercy, replace the cherubic figures and the golden chest (Kliefoth).

1. *the gate*] This was the eastern gate from the precincts to the outer court.

2. Jehovah had before left the house to destruction, because it had been polluted and profaned (xi. 22). He now returns to take possession of His holy habitation, prepared and sanctified for His reception.

3. The seer, pronouncing the decree of the Almighty, is represented as doing that which He proclaims. Comp. iv. 2 and Jer. i. 10.

the vision] Comp. i. 3 and iii. 23.

4. *by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east*] It was by this gate that the glory of the Lord had departed. See x. 18, 19.

5. *the glory of the* LORD *filled the house*] So when Jehovah took possession of the tabernacle, Exod. xl. 34, 35, and of Solomon's temple, 1 K. viii. 10, 11.

6. *and the man*] *and a man.* This is probably an angel different from *the man* who had hitherto accompanied the seer. That angel guided, measured and explained. This is only present to guide. Now God Himself speaks and pronounces the words of dedication.

7. *And he said*] That is, God *said.* Both the LXX. and Vulg. break this verse into two, so as to make the first half the solemn words of dedication. Some such word as *Behold* might be inserted, but the idea will be sufficiently expressed by simply placing a fuller stop after *for ever.* Observe that the words *for ever* mark the distinction between the new and the former sanctuary.

7, 8. The palace of Solomon abutted

old by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, [1] and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed: wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger.

[1] Or, *for there was but a wall between me and them.*

9 Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcases of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever.

10 ¶ Thou son of man, shew the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities: and let them measure the [1] pattern.

[1] Or, *sum, or, number.*

11 And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, shew them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof: and write *it* in their sight, that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and do them.

12 This *is* the law of the house; Upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about *shall be* most holy. Behold, this *is* the law of the house.

13 ¶ And these *are* the measures of the altar after the cubits: The cubit *is* a cubit and an hand breadth; even the [1] bottom *shall be* a cubit, and the breadth a cubit, and the border thereof by the [2] edge thereof round about *shall be* a span: and

[1] Heb. *bosom.*

[2] Heb. *lip.*

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upon the southern side of the embankment of the temple-platform. Thus the *threshold* of the king's dwelling was set by the *threshold* of Jehovah, and *their posts by His posts*, and there was but *a wall between Jehovah and them*. It was not that the act of building a palace close to the temple was in itself profane, but when the kings gave themselves up to idolatry, this vicinity was to the temple a pollution and defilement. We are told that Manasseh was buried *in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza* (2 K. xxi. 18), and that his son Amon *was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza* (2 K. xxi. 26). This erection of a burial-place in a mere garden was in keeping with the profane character of these two kings. The *royal gardens* were on low ground below Siloam, at the confluence of the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. Mr Lewin conjectures that *the garden of Uzza* was on the temple area itself, to the east of the temple, immediately above the stables of Solomon, and that the part of the garden selected for the sepulchre was the rocky platform, on which now stands the mosque of Omar, and which in Maccabæan times became the sepulchre of Alexander Maccabæus. This would explain the mention of *high places* in connection with the defilement by the *carcases of kings*, since the platform of the mosque of Omar at the time of Ezekiel rose to a considerable height above the temple, and was subsequently lowered by the Maccabees to prevent the temple being overlooked (Lewin 'On the probable site of Jerusalem, the Antonia and the Acra,' p. 31).

Besides this, idolatrous kings of Judah did actually introduce their idolatries into the temple courts themselves. Ahaz brought in an altar from Damascus (2 K. xvi. 11), and Manasseh built altars in the house of the Lord (2 K. xxi. 4).

10. *let them measure the pattern*] (Comp. Heb. viii. 5.) Deviation from the exact rules of the Mosaic ordinances was connected with the transgression of the people. So the restoration according to the pattern of the law was symbolical of their return to obedience.

xliii. 12—xlvii. 12. The law of the ordinance of the New Sanctuary.

12. *This is the law of the house*] The Hebr. word *Thorah* is the proper term for the whole of the Mosaic Law. After the consecration, God pronounces the *law* which is to govern the ordinances of the sanctuary, first briefly repeating the general rule that the place must be kept holy to the Lord, comp. Rev. xxi. 27; and then proceeding to specific ordinances commencing with the altar. According to this view the paragraph mark ¶ should be transferred from *v.* 13 to *v.* 12.

Upon the top of the mountain] See xl. 2.

13. God is about to instruct the seer as to the sacrifices of inauguration, whereby places, services, priests, and people, were to be dedicated anew to the Lord, as of old under Solomon (1 K. viii.). First He describes the altar. This is the altar of sacrifice which stood in the inner court, not the altar of incense described xli. 22. The altar of burnt-offerings (of shittim-wood overlaid with brass) was, in the tabernacle, five cubits long, five broad, and three high (Exod. xxvii. 1). In Solomon's temple it is described as *an altar of brass, twenty cubits in length, twenty in breadth,*

this *shall be* the higher place of the altar.

14 And from the bottom *upon* the ground *even* to the lower settle *shall be* two cubits, and the breadth one cubit; and from the lesser settle *even* to the greater settle *shall be* four cubits, and the breadth *one* cubit.

15 So † the altar *shall be* four cubits; and from † the altar and upward *shall be* four horns.

† Heb. *Harel*, that is, *the mountain of God.*

16 And the altar *shall be* twelve *cubits* long, twelve broad, square in the four squares thereof.

† Heb. *Ariel*, that is, *the lion of God.*

17 And the settle *shall be* fourteen *cubits* long and fourteen broad in the four squares thereof; and the

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and ten in height (2 Chro. iv. 1). In Herod's temple the altar was of unhewn stone, it was yet larger, 10 cubits in height, 32 in length, 32 in breadth at the base; it rose in three sections each narrower than the former—Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 131. In the temple of the vision the dimensions are slightly altered with a view to introduce definite proportions and symbolical numbers.

the bottom shall be a cubit] *Bottom*, lit. "bosom," lat. "sinus," the base of the altar so called, because it forms with its *border* a kind of socket to receive the *lower settle*.

a cubit] Lit. "the cubit," *i.e. the cubit of a cubit and handbreadth*. This base was to be a cubit high; *and the breadth*, that is the breadth of that portion of the base which was not covered by the *lower settle*, was also to be a cubit.

the border thereof] *i.e.* of the base. Along the edges of the base was a border or rim half a cubit high.

the higher place] *the* **base**, Heb. *gab*, back, as in x. 12, hence it came to signify a hill. LXX. ὕψος, "height," Vulg. "fossa"—the base is called the back because the altar rests upon it.

14. *the bottom*] The basement just described is now called *the bottom upon the ground*, lit. "ground-bottom," as we say *ground-floor*. The altar (independently of the bottom) was composed of two stages called *settles*, the base of the *upper settle* being less than that of the *lower*.

to the lower settle] That is, to the top of *the lower settle*. *The lower settle* was to be *two cubits* high, *the breadth* is the breadth of that part of the bottom not covered by the *lower settle* as in *v.* 13.

from the lesser settle...to the greater settle] From the top of the *lower settle* to the top of the *upper settle*, the height of the upper settle was *four cubits*—the *lower* and *upper* settle are called *lesser* and *greater*, because the height of the *lower* is less than that of the *upper*, *the breadth* must here be the part of the lower settle not covered by the upper settle, projecting one cubit on every side.

15. *So the altar*] **And Harel.** The word *altar* occurs twice in this verse, in neither case is it the usual Hebrew word as in *v.* 13, but in the first case the Heb. is *Harel*, *mount of God*, in the second *Ariel*, *lion of God*. The LXX. and Vulg. in each case have *Ariel*, not translating it. The two words may denote, the first a square block placed upon the *upper settle*, the second a slab, the thickness of which is not given, from which rose *four horns* (Exod. xxvii. 2). Why the names *Harel* and *Ariel* were used must be conjectural. It was a Hebrew usage to give such appellatives (see xlviii. 35). *Mount of God* may have been a title naturally given to the place of sacrifice as elsewhere to the place of worship (xl. 2). *Lion of God* was a term used for the Holy City itself (Isai. xxix. 1). *Harel* was to be *four cubits* high, of the same breadth and length as *Ariel*, of which the length and breadth, but not the thickness are given in *v.* 16.

In Herod's temple the four "horns" of the altar were straight, square, hollow prominences, that at the south-west with two openings into whose silver funnels the drink offerings were poured.—See Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 33. It seems probable that to these horns the victims of sacrifice were at times bound. Ps. cxviii. 27.

16. *altar*] **Ariel**: *square in the four squares thereof—i.e.* an exact square on all sides. Comp. Exod. xxvii. 1; Rev. xxi. 16.

17. *the settle*] here must be *the lower settle*, projecting beyond the *upper settle* one cubit on every side.

his stairs] Lit. "the going up of it" (the altar). Jewish tradition says that the approach to the altar was by an inclined plane, because to go up *by steps* was forbidden (Exod. xx. 26). For the altar of sacrifice, see Plan I.

It will be seen from the above notes that the altar was composed of (1) *a basement* I, one cubit high, 16 cubits square, with a border K of half a cubit high. On the basement were (2) the *lower settle* L, two cubits high and 14 cubits square, (3) the *upper settle* M, four cubits high and twelve cubits square, (4) the square block (*Harel*) N, four cubits high, twelve cubits square, the top of which was the slab (*Ariel*) O, twelve cubits square with four horns. If these projecting horns rose, as is likely enough, so that the slab and horns together made one cubit, we have the whole height including base and horns twelve cubits;

border about it *shall be* half a cubit; and the bottom thereof *shall be* a cubit about; and his stairs shall look toward the east.

18 ¶ And he said unto me, Son of man, thus saith the Lord GOD; These *are* the ordinances of the altar in the day when they shall make it, to offer burnt offerings thereon, and to sprinkle blood thereon.

19 And thou shalt give to the priests the Levites that be of the seed of Zadok, which approach unto me, to minister unto me, saith the Lord GOD, a young bullock for a sin offering.

20 And thou shalt take of the blood thereof, and put *it* on the four horns of it, and on the four corners of the settle, and upon the border round about: thus shalt thou cleanse and purge it.

21 Thou shalt take the bullock also of the sin offering, and he shall burn it in the appointed place of the house, without the sanctuary.

22 And on the second day thou shalt offer a kid of the goats without blemish for a sin offering; and they shall cleanse the altar, as they did cleanse *it* with the bullock.

23 When thou hast made an end

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exclusive of base and horns ten cubits, the height of Solomon's altar; the area of the base being sixteen cubits square to Solomon's twenty. The number "twelve" was symbolical of the twelve tribes, "four," of the earth, "sixteen" is the square of "four," and "fourteen" the double of "seven," the number of the covenant, as being composed of "three," the number of God, and of "four," the number of the world. Thus we have in the altar a special instance of Hebrew symbolism.

18. *the ordinances of the altar*] See Introd. to Leviticus. The rites here described are not those of regular service, but those to be observed on the day of dedication. Compare the rites of consecration by Moses in the tabernacle (Lev. viii. 10 foll.), by Solomon in the temple (1 K. viii. 63 foll., 2 Chro. vii. 4 foll.). The particulars of the rites observed in the temple are not detailed, the sacrifices were so numerous that they had to use a supplementary altar. The rites in the tabernacle are carefully detailed, and may be compared with those here ordained. In the dedication of the tabernacle both the holy things and the tabernacle itself were anointed with holy oil, Lev. viii. 10—12. Neither in Solomon's or Ezekiel's temple do we find mention of such use of oil. Indeed in the second temple the high priest even was not anointed, the very composition of the holy oil being unknown. In the tabernacle Aaron and his sons were consecrated to the priesthood at the same time (comp. Exod. xxix. 1 foll.), and Moses performed the sacerdotal rites as the mediator. The priest slew the victims, but Moses sprinkled the blood. In the vision the seer is addressed as though he were to perform the part of Moses.

19. *thou shalt give to the priests...a young bullock*] Comp. Lev. viii. 14.

the seed of Zadok] See on xl. 46.

20. *thou shalt take of the blood thereof*] Lev. viii. 15; Heb. ix. 19—22.

upon the border round about] This answered the purpose which in the tabernacle was effected by *pouring the blood on the bottom of the altar*.

21. The burning of fat upon the altar (Lev. viii. 16) is not mentioned, because it is by the cleansing *blood* that the altar is to be purified.

in the appointed place of the house] In Lev. viii. 17 the carcase of the bullock was to be burnt *without the camp*. Here it is to be a place within the temple-court, but *without the sanctuary* properly so called, that is to say, without the temple and inner court. This was probably the *separate place*. See xli. 12.

22. *on the second day thou shalt offer a kid*] The *sin-offering* on the first day was *a bullock*. On the second day and each of the following days it is to be *a kid*.

they shall cleanse] By sprinkling the blood. Hitherto the seer is directed to cleanse the altar himself as Moses did. Here the plural marks the act as that of the priests. Moses did his part before the priests were consecrated, the seer could act through them.

23. It has been thought that the *burnt-offering* here mentioned belongs only to the second day, and that the seven days on which the like offerings were to be made (*v.* 25) began with the second day—no burnt-offering being offered on the first day. But comparing Lev. viii. 18, we see that the *burnt-offering* followed immediately upon the *sin-offering*, and it was an universal rule in the Mosaic ritual that no *sin-offering* was unaccompanied by a *burnt-offering*. We may therefore suppose that this verse describes the *burnt-offering* as common to the first and second day, the sin-offering having been changed on the *second day* is mentioned imme-

of cleansing *it*, thou shalt offer a young bullock without blemish, and a ram out of the flock without blemish.

24 And thou shalt offer them before the LORD, and the priests shall cast salt upon them, and they shall offer them up *for* a burnt offering unto the LORD.

25 Seven days shalt thou prepare every day a goat *for* a sin offering: they shall also prepare a young bullock, and a ram out of the flock, without blemish.

26 Seven days shall they purge the altar and purify it; and they † Heb. *fill their hands.* shall † consecrate themselves.

27 And when these days are expired, it shall be, *that* upon the eighth day, and *so* forward, the priests shall make your burnt offerings upon the altar, and your ‖ peace offerings; and I will accept you, saith the Lord GOD. ‖ Or, *thank offerings.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

1 *The east gate assigned only to the prince.* 4 *The priests reproved for polluting of the sanctuary.* 9 *Idolaters uncapable of the priest's office.* 15 *The sons of Zadok are accepted thereto.* 17 *Ordinances for the priests.*

THEN he brought me back the way of the gate of the outward sanctuary which looketh toward the east; and it *was* shut.

2 Then said the LORD unto me; This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the LORD, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.

3 *It is* for the prince; the prince,

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diately after the *sin-offering* of the *first day*. According to this there was, on each of the *seven days*, a *burnt-offering* of *a bullock* and *a ram*, preceded by a *sin-offering* of *a bullock* on the first day, and of a *kid of the goats* on the other days.

24. *cast salt*] Salt was to be cast upon every *meat-offering* (Lev. ii. 13). Here it is added to the *burnt-offering* to express still more the idea of purification. In the second temple no sacrifice was complete without the use of salt, and the Rabbis tell us that there was a great heap of salt close to the altar, always ready for use, and that the inclined plane to the altar was kept covered with salt. Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 32. Comp. Mark ix. 49.

25. *Seven days*] Lev. viii. 33; 1 K. viii. 65; 2 Chro. vii. 8, 9. The *sin-offering* was a *bullock* not a *goat* on the first day, but on each day was a *sin-offering* and a *burnt-offering*, and so the statement is general.

26. *consecrate themselves*] Lit. *fill their hands*, referring to Lev. viii. 27. This was indeed originally in order to *consecrate* the priests, for it was then a sacrifice of consecration for both altar and priests. Now the priests are already consecrated, but the memory of their consecration was thus kept up at the dedication of the altar.

27. After this inauguration the regular service shall be resumed, and be acceptable unto God (comp. Mal. i. 11).

Under the guidance of the Epistle to the Hebrews we cannot fail to recognise in this vision the symbol of the purification of the Church of God by the cleansing blood of Christ, Victim and Priest (Heb. viii. ix. x).

CHAP. XLIV. The relation of the different classes of people to the temple and its courts.

1—3. The position of the Prince.

1. *outward sanctuary* (the court of the priests, as distinguished from the temple itself)...*shut*] This gate was reserved for the Prince, to whom it was opened on certain days (xlvi. 1). Only a prince of the house of David might sit down in the priests' court. See xlvi. 1, 2.

2. *the LORD, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it*] See xliii. 2.

3. *the prince*]—foretold under the name of David (xxxiv. 24). The Rabbis understood this to be the Messiah.

to eat bread] refers in the first place to the feasts which followed and accompanied the unbloody offerings—the meat-offering, Lev. ii. 3, and the shewbread, Lev. xxiv. 9; but according to the old law these feasts belonged only to the priests; none of the rest of the congregation, not even the king, might partake of them: the new system gives to the *prince* a privilege which he did not before possess, the prince, as the representative of the Messiah, standing in a higher position than the kings of old. *To eat bread* may also include participation in the animals sacrificed, portions of which were reserved for those of the people who offered them. See Introd. to Levit. p. 500. Comp. *to eat food*, Gen. xxxi. 54; Exod. xviii. 12, hence to partake of the sacrifices as those did who offered them (Lev. ii. 3, vii. 15, and 1 Cor. x. 18).

he shall sit in it to eat bread before the LORD; he shall enter by the way of the porch of *that* gate, and shall go out by the way of the same.

4 ¶ Then brought he me the way of the north gate before the house: and I looked, and, behold, the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD: and I fell upon my face.

5 And the LORD said unto me, Son of man, † mark well, and behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears all that I say unto thee concerning all the ordinances of the house of the LORD, and all the laws thereof; and mark well the entering in of the house, with every going forth of the sanctuary.

† Heb. *set thine heart.*

6 And thou shalt say to the rebellious, *even* to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD; O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations,

7 In that ye have brought *into my sanctuary* † strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it, *even* my house, when ye offer my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant because of all your abominations.

† Heb. *children of a stranger.*

8 And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things: but ye have set keepers of my † charge in my sanctuary for yourselves.

† Or, *ward*, or, *ordinance*: and so ver. 14. & 16.

9 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; No stranger, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger that *is* among the children of Israel.

10 And the Levites that are gone away far from me, when Israel went astray, which went astray away from me after their idols; they shall even bear their iniquity.

11 Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, *having* charge at the

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4—16. Admonition as to the ministering priests, grounded upon former neglect.

4. *the north gate before the house*] The north gate of the inner court. God expostulates with His people in the seat of their former idolatries (viii. 3).

5. *the entering in...with every going forth*] The careful arrangement of the courts and of their gates had all been intended to keep the temple and its surroundings from profanation. Hence attention to these particulars is enjoined.

7. *strangers*] This refers not to the presence of the heathen in the courts (which was indeed forbidden), but especially to the sin of unauthorized and unfaithful priests ministering in the services of the temple. It had been a leading part of Jeroboam's sin that he appointed unauthorized priests to minister in services offered to Jehovah, and it is quite possible that in the reckless idolatry of Manasseh and other kings heathen *uncircumcised* in flesh may have actually performed the functions of priesthood. Here the people are taught that unfaithful priests *uncircumcised in heart* (comp. Acts vii. 51) though of the true lineage are regarded as *strangers*. The special enactment of Lev. xxii. 25 is referred to, *Neither from a stranger's hand shall ye offer the bread of your God.*

when ye offer my bread] Comp. Lev. vii. 12. *the fat and the blood*] Lev. vii. 22.

8. *the charge*] Comp. Lev. viii. 35. *of mine holy things*] The altar and its sacrifices, the sacred utensils, and the like.

for yourselves] According to your own pleasure, not my ordinances, Num. xvi. 40; 1 K. xii. 31.

10. *when Israel went astray*] The Levites as a body had remained true to the temple service at Jerusalem (2 Chro. xi. 13.) But individuals among them may have deserted to Israel at the first, and in the course of years others who were disaffected to the ruling powers of Judah may have passed over to the rival kingdom, as in later years some did in this way go over to the worship of the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim. These apostate Levites *shall bear their iniquities*, they shall not be restored to their former rank and privileges.

11. *ministers*] Servants performing menial offices for the ministering priests—acting as porters, helping in the slaughter of the victims, but not as sacrificing priests. As in the commonwealth of Israel all the other tribes had their own land, and as, according to the new system, the Levites, as a body, were to receive their portion in the *oblation* (xlv. 5), the only manner in which such Levites could live at all, was as part of the whole body, to which they were therefore reunited, but in the lowest grade.

It is remarkable that the number of Levites who returned after the captivity was very small, not exceeding 400, of whom only 74 were priests' assistants (Ezra ii. 40—42; Neh.

gates of the house, and ministering to the house: they shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister unto them.

12 Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and † caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord GOD, and they shall bear their iniquity.

† Heb. *were for a stumblingblock of iniquity unto, &c.*

13 And they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, in the most holy *place:* but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have committed.

14 But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.

15 ¶ But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord GOD:

16 They shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge.

17 ¶ And it shall come to pass, *that* when they enter in at the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with linen garments; and no wool shall come upon them, whiles they minister in the gates of the inner court, and within.

18 They shall have linen bonnets upon their heads, and shall have linen breeches upon their loins; they shall not gird *themselves* ‖ † with any thing that causeth sweat.

‖ Or, *in sweating places.* † Heb. *in,* or, *with sweat.*

19 And when they go forth into the utter court, *even* into the utter court to the people, they shall put off their garments wherein they ministered, and lay them in the holy chambers, and they shall put on other garments; and they shall not sanctify the people with their garments.

20 Neither shall they shave their

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vii. 43—45), while the priests numbered 4289 (Ezra ii. 36—39). Ezra made afterward a special search for Levites, but only 38 were added (Ezra viii. 15, 18, 19).

The gap in their number was filled up by 220 Nethinim (given ones), probably originally strangers and captives, who, although employed in the temple services, were held by the Jews in the lowest repute. The Rabbinists placed them beneath a bastard, though above a proselyte, forbade their intermarrying with Israelites, and declared them incapable of proper membership in the congregation. Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 64.

12. *lifted up mine hand*] Not to smite them, but in adjuration (xx. 5). *The Lord sware* that they should bear their iniquities.

15. *the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok*] See on xl. 46.

17—31. Regulations as to the priests' services. The garments of the priests are defined and various rules prescribed in the Law are repeated with some additions in order to denote additional care to avoid uncleanness.

18. *linen*] Four vestments were worn by the ordinary priest, viz. the linen breeches, the coat, the girdle and the bonnet. To these the high priest added other four distinctive articles of dress, called "golden vestments," because gold, the symbol of splendour, appeared in them. The material of which the four vestments of the ordinary priest were made was "linen," or, more accurately, "byssus," the white shining cotton stuff of Egypt. These two qualities of the byssus are specially marked as characteristic, and on them part of the symbolic meaning depended. Comp. Rev. xix. 8. Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 72.

On the use of linen and *bonnets* (caps) see Exod. xxviii. 39—43, xxxix. 27, 28.

19. *utter court*] **outward** *court.*

they shall not sanctify the people] They shall not touch the people with their holy garments. The word *sanctify* is used because the effect of touching was to separate as holy the persons or things so touched, Exod. xxix. 37, xxx. 29; also Lev. vi. 18. See also below, xlvi. 20.

The priests did not wear any distinctive dress, except while performing in the temple strictly sacrificial services.

The *holy chambers* are those of xlii. 1 foll., which communicated both with the temple-court and with the outer court.

20. Lev. xxi. 5.

heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads.

21 Neither shall any priest drink wine, when they enter into the inner court.

22 Neither shall they take for their wives a [a] widow, nor her that is [f] put away: but they shall take maidens of the seed of the house of Israel, or a widow [g] that had a priest before.

[a] Lev. 21. 13.
[f] Heb. *thrust forth.*
[g] Heb. *from a priest.*

23 And they shall teach my people *the difference* between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean.

24 And in controversy they shall stand in judgment; *and* they shall judge it according to my judgments: and they shall keep my laws and my statutes in all mine assemblies; and they shall hallow my sabbaths.

25 And they shall come at no [b] dead person to defile themselves: but for father, or for mother, or for son, or for daughter, for brother, or for sister that hath had no husband, they may defile themselves.

[b] Lev. 21. 1, 11.

26 And after he is cleansed, they shall reckon unto him seven days.

27 And in the day that he goeth into the sanctuary, unto the inner court, to minister in the sanctuary, he shall offer his sin offering, saith the Lord GOD.

28 And it shall be unto them for an inheritance: I [c] *am* their inheritance: and ye shall give them no possession in Israel: I *am* their possession.

[c] Numb. 18. 20. Deut. 10. 9. & 18. 1, 2. Josh. 13. 14, 33.

29 They shall eat the meat offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering; and every [i] dedicated thing in Israel shall be theirs.

[i] Or, *devoted.*

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21. Lev. x. 9. While actually engaged on service in the temple, the priests were not allowed to drink wine.

22. *or a widow that had a priest before*] In Lev. xxi. every priest is forbidden to marry a divorced woman, the high priest to marry a widow. Here the restriction is extended to all priests, an exception being made in the case of the widow of a priest, it being intended to mark the holiness of the office of a priest, imposing on the one hand additional obligations to purity, on the other communicating itself in some degree to his wife.

23. This was the special duty of a priest, Lev. x. 10, xi.—xvi.; Mal. ii. 7.

24. Deut. xvii. 8; 2 Chro. xix. 8. There was in the second temple a council of priests, whose special duty it was to regulate every thing connected with the sanctuary. They did not ordinarily busy themselves with criminal questions, although they took a leading part in the condemnation of Jesus. Mark xv. 43.

25. The priests shall keep themselves from all contact with unholy things. The legal defilement from touching the dead is a special case provided for by the Law, whose enactments are here repeated, Lev. xxi.; Num. xix. 11.

In the Christian Church all the members are *priests* (1 Peter ii. 5; Rev. i. 6, xx. 6). Hence the directions for maintaining the holiness of the *priesthood* in the new order, represent the necessity for holiness in all Christians, and the exclusion of *the uncircumcised in heart and in flesh* is equivalent to the exclusion of *all that defileth* from the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 27).

28—31. Provision for the priests and Levites.

This is not inconsistent with the apportionment of land to the priests and Levites mentioned in xlv. 1 foll. where see note.

28. *it shall be unto them*] The remains of the sacrifices were a chief source of the priests' support—the burnt-offerings being entirely consumed, the priests had only the skins, which however yielded a considerable revenue. Meat and drink-offerings belonged entirely to the priests. Sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, except in particular cases, also belonged to the priests and were partaken of in the temple. Of the peace-offerings a portion dedicated to the Lord by waving was left for the priests, and the rest eaten by the officers and their friends, either in the courts of the temple, or at least within Jerusalem. There is frequent allusion in the Psalms to these feasts—Ps. xxii. 25, 26, 29, xxiii. 5, cxvi. 12—16. The kitchen-courts, xlvi. 21—24, were provided in order to prepare these public meals. See Lev. vii., xxii. 29, 30.

I am their inheritance] Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xviii. 1 foll.

30 And the ‖d first of all the first-fruits of all *things*, and every oblation of all, of every *sort* of your oblations, shall be the priest's: ye shall also give unto the priest the first of your dough, that he may cause the blessing to rest in thine house.

‖ Or, *chief.*
d Exod. 13. 2. & 22. 29, 30. Numb. 3. 13. & 18. 12.

31 The priests shall not eat of any thing that is e dead of itself, or torn, whether it be fowl or beast.

e Exod. 22. 31. Lev. 22. 8.

CHAPTER XLV.

1 *The portion of land for the sanctuary,* 6 *for the city,* 7 *and for the prince.* 9 *Ordinances for the prince.*

MOREOVER, † when ye shall divide by lot the land for inheritance, ye shall offer an oblation unto the LORD, † an holy portion of the land: the length *shall be* the length of five and twenty thousand *reeds*, and the breadth *shall be* ten thousand. This *shall be* holy in all the borders thereof round about.

† Heb. *when ye cause the land to fall.*
† Heb. *holiness.*

2 Of this there shall be for the sanctuary five hundred *in length*, with five hundred *in breadth*, square round about; and fifty cubits round about for the ‖ suburbs thereof.

‖ Or, *void places.*

3 And of this measure shalt thou

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30. *oblation*] Heb. *therumah*. The Hebrew word is rendered *offering*, marg. *heave-offering*, Exod. xxv. 2; elsewhere *offering* as in Exod. xxx. 13, or *heave-offering* as in Exod. xxix. 27. See notes on Exod. xxv. 2, and Exod. xxix. 27, and Preface to Leviticus.

CHAP. XLV. The portion of territory reserved for the priests, in the middle of which is to be the temple with its courts and precincts, for the Levites, for the city and for the prince.

1—4. The portion for the priests and the sanctuary.

1. *by lot*] This does not imply anything like casting lots, but is equivalent to our notion of *allotment*, the several portions being assigned by rule, Josh. xiii. 6.

oblation] See on xliv. 30. From the use of the word properly denoting *heave-offering*, we gather that the oblation was regarded in a different light from the portions of the tribes, it was the Lord's portion, Lev. xxvii. 30. This *oblation* is further described (xlviii. 9—12) in the general direction for the assignment of the land. It is given here as part of the provision made for the priests. It is remarkable that while in describing the provision for the priests *the sacrifices* are mentioned, no mention is made of *tithes*. In the original allotment the tribe of Levi had no land, but was supported by tithes from the other tribes (Lev. xxvii. 30; Num. xviii. 21). There is a tradition that Ezra punished the Levites for keeping away from Jerusalem by depriving them of tithes (Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 64). But here the tribe of Levi (including priests and Levites) has a portion larger than that of the other tribes. See xlviii. 8 foll. This quantity of land could not be simply for dwellings, and was probably in lieu of the tithes, just as the prince had his definite portion of land instead of being supported by the contributions of the people. The priests and Levites had besides the sacrifices, which formed no inconsiderable contribution. This provision for the priests and Levites, out of proportion in any actual arrangement, is no doubt intended to symbolize the reverence and honour due to God, and expressed by liberality to His services and His ministers. The LXX. in this verse read *the breadth twenty* thousand. Hitzig and others would alter the Hebrew text accordingly, and Keil maintains the change to be necessary, because "in *v.* 3 *And of* (Heb. *from*) *this measure* must mean that the quantity following is to be deducted from that which has preceded, as *v.* 2, *Of* (*from*) *this*." According to Keil's interpretation, mention is first made (*v.* 1) of the whole oblation assigned both to priests and Levites—25,000 reeds from east to west, and 20,000 from north to south. Then in *v.* 3 there is deducted from this whole measure the priests' special portion 25,000 from east to west, and 10,000 from north to south. This seems the simplest explanation. But the reading of the text may be maintained if we suppose the term *oblation* here to denote the portion assigned to the priests alone; as in xlviii. 9.—According to this view *v.* 3 is a repetition of *v.* 1, and *of this measure* means not deducted from this measure, but computed by this measure. In the original only the numbers are given, but the English Version rightly supplies *reeds*, since the precincts we know from xlii. 20 were 500 *reeds* square. 25,000 reeds = about 42½ statute miles, 36½ geog. miles.

2. *for the sanctuary*] The *sanctuary* here probably means the whole temple-precincts, but it may mean, as usual, the temple itself, and *for* = belonging to. So in *v.* 4, *an holy place for* (belonging to) *the sanctuary*. See on xlii. 20.

suburbs] Lit. *void places*. To mark out more distinctly the sacred precincts, a vacant space of fifty cubits was left on all sides.

3. *And of this measure*] See on *v.* 1.

measure the length of five and twenty thousand, and the breadth of ten thousand: and in it shall be the sanctuary *and* the most holy *place*.

4 The holy *portion* of the land shall be for the priests the ministers of the sanctuary, which shall come near to minister unto the LORD: and it shall be a place for their houses, and an holy place for the sanctuary.

5 And the five and twenty thousand of length, and the ten thousand of breadth, shall also the Levites, the ministers of the house, have for themselves, for a possession for twenty chambers.

6 ¶ And ye shall appoint the possession of the city five thousand broad, and five and twenty thousand long, over against the oblation of the holy *portion:* it shall be for the whole house of Israel.

7 ¶ And *a portion shall be* for the prince on the one side and on the other side of the oblation of the holy *portion*, and of the possession of the city, before the oblation of the holy *portion*, and before the possession of the city, from the west side westward, and from the east side eastward: and the length *shall be* over against one of the portions, from the west border unto the east border.

8 In the land shall be his possession in Israel: and my princes shall no more oppress my people; and *the rest of* the land shall they give to the house of Israel according to their tribes.

9 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; Let it suffice you, O princes of Israel: remove violence and spoil, and execute judgment and justice, take away your †exactions from my people, saith the Lord GOD. †Heb. *expulsions.*

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5. The portion of the Levites.

And the five and twenty thousand] **And five and twenty thousand.**

the ten thousand] **Ten thousand** *in breadth.* There is no definite article in the Hebrew, and it is out of place, for not the same, but another equal portion is mentioned. See xlviii. 13. See Plan V. (A).

for twenty chambers] LXX., *for cities to dwell in* (comp. Num. xxxv. 2; Josh. xxi. 2). Hitzig reforms the Hebrew text accordingly, and Keil approves of this. Hävernick supposes them to be masses of buildings containing chambers, for the dwellings of the Levites, on the portion of the land assigned to them, in lieu of the forty-eight cities given in the old Law; but this change is scarcely consistent with the ample provision made in other respects.

The proposed alteration of the text is too considerable to be accepted without hesitation. The literal rendering of the Hebrew text, as it stands, is this:—"For a possession twenty chambers." The word *chambers* carries us back to the thirty chambers in the outer court, xl. 17, of which the purpose has not been told—it is not unreasonable to suppose that of these thirty, twenty were assigned to the Levites, for use during residence in the sanctuary—we may therefore suppose that having described the Levites' possession of land, Ezekiel further mentions their possession of the chambers which belonged to them in the sanctuary.

6. The portion for the city. This portion is to belong to the whole people, not to be subject to the encroachments made by the later kings of Judah (Jer. xxii. 13). Thus we observe that the Levites' portion 10,000 reeds, the priests' portion 10,000 reeds, and the city portion 5,000 reeds, make in all 25,000 reeds from north to south. The measure of each of these portions from east to west has been defined to be 25,000 reeds, and thus we have a square of 25,000 in all.

7, 8. The prince's portion. This shall lie upon the east and the west sides of the whole portion of 25,000 reeds square above named. For the other tribes the limits from west to east are the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan (xlviii. 8). On either side of the 25,000 reeds a strip of land, running westwards to the sea, eastwards to the Jordan, formed the possession of the prince. But see note on xlvii. 18.

7. *and the length shall be over against*] *and* **in length** *over against. Length* is throughout measured from west to east, and *breadth* from north to south.

The definition of the prince's territory was to prevent the oppressions foretold (1 S. viii. 14 foll.), described (2 K. xxiii. 35), and reproved, Jer. xxii.

9. The princes are exhorted to execute judgment (Jer. xxii. 3), and abstain from *exaction*, lit. "ejection," such ejection as that of Naboth by Ahab (1 K. xxi. 19).

[a] Lev. 19. 35, 36.

10 Ye shall have just [a] balances, and a just ephah, and a just bath.

11 The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, that the bath may contain the tenth part of an homer, and the ephah the tenth part of an homer: the measure thereof shall be after the homer.

[b] Exod. 30. 13. Lev. 27. 25. Numb. 3. 47.

12 And the [b] shekel *shall be* twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh.

13 This *is* the oblation that ye shall offer; the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of wheat, and ye shall give the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of barley:

14 Concerning the ordinance of oil, the bath of oil, *ye shall offer* the tenth part of a bath out of the cor, *which is* an homer of ten baths; for ten baths *are* an homer:

15 And one ‖ lamb out of the flock, out of two hundred, out of the fat pastures of Israel; for a meat offering, and for a burnt offering, and for ‖ peace offerings, to make reconciliation for them, saith the Lord GOD.

‖ Or, *kid.*

‖ Or, *thank offerings.*

16 All the people of the land † shall give this oblation ‖ for the prince in Israel.

† Heb. *shall be for.*

‖ Or, *with.*

17 And it shall be the prince's part *to give* burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and drink offerings, in the feasts, and in the new moons, and in the sabbaths, in all solemnities of the house of Israel: he shall prepare the sin offering, and the meat offering, and the burnt offering, and the ‖ peace offerings, to make reconciliation for the house of Israel.

‖ Or, *thank offerings.*

18 Thus saith the Lord GOD; In the first *month*, in the first *day* of

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10. A transition to a general exhortation to justice and honesty, expressed by true weights and measures (Lev. xix. 35; Prov. xi. 1). This fitly introduces the strict regulation of quantities in the prescribed offerings.

11. The *ephah* was in use for dry measure, the *bath* for liquid. The *homer* seems to have contained about 75 gallons. See notes on Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. xix. 36. Observe the difference between the *homer* and the *omer*, *the tenth part of an ephah*, Exod. xvi. 36. The *homer* was employed as a standard, for in calculation the *ephah* and *bath* were both *after the homer*, according to the standard of the *homer*, and were to be equal to each other.

12. *the shekel*] shall be the full weight of *twenty gerahs*, Exod. xxx. 13.

The *maneh* shall be of true weight, whether it be the *maneh* of twenty-five, of twenty, or of fifteen shekels. *Maneh* occurs only here and in 1 K. x. 17; Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 71, where it is rendered *pound*. It is probably the same word as the Greek μνᾶ, but need not have been of the same weight. From this passage it seems that in Ezekiel's time there were *manehs* of different value.

13—17. The offerings to be made by the people through the prince for the service of the sanctuary.

In the Mosaic Law the first-fruits and tenths are prescribed, but not the offerings for the sacrifices of the ordinary festivals. These were left to the free will of the people. Here these offerings are reduced to regular order and the amounts ordained. In later days there were often shortcomings in these respects (Mal. iii. 8). This is obviated, and regularity ensured in the new order of things. No mention is made of wine for the drink-offering, or of bullocks for the burnt-offering, so that the enumeration is not complete—for each person the offering of wheat and barley was to be a sixtieth part, of oil a hundredth part, of the flock one in two hundred.

14. *cor*] Not named in the Mosaic Law, occurs in 1 K. v. 11; 2 Chro. ii. 10, xxvii. 5, where it is translated *measure*. We learn here that it is a synonym of *homer*.

17. *it shall be the prince's part to give*] Lit. "upon the prince shall be burnt offerings," &c. The people's gifts were to be placed in the hands of the prince, so as to form a common stock, out of which the prince was to provide what was necessary for each sacrifice. Comp. 1 K. viii. 62. Thus when Ezra was commanded to restore the worship at Jerusalem he was instructed to take gold and silver to buy therewith *bullocks, rams, and lambs, with their meat offerings, and drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of God*. Ezra vii. 17. The prince handed the gifts to the priests, whose part it was to sacrifice and offer. But the prominent part assigned to the prince in *making reconciliation for the sins of the people* seems to typify the union of the kingly and priestly offices in the person of the Mediator of the New Covenant.

18—25. The order of certain solemn services. This order does not follow exactly

the month, thou shalt take a young bullock without blemish, and cleanse the sanctuary:

19 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering, and put *it* upon the posts of the house, and upon the four corners of the settle of the altar, and upon the posts of the gate of the inner court.

20 And so thou shalt do the seventh *day* of the month for every one that erreth, and for *him that is* simple: so shall ye reconcile the house.

21 In the first *month*, in the fourteenth day of the month, ye shall have the passover, a feast of seven days; unleavened bread shall be eaten.

22 And upon that day shall the prince prepare for himself and for all the people of the land a bullock *for* a sin offering.

23 And seven days of the feast he shall prepare a burnt offering to the LORD, seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish daily the seven days; and a kid of the goats daily *for* a sin offering.

24 And he shall prepare a meat offering of an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and an hin of oil for an ephah.

25 In the seventh *month*, in the fifteenth day of the month, shall he do the like in the [c] feast of the seven days, according to the sin offering, according to the burnt offering, and according to the meat offering, and according to the oil.

[c] Numb. 29. 12.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1 *Ordinances for the prince in his worship,* 9 *and for the people.* 16 *An order for the prince's inheritance.* 19 *The courts for boiling and baking.*

THUS saith the Lord GOD; The gate of the inner court that

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the order of Moses, of Solomon, or of Ezra, who on the return from captivity re-arranged the festivals on the Mosaic pattern. Familiar as Ezekiel was with every detail of the Levitical Law, this deviation can scarcely have been accidental, and we may herein recognize fresh indications that the whole vision is symbolical, representative of the times when, after the oblation of the one Sacrifice, reconciliation and sanctification were effected for man through the presence of God dwelling in the midst of the people. See Note A on xlii.

18. *in the first day*] If this is only a special Passover for the dedication, the prolongation of the festival may be compared with that under Solomon (2 Chro. vii. 8). But it is more probably a general ordinance, and, in this case, we have an addition to the Mosaic ritual. Under the Law, Lev. xxiii. 5, the solemnities of the first month began with the 14th, when lambs were brought to the temple and slain in the priests' court. Special preparation was made on the 13th, but here the *first day* is marked by the rites of Expiation, which are repeated on the seventh day that house and people may thus be sanctified and prepared for the great Paschal Feast. The second expiatory sacrifice is *for every one that erreth and that is simple*, for the purpose of including those who transgressed from ignorance rather than wilfulness.

19. See xliii. 20.

23. *seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish daily the seven days*] In the Mosaic Law the daily sacrifices of the Paschal week consisted of *two young bullocks and one ram and seven lambs*, Num. xxviii. 19—24; while in the daily sacrifices of the week of the Feast of Tabernacles there was a remarkable gradation in the number of bullocks (see Num. xxix. 12, foll.); on the first day thirteen young bullocks, on the second day twelve, and so on, while on each day two rams and fourteen lambs were offered. Here the kid for a sin offering is unchanged, the lambs are omitted and on each day seven bullocks and seven rams are offered. Again, the meat-offering was *three tenth deals* (that is, three tenths of an ephah) *for a bullock and two tenth deals for a ram*, Num. xxix. 3; here there is one ephah for one bullock, and one for a ram, and so the covenant number *seven* is preserved throughout to indicate a perfect in lieu of an imperfect covenant with God.

25. *In the seventh month.* This is the Feast of Tabernacles. See Num. xxix. 12. Of the other great festival, the Feast of Weeks, no mention is made.

CHAP. XLVI. Having seen the temple and the city rise before him in fair proportions, having delivered the ordinance for priest and prince, the prophet is permitted to behold in vision people, priest, and prince uniting in most solemn worship before the throne of God. On the symbolical character of the rites here described, see remarks in Note A at end of xlii.

looketh toward the east shall be shut the six working days; but on the sabbath it shall be opened, and in the day of the new moon it shall be opened.

2 And the prince shall enter by the way of the porch of *that* gate without, and shall stand by the post of the gate, and the priests shall prepare his burnt offering and his peace offerings, and he shall worship at the threshold of the gate: then he shall go forth; but the gate shall not be shut until the evening.

3 Likewise the people of the land shall worship at the door of this gate before the LORD in the sabbaths and in the new moons.

4 And the burnt offering that the prince shall offer unto the LORD in the sabbath day *shall be* six lambs without blemish, and a ram without blemish.

5 And the meat offering *shall be* an ephah for a ram, and the meat offering for the lambs [†] as he shall be able to give, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

† Heb. *the gift of his hand.*

6 And in the day of the new moon *it shall be* a young bullock without blemish, and six lambs, and a ram: they shall be without blemish.

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1. See xliv. 2, 3. Although the gate was *open* on those days, it does not follow that any but the prince could enter by it.

2. In the time of Solomon, priest, king, and people each took his due part in the temple-service. Of the later kings some forsook Jehovah for false gods, some encroached upon the prerogative of the priest. Now all should be set right. The prince should stand forward at the head of his people to lead their worship while the priests were presenting the sacrifice to God. Solomon made the consecration prayer *before the altar* (see note on 2 Chro. vi. 12), *on a brasen scaffold, set in the midst of the court* (2 Chro. vi. 13), *i. e.* on a stage erected for the occasion in the inner court. The prince occupies an analogous position, standing in front of the porch of the eastern gate of the inner court while the priests are sacrificing before him.

3. *at the door of this gate*] In Herod's temple the place for worshipping *before the Lord* was the court of Israel, west of the court of Women, separated from the inner court by a low parapet. Only those who took part in the sacrifices (*e.g.* in slaying the lambs of the Passover) were admitted into the court of the priests. But in Ezekiel's vision there is no provision like the court of Israel, and instead of this the worshippers were to be admitted into the inner court itself. The upper pavement on either side of the eastern gate provided room for such worshippers. See Note A at end of xlii.

4—15. The offerings here prescribed are generally in excess of those enjoined by the Law, to note the greater devotion and magnificence under the new state of things. Still, as of old (Deut. xvi. 17), there was a certain liberty left to give in such proportion as the will might prompt or the ability permit, and the seer contemplates in his vision of better times a willing king and a people ready to give of their substance to the utmost of their means.

4. The burnt-offering prescribed in the Law of Moses for the sabbath was two lambs, for the meat offering two tenth deals of flour mingled with oil—in addition to the continual offering of two lambs for morning and evening sacrifice with their appropriate meat-offering, Num. xxviii. 9—which are here increased, the *burnt offering* to six lambs and a ram, the *meat offering* to an ephah (with any voluntary addition) of flour with a hin of oil.

5. *as he shall be able to give*] Lit. "the gift of his hand." Rather, *as he shall be* **willing** *to give*, the amount of such gift being left to the will of the giver. So also in the slightly varied expression of *v.* 7.

6. For the *new moon* there was prescribed in the Law of Moses, in addition to the continual offering, a burnt-offering of *two* bullocks, one ram and seven lambs, the meat-offering, and a sin-offering of a kid of the goats, Num. xxviii. 11, 15; here there is but one bullock, and the sin-offering is omitted. The *meat-offering*, as in other cases, is increased. The enumeration of the offerings both for the sabbath and new moon is less complete than in Numb. xxviii., the drink-offerings being passed by, and no mention being made that the offerings were additional to the continual offering. It is remarkable that in the second temple there was on the new moon of Tisri, besides the regular new-moon offerings, an additional festive burnt-offering of one bullock, one ram, and *seven* lambs, with their appropriate meat and drink offerings. Edersheim's 'Temple,' p. 257. It is possible that here the offering named is *additional* to the regular new-moon offering; but this is certainly not an adequate explana-

7 And he shall prepare a meat offering, an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and for the lambs according as his hand shall attain unto, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

8 And when the prince shall enter, he shall go in by the way of the porch of *that* gate, and he shall go forth by the way thereof.

9 ¶ But when the people of the land shall come before the LORD in the solemn feasts, he that entereth in by the way of the north gate to worship shall go out by the way of the south gate; and he that entereth by the way of the south gate shall go forth by the way of the north gate: he shall not return by the way of the gate whereby he came in, but shall go forth over against it.

10 And the prince in the midst of them, when they go in, shall go in; and when they go forth, shall go forth.

11 And in the feasts and in the solemnities the meat offering shall be an ephah to a bullock, and an ephah to a ram, and to the lambs as he is able to give, and an hin of oil to an ephah.

12 Now when the prince shall prepare a voluntary burnt offering or peace offerings voluntarily unto the LORD, *one* shall then open him the gate that looketh toward the east, and he shall prepare his burnt offering and his peace offerings, as he did on the sabbath day: then he shall go forth; and after his going forth *one* shall shut the gate.

13 Thou shalt daily prepare a burnt offering unto the LORD *of* a lamb † of the first year without blemish: thou shalt prepare it † every morning.

† Heb. *a son of his year.*

† Heb. *morning by morning.*

14 And thou shalt prepare a meat offering for it every morning, the sixth part of an ephah, and the third part of an hin of oil, to temper with the fine flour; a meat offering continually by a perpetual ordinance unto the LORD.

15 Thus shall they prepare the lamb, and the meat offering, and the oil, every morning *for* a continual burnt offering.

16 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; If the prince give a gift unto any of his sons, the inheritance thereof shall be his sons'; it *shall be* their possession by inheritance.

17 But if he give a gift of his inheritance to one of his servants, then it shall be his to the year of liberty; after it shall return to the

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tion of the change of numbers. No mention is made here of the blowing of trumpets, which was an important part of the New-Moon festival. Numb. x. 10.

8. *the porch of that gate*] This must be the eastern gate of the inner court. See v. 2.

9. The people being admitted to worship in the inner court (*v.* 3), and not being allowed to enter by the east gate, had to pass through the northern or southern gates of the inner court, and so, coming up to the porch of the eastern gate, the prince would be *in the midst of them*. It is evident that the whole body of the people gathered together in the outer court, and from thence bodies went in turn into the inner court to worship, and then again out into the outer court. This makes the conjecture of three outer courts more probable. See Note A at end of xlii.

13. For the daily offering Moses prescribed one lamb for every morning and one for every evening, and a tenth part of an ephah of flour and a fourth part of a hin of oil (Exod. xxix. 38). The evening sacrifice is omitted, because the seer is not enumerating the sacrifices of the Law, but selecting a few of them with a particular object in view. See Note A on xlii.

16—18. The prince was to be provided with possessions of his own, to prevent him from having recourse to exactions from his subjects; and, lest in the course of time he might be tempted to such exactions, enactments are added to prevent the alienation of the prince's land. Inheritance was permitted only to his sons, as the father's land descended in all cases to the sons. If any gifts were to be made to his servants, they must be out of the prince's portion, and must be only temporary, reverting to the prince in the year of jubilee. On the jubilee year and the enactments concerning it see note on Lev. xxv.

prince: but his inheritance shall be his sons' for them.

18 Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance by oppression, to thrust them out of their possession; *but* he shall give his sons inheritance out of his own possession: that my people be not scattered every man from his possession.

19 ¶ After he brought me through the entry, which *was* at the side of the gate, into the holy chambers of the priests, which looked toward the north: and, behold, there *was* a place on the two sides westward.

20 Then said he unto me, This *is* the place where the priests shall boil the trespass offering and the sin offering, where they shall bake the meat offering; that they bear *them* not out into the utter court, to sanctify the people.

21 Then he brought me forth into the utter court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and, behold, † in every corner of the court *there was* a court.

22 In the four corners of the court *there were* courts ‖ joined of forty *cubits* long and thirty broad: these four † corners *were* of one measure.

23 And *there was* a row *of building* round about in them, round about them four, and *it was* made with boiling places under the rows round about.

24 Then said he unto me, These *are* the places of them that boil, where the ministers of the house shall boil the sacrifice of the people.

† Heb. *a court in a corner of a court, and a court in a corner of a court.*

‖ Or, *made with chimnies.*

† Heb. *cornered.*

19—24. Enactments as to the offerings of priests and people. On the assignment of the unconsumed parts of the several sacrifices, see note on xliv. 28. The careful provision here made to keep the two separate was to prevent collision between priests and people, as the enactments *vv.* 16—18 were to secure their respective rights to prince and people.

19. *at the side of the gate*] The entrance to the inner court at the same side as the northern gate (xlii. 9). The courts for cooking to be used by the priests were at the corners of the priests' chambers north and south of the *separate place*. See Plan II.

20. *boil*] It was peculiar to the paschal lamb that it was to be eaten roasted. The flesh of the other sacrifices was to be *sodden* or boiled (see vi. 28; 1 S. ii. 13; 2 Chro. xxiv. 14). The *meat-offering* (flour and honey) was baked (Lev. ii. 4).

utter court] **outward** *court*, the courts for cooking to be used by the people were in the four corners of the people's court.

sanctify. See xliv. 19.

22. *courts joined*] **enclosed** courts. See Note at end of Chapter.

these four corners] Lit., as in margin, *cornered*. *These four* **corner-courts** *were of one measure.*

NOTE on CHAP. XLVI. 22.

Joined, Hebr. קְטֻרוֹת. This word has been variously translated according as commentators have derived it from one or other of two Hebrew roots.

1. קטר, not found in Kal, but frequently in Piel and Hiphil, in the sense of *burning incense* (2 K. xxiii. 5). Hence קְטֹרֶת, incense (ch. xvi. 18), *perfume* (Prov. xxvii. 9); and קִיטוֹר, *smoke* (Gen. xix. 28). The marg. rendering, *made with chimnies*, seems to be based upon this interpretation of the word.

2. קטר, Aram. קְטַר, with the same meaning as the Hebr. קשׁר, *bind*. Hence Kimchi explains the word in our text, *united* to the great court. Others, *arched over*. Others again, *contracted*, bound in, whence the LXX. μικρά; Vulg. *atriola disposita*, which seems to be rather a paraphrase. Our A.V., *joined*, follows Kimchi, and is to be explained as above. Gesenius ('Thesaur.' p. 1213) considers that the root may mean *bind*, *close*, *shut in*, and interprets the word *closed in*, to indicate that these courts were enclosed, and entered by doors in the walls, which shut them out from the great court.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 *The vision of the holy waters.* 6 *The virtue of them.* 13 *The borders of the land.* 22 *The division of it by lot.*

AFTERWARD he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house *stood toward* the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south *side* of the altar.

2 Then brought he me out of the way of the gate northward, and led me about the way without unto the utter gate by the way that looketh eastward; and, behold, there ran out waters on the right side.

3 And when the man that had

CHAP. XLVII. THE VISION OF THE WATERS. Ezekiel's temple, with its ritual, ministers and congregation, symbolizes the presence of Jehovah in the midst of a loyal people. The *waters* are the blessings which flow from this source to animate and refresh all the inhabitants of the earth. Isaiah had employed this figure. *I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring* (Isai. xliv. 3). Hävernick quotes a Rabbinical tradition, *Ubicunque Shechinah habitat ibi sunt aquæ.* Compare Joel iii. 18, *All the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim.* Ezekiel's description is adopted and modified by Zechariah (xiii. 1, and xiv. 8), and in Rev. xxii. Compare also Ecclus. xxiv. 31. Lightfoot ('Description of the Temple,' ch. xxiii.) informs us that Hebrew tradition spoke of a spring of water, named Etham (said to be identical with the well-waters of Nephtoah (Josh. xviii. 15), on the west of the temple, whose waters were conducted by pipes into the temple-courts for the uses needed in the ministration of the priests. The waters of Shiloah (Ps. xlvi. 4; Isai. viii. 6) flowed from the rocks beneath the temple-hill. It is quite in the manner of Ezekiel's vision to start from an existing feature and thence proceed to an ideal picture whence to draw a spiritual lesson. The deepening of the waters in their course shews the continual deepening of spiritual life and multiplication of spiritual blessings in the growth of the kingdom of God.

1. The *house* is the temple itself; the waters issued from beneath the south-east corner, and flowed along the south of the porch which projected into the inner court. The *house* looking eastward, the *south* is at the *right hand.* See on Exod. xxvi. 18. So 1 S. xxiii. 19, the *right side* is the *south* of Jeshimon. In Isai. ix. 12, *behind* opposed to *before* (lit. *eastward*), The Mediterranean is the *hinder* sea. The source of the Gospel blessings may be traced up to the presence of God among the descendants of Abraham, which presence was expressed outwardly by the temple at Jerusalem, the seat of Jehovah, who, through the Mosaic Law and ordinances, communicated His Spirit in measure to those who lived under the first covenant. In Rev. xxii. 1, *the pure river*, the spiritual blessing of the new covenant, proceeds *out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.* So long as the stream is confined to the temple-courts, it is merely a small rill, for the most part unseen, but when it issues from the courts it begins at once to deepen and to widen. So on the day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit descended upon the little company of believers, and communicated to them the gift of tongues, as a token that they should go forth and carry the Gospel into divers lands. The first marked step was the conversion of three thousand at the preaching of Peter, Acts ii. 41, which was followed immediately by the organization of the infant Church in Jerusalem.

2. The seer passes out of the courts by the northern gates of the inner and outer courts, and then *round about* the boundary-wall to the east gate of the outer court, and there sees the stream issuing from beneath the wall at the south side of the eastern gate.

out of the way of the gate northward] Rather, **by the way of the northward gate.**

3. *the anckles*] This may coincide with the step gained in the baptism of Cornelius, Acts x., and the opening of the Church to the Gentiles. The dispersion which had followed the martyrdom of Stephen, Acts xi. 19, had carried believers into various countries, and so paved the way for the foundation of Gentile Churches.

As the temple area in the vision rises from east to west, the natural flow of the water would be from west to east, reaching the valley of Jehoshaphat, through which the brook Kidron flowed to the Dead Sea. The actual course of the Kidron was somewhat tortuous. Robinson's 'Palestine,' I. 402. This, it is to be observed, is *not* the course of the river in the vision. The ground in the vision seems to slope regularly eastward towards the Jordan valley.

the line in his hand went forth eastward, he measured a thousand cubits, and he brought me through the waters; the † waters *were* to the ancles.

† Heb. *waters of the ancles.*

4 Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through the waters; the waters *were* to the knees. Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through; the waters *were* to the loins.

5 Afterward he measured a thousand; *and it was* a river that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen, † waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed over.

† Heb. *waters of swimming.*

6 ¶ And he said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen *this?* Then he brought me, and caused me to return to the brink of the river.

7 Now when I had returned, behold, at the † bank of the river *were* very many [a] trees on the one side and on the other.

† Heb. *lip.* [a] Rev. 22. 2.

8 Then said he unto me, These waters issue out toward the east country, and go down into the ‖ desert, and go into the sea: *which being* brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed.

‖ Or, *plain.*

9 And it shall come to pass, *that* every thing that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the † rivers shall come, shall live: and there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither: for they shall be healed; and every thing shall live whither the river cometh.

† Heb. *two rivers.*

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4. *the knees*] The mission of St Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 1—4, is another marked epoch in the Church's history, and the time of St Paul's martyrdom denotes an increase in the Gentile Church, which corresponds with the waters reaching the *loins*.

5. *a river*] (*nachal*). This word was especially applied to the rivers in Palestine, for the most part mere watercourses, dry in summer, in winter carrying the water along the wadys to the sea. Such was the *brook* (*nachal*) Kidron, which has seldom any water in it, the valley of Jehoshaphat being during most months of the year "the dry bed of a wintry torrent." Robinson's 'Palestine,' I. 402. The river of the vision is to have a continuous flow.

waters to swim in] When under Constantine the Roman empire had become Christian, the Church may be contemplated as the full river, to flow on throughout time to the final completion of Isaiah's prophecy, *The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea*, Isai. xi. 9.

7. *very many trees*] Trees were the natural consequence of abundance of water, Ps. i. 3; Rev. xxii. 2. The luxuriant fertility of the ground on the shore of the Dead Sea under the fresh springs of En-gedi well illustrates this (Robinson's 'Palestine,' II. 209).

8. *the east country*] (*g'lilah*). Josh. xxii. 10, *the borders* (*g'liloth*) *of Jordan*. The LXX. has (Γαλίλαιαν), but possibly only meaning to keep the Hebrew word, as Ἀραβίαν for *'arabah*, the *desert*, or plain at the north of the Dead Sea through which the Jordan flows. See Robinson's 'Palestine,' II. 254. In Zechariah's vision (Zech. xiv. 8) there are two streams, one flowing to the Mediterranean, and the other to the Dead Sea. The Chaldee paraphrast (as Rosenmüller informs us) explains this verse in the same way, and is followed in general by the Rabbinical interpreters. These take the former part of the verse to refer to the branch which going down into the desert reaches the Salt Lake; but interpret *the sea* as the Mediterranean. So the Chald., "And they go into the sea, into the great sea (the Mediterranean, Josh. xv. 12), they are brought forth;" taking the words rendered in our version (*which being brought forth into the sea*) to mean "the sea of the brought forth waters," or, "the sea where the waters are brought forth," as Kimchi explains, "the ocean (Mediterranean) so called because its waters go forth to encompass the world." But the more common interpretation (expressed in the main by our version) seems better. *The sea* is a term commonly applied to the Dead Sea. Comp. Deut. iii. 17, *the sea of the plain* (*'arabah*), *even the salt sea*. The more literal rendering of the verse in this sense would be, *and go into the sea;* "into the sea go the waters that issue forth, and the waters shall be healed."

healed] "The waters of the Sea will be sweetened by the stream flowing into them:" Mosheh Ben Shesheth (Williams and Norgate, 1871), who adopts the Rabbinical interpretation, and so takes the *healing* to be the turning *salt* water into *fresh*. Comp. 2 K. ii. 21. But see on *v.* 9.

9. *every thing that liveth...shall live*] "Shall live," *i.e.* "shall be healthy and vigorous" (Mosh. B. Shesh.). But the meaning is not so much every living thing which was

10 And it shall come to pass, *that* the fishers shall stand upon it from En-gedi even unto En-eglaim; they shall be a *place* to spread forth nets; their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many.

11 But the miry places thereof and the marishes thereof [1] shall not be healed; they shall be given to salt.

[1] Or, *and that which shall not be healed.*

12 And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, [1] shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed: it shall bring forth [1] new fruit according to his months, because their waters they issued out of the sanctuary: and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof [1] for [b] medicine.

[1] Heb. *shall come up.*

[1] Or, *principal.*

[1] Or, *for bruises and sores.*

[b] Rev. 22. 2.

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before in the sea shall be more vigorous, but every living thing (of which there were none before) shall abound in the *healed* waters. The absence of living creatures in the Dead Sea has been remarked by ancient and modern writers. See Robinson, 'Palestine,' II. p. 226, who quotes Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 6, *neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur.* Galen. 'de Simpl. Med.' IV. c. 19, φαίνεται ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὕδατι μήτε ζῶον ἐγγιγνόμενόν τι, μήτε φυτόν. Hieron. ad Ezech. xlvii. 8, *Mare mortuum in quo nihil potest esse vitale. Re vera juxta literam hue usque nihil quod spiret et possit incedere præ amaritudine nimia in hoc mari reperiri potest.* Comp. Gen. i. 20 and viii. 17. God will restore to the waters of the Dead Sea the blessing originally given, but lost in the penal curse which that region had incurred. So the water which Jesus should give should bring life to the dead in trespasses and sins. Comp. Joh. iv. 14, Rev. xxii. 2, 3.

the rivers] Heb. *two rivers* (*nachalaim*). The dual form without the def. art. Mosh. B. Shesh. explains it, "either of the two rivers," illustrating the use of the dual by Prov. xxviii. 18, where *he that perverteth his ways* is, literally, "perverse in two ways." This interpretation is in accordance with the notion of *two streams*. But we have only *one stream* throughout. Kliefoth supposes that the two streams are the brook from the temple and the brook Kidron which it joins, but no mention has been made of Kidron (which is indeed rather a watercourse than a river), or of the water it may contain. Ewald and Hitzig alter the text, but in neither case satisfactorily. Hengstenberg (approved by Keil) interprets the dual as expressing greatness, *a double river*=a mighty river, and refers to Jer. l. 21, where he considers *Merathaim* to mean *double* (*i.e.* mighty) *rebellion*, and to Judg. iii. 8, where he thinks the latter part of the name *Chushan-Rishathaim* to mean *double wickedness*. This, however, does not seem a very probable interpretation. Perhaps a reference is made to the circumstance that this *brook* or *river* is to come into the Dead Sea through the same plain as the Jordan. The one river (Jordan) always flowed, but now, when another river comes in, and *two rivers* flow into the sea, the waters shall be healed.

10. *from En-gedi even unto En-eglaim*] Jerome says that *Engallim* (which is his name for *En-eglaim*) was at the top of the Dead Sea where Jordan enters, and *En-gedi* at the place where the sea ends. "But *En-gedi* (see on 1 S. xxiii. 29) is certainly not at the southern extremity of the sea, but rather about the middle of the western shore. But south of En-gedi the sea is contracted by a peninsula jutting into the sea northwards, so as to give to the whole southern part of the sea the appearance, not of a broad sheet of water, but rather of a long winding bay, or the estuary of a large river when the tide is out and the shoals left dry" (Robinson, 'Palest.' II. 207). Hengstenberg, desiring that the description should express the idea of from one end of the lake to another, imagines that *En-eglaim* lay on the eastern or Moabitic shore opposite to En-gedi, but for this there is no authority.

En-eglaim] The name does not occur elsewhere. Its form indicates that it was one of the double cities of Moab, see on xxv. 9. Keil would identify it with *Ain-el-Feschkah*, on the ground that there is no fountain more to the north on the western bank of the Dead Sea. "This fountain boils up near the shore, a very copious stream, or rather streams of limpid water, beautiful to the eye, but brackish." Robinson, 'Palest.' II. p. 252. On this supposition, *from En-eglaim to En-gedi* would not be from the north to the south end of the lake, but the line of coast from the most northern fountain to the principal fountain southward.

11. "In the plains adjoining the banks of the Dead Sea were pits which were filled when the waters overflowed, and which, when they retired or were evaporated, became reservoirs of salt" (Robinson, 'Palestine,' II. p. 210). "The marshes and pools will not be sweetened because the salt obtained from them is indispensable" (Mosh. B. Shesh.). More probably the exception, which reserves for sterility places to which the living water does not reach, indicates that the life and health are solely due to the stream which proceeds from beneath the throne of God. Comp. Isai. lvii. 20, 21.

13 ¶ Thus saith the Lord GOD; This *shall be* the border, whereby ye shall inherit the land according to the twelve tribes of Israel: Joseph *shall have two* portions.

14 And ye shall inherit it, one as well as another: *concerning* the which I [c] lifted up mine hand to give it unto your fathers: and this land shall fall unto you for inheritance.

15 And this *shall be* the border of the land toward the north side, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad;

[1] Or, *swore.*
[c] Gen. 12. 7. & 17. 8. & 26. 3. & 28. 13.

CHAPS. XLVII. 13—XLVIII. 14. Ideal re-allotment of the land to the twelve tribes of Israel. See Plan V. (A).

13. *according to the twelve tribes*] All the descendants of Abraham, not simply Judah and Benjamin, have part in this promise. See Introd. § VI.

Joseph shall have two portions] Gen. xlviii. 5; Josh. xiv. 4. The Hebrew words are simply, *Joseph portions*, *portions* being plural not dual. So in xlviii. 23, *Benjamin one*, for *Benjamin shall have a portion*. That the *portions* of Joseph were *two* and not more would be understood at once. The special mention of Joseph's portions was no doubt in order to express that the twelve portions were to be exclusive of Levi's land, which was to be provided out of the *oblation*.

14. *one as well as another*] as, lit. "[each] man as his brother," the usual Hebrew phrase for *one as another*. Ezekiel is speaking of *tribes*, not *individuals*. Each tribe is to have an equal *breadth* of land assigned to it. The measures from W. to E. are not given, but defined by the *borders*.

I lifted up mine hand] See xx. 5.

for inheritance] Num. xxxiv. 2.

15. The borders of the land follow closely Num. xxxiv. In Numbers the borders begin from the south, as the people came up from Egypt; in Ezekiel, from the north, as they might return from Babylon. The occupation is ideal, but is grounded, as usual, on an actual state of things.

the border of the land toward the north] Num. xxxiv. 7—9. The ideal border must be drawn directly from W. to E. to secure regularity of apportionment. See Plan V. (A). But names of places in the actual northern border are given, not to mark exact geographical position, but to shew that the original promise will be fulfilled.

the way of Hethlon] Probably the defile between the ranges of Libanus and Antilibanus, from the sea to Hamath. *Hethlon* occurs only here and in xlviii. 1. In Numbers *Hamath*, *Zedad*, *Ziphron*, *Hazar-enan*. Here *Zedad*, *Hamath*, and probably *Hazar-enan*, are the same. For *Zedad* see note on Num. xxxiv. 7. *Hamath* (Amos vi. 2), at the foot of Mount Hermon (afterwards *Epiphaneia*, N. Lat. 35° 12′, on the Orontes, half-way between Larissa and Arethusa, still known as Hama, one of the principal towns in Turkish Asia,

PLAN V. (A).

IDEAL ALLOTMENT OF THE LAND.

16 Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which *is* between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath; ‖ Or, *the middle village.* ‖ Hazar-hatticon, which *is* by the coast of Hauran.

17 And the border from the sea shall be Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus, and the north northward, and the border of Hamath. And *this is* the north side.

18 And the east side ye shall measure † from Hauran, and from Damascus, and from Gilead, and from the land of Israel *by* Jordan, from the border unto the east sea. And *this is* the east side. † Heb. *from between.*

19 And the south side southward, from Tamar *even* to the waters of ‖ strife *in* Kadesh, the ‖ river to the great sea. And *this is* the south side ‖ southward. ‖ Or, *Meribah.* ‖ Or, *valley.* ‖ Or, *toward Teman.*

20 The west side also *shall be*

---

colonized by Canaanites (Gen. x. 18), occupied by a powerful king in the time of David, who formed an alliance with him (2 S. viii. 9). Hamath was conquered by the Assyrians (2 K. xviii. 34). It was never included in the possessions of Israel (Winer). The border ran considerably south of the town at the *entrance of Hamath*, the northern opening of Cœle-Syria, N. Lat. 34° 20′: see note on Num. xiii. 21.

16. *Berothah, Sibraim*] The LXX. gives very different names (the Greek text seeming to be corrupt). *Berothah*, probably the same as *Berothai* (2 S. viii. 8). Each of the names occurs but once. This passage seems to prove that it lay between Hamath and Damascus, and cannot therefore have been (as some have thought) Beirut. *Sibraim* occurs only here. We gather from this place that it was between Hamath and Damascus.

Hazar-hatticon] The Hebrew *hatticon* occurs Exod. xxvi. 28 and 2 K. xx. 4, where it means *the middle*. *Hazar-hatticon* (only named here) is probably "the middle Hazar, to distinguish it from Hazar-enan.

Hauran] LXX., Ἀυρανῖτις. The name continues in the modern *Hauran*. Auranitis was bounded on the north by Trachonitis, which lay to the south of Damascus. But the name *Hauran* is sometimes used in a wider sense, so as to include Trachonitis (see Smith's 'Bible Dict.'). Trachonitis and Auranitis were both in the tetrarchy of Ituræa. The name of *Hauran* may therefore be extended by Ezekiel so as to include Trachonitis.

17. Ezekiel gives leading border cities without following the precise line. See note on Num. xxxiv. 5—7.

18. Lit. "And the east border, from between Hauran and from between Damascus and from between Gilead and from between the land of Israel, the Jordan: from the border to the eastern sea shall ye measure." The eastern boundary is to commence by separating off the territory of Damascus and Hauran, and then to follow the line of the Jordan to the Dead Sea—but "from between the land of Israel" seems to refer to the land occupied by the trans-Jordanic tribes, which was now to be separated off, like Hauran. The trans-Jordanic tribes in fact occupied their ground (in Joshua's allotment) by sufferance. This did not belong to Canaan proper, the land of promise. Hence the tribes, formerly on the east of the Jordan, have here allotments in Canaan. The chief difficulty is that *the oblation*, measured according to xlv. 1 foll., xlviii. 10, is so far from allowing a portion for the prince on its east side, between it and the Jordan, that *the oblation* itself extends to a considerable distance beyond the Jordan (see Plan V. B). From Jerusalem to the Jordan is about 19 geog. miles, to the west sea about 35, but the distance between the Jordan and the sea lessens as we proceed northward. It must be remembered that the whole arrangement is ideal and symbolical, and that *the square* was, especially for this reason, to be preserved. The vision therefore here, as in the case of the waters, departs from the physical features of the land for the purpose of maintaining symbolical numbers.

19. The south border commences with *Tamar*, which is probably a village near the southern end of the Dead Sea. In reference to the southern border see note on Num. xxxiv. 4. The word *Tamar* means "palm-tree;" it is given to more than one city in the Holy Land. Here it has been thought by some to be identical with *Hazazon-tamar, which is En-gedi*, 2 Chro. xx. 2, but as En-gedi is mentioned in *v.* 10 it is scarcely likely that the name should be changed without any notice. Robinson identifies it with Kuruub, which is a ruined village on the road from Hebron to Kadesh (Ain-el-Weibeh), and thinks it to be the ancient Thamara mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as a day's journey south of Hebron (Robinson, 'Palestine,' II. 616, 622); but Kuruub is not only far from the Dead Sea but lies north-westward of Ain-el-Weibeh, and it is highly improbable that the southern border should start from the middle and then proceed to Kadesh and then to the river of Egypt.

Kadesh] On the borders of the wilderness of Sin, where the children of Israel strove with Moses, and the water was called *Meribah*,

the great sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath. This *is* the west side.

21 So shall ye divide this land unto you according to the tribes of Israel.

22 ¶ And it shall come to pass, *that* ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you: and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel.

23 And it shall come to pass, *that* in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give *him* his inheritance, saith the Lord GOD.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1, 23 *The portions of the twelve tribes,* 8 *of the sanctuary,* 15 *of the city and suburbs,* 21 *and of the prince.* 30 *The dimensions and gates of the city.*

NOW these *are* the names of the tribes. From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus northward, to the coast of Hamath; for these are his sides east *and* west; a *portion for* Dan.

2 And by the border of Dan, from

"contention" (Num. xx. 3, 13). *Kadesh* is probably identical with *Ain-el-Weibeh* (Robinson, 'Palestine,' II. p. 582), and is the extreme southern point of the territory, N. Lat. 30° 20′.

the river to the great sea] Lit. "riverward to the great sea." Our A.V. has overlooked the part of the word denoting "to" or "towards." By the *river* is meant a torrent-stream entering the Mediterranean near *Rhinocolura*, now El Arish. This is *the river of Egypt* mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 5.

20. See Num. xxxiv 6.

22. *and to the strangers*] Here is quite a new feature in the distribution of the land. Not only the Israelites by descent, but those who join themselves to Israel by allegiance to the true GOD, shall have a right of inheritance. Here are opened out the blessings which were to accrue to the Gentiles through the seed of Abraham. Compare Rom. ix. 24 and foll. The prophet's vision extends beyond the limits of Israel to the borders of the Gentiles. When Israel has reached its full development, and has entered into true and full possession of the divine blessings, a new point of union is formed for heathendom. Whosoever from among the heathen shall unite himself to the new Israel, the true perfect Church of the Lord, shall enjoy the same privileges as the lineal descendants of Abraham. What the Old Testament faintly foreshadowed in reference to the heathen, prescribing compassion and love towards them; nay, even under certain conditions admitting them into the community, advances here towards full accomplishment. The difference which existed under the old covenant between Jew and Gentile is now at last done away. But while heathendom thus unites itself with God's people, Israel is still as ever the chosen people, the centre of this union. No new Church is founded side by side with the old. No new family takes place beside the twelve tribes of Israel. Heathendom is absorbed in Israel—the standard which God has set up for the nations—*i.e.* in the One True Church, which has subsisted from the beginning, and will subsist in eternity. (Hävernick.)

CHAP. XLVIII. See Plan V. (B). The distribution of the Holy Land in detail. The order of the original occupation by the tribes under Joshua is partly, but only partly, followed. It is a new order of things—and its ideal character is evinced, as elsewhere, by exact and equal measurements. From north to south seven tribes succeed each other: Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, Judah, each occupying the full breadth of the land from east to west. Then comes a portion, separated as an offering to the Lord, subdivided into (1) a northern portion for the Levites, (2) a central portion for the priests and the temple, (3) a southern portion for the city and those who serve it. These three form a square, which does not occupy the whole breadth of the land, but is flanked on either side, east and west, by portions assigned to the prince. Then follow, south of the city, five portions for the five remaining tribes—Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, and Gad—similar to those assigned to the seven. Thus the Levites, the temple, and city, are guarded by Judah and Benjamin, the two tribes who had throughout preserved their allegiance to the true sovereignty of Jehovah, and thus the plan expresses the presence of Jehovah among His people, summed up in the name of the city, with which Ezekiel's prophecy closes, THE LORD IS THERE.

1. Lit. "and to him shall be the east side,

the east side unto the west side, a *portion for* Asher.

3 And by the border of Asher, from the east side even unto the west side, a *portion for* Naphtali.

4 And by the border of Naphtali,

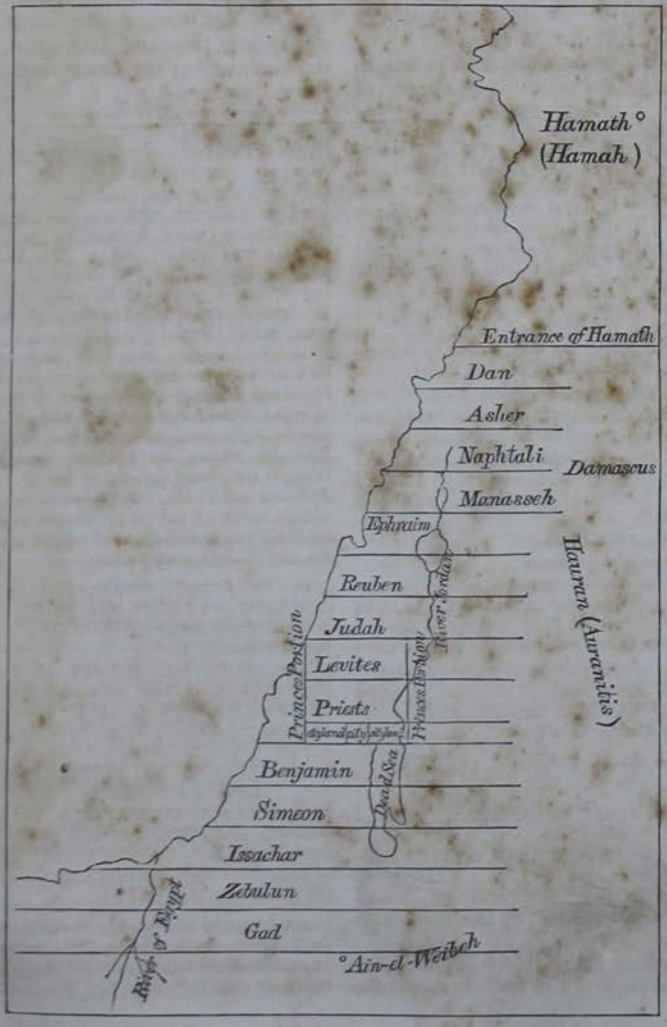
---

the west." He (Dan, about to be named) shall have the east and west sides. The portion shall extend along the whole line, east and west.

a portion for Dan] Lit. "Dan one." The same is repeated for each tribe, the usual mode in Hebrew of expressing *distribution*, and implying equality in the portions. The

PLAN V. (B).

THE LAND OF ISRAEL.



from the east side unto the west side, a *portion for* Manasseh.

5 And by the border of Manasseh, from the east side unto the west side, a *portion for* Ephraim.

6 And by the border of Ephraim, from the east side even unto the west side, a *portion for* Reuben.

7 And by the border of Reuben, from the east side unto the west side, a *portion for* Judah.

8 ¶ And by the border of Judah, from the east side unto the west side, shall be the offering which ye shall offer of five and twenty thousand *reeds in* breadth, and *in* length as one of the *other* parts, from the east side unto the west side: and the sanctuary shall be in the midst of it.

9 The oblation that ye shall offer unto the LORD *shall be* of five and twenty thousand in length, and of ten thousand in breadth.

10 And for them, *even* for the priests, shall be *this* holy oblation; toward the north five and twenty thousand *in length*, and toward the west ten thousand in breadth, and toward the east ten thousand in breadth, and toward the south five and twenty thousand in length: and the sanctuary of the LORD shall be in the midst thereof.

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breadth of the portions is not given, but since we have the exact breadth (about 42½ statute = 30 geog. miles) of the oblation, and know that seven tribes were between the entrance of Hamath and the oblation, we ascertain that the *breadth* of *one portion* was about 17 geog. miles. The breadth of the Levites' portion and of the priests' portion was in each case about 15 geog. miles. If we apply this to the five tribes south of the oblation, we find that it brings us very nearly to Ain-el-Weibeh for the southern border, thus:

Entrance of Hamath, N. Lat.	34° 20′ (see note on xlvii. 15)
Jerusalem	31° 47′
	2° 33′ = 153 geog. miles.
Deduct for the Levites' and priests' portions and half the city-portion 22,500 reeds	32 miles
For seven tribes a breadth of ...	121 miles
Breadth of one portion 17 miles (nearly).	
For five tribes south of oblation	85 miles
Add for space from Jerusalem to south border of oblation ...	4 miles
	89 miles
or 1° 29′.	
Now the Lat. of Jerusalem is ...	31° 47′
Deduct 89 miles or	1° 29′
and we arrive at the Lat. of southern border	30° 18′

which is just the latitude of Ain-el-Weibeh, identified by Robinson with Kadesh-Barnea.

We need not indeed expect exactness in a vision which is ideal and symbolical, and the length of the oblation by no means corresponds so nicely (see note on xlvii. 18). Here as elsewhere the general lines of existing features are followed with considerable fidelity, but accommodation is made to give the required symbolical expression. Dan had originally an allotment west of Benjamin, but having colonized and given its name to Laish in the north, was regarded as the most northern occupant of Canaan (Judg. xviii. 29).

Asher, *Naphtali*, and *Half Manasseh* take their natural position as northern tribes. *Zebulun* and *Issachar* are removed to the south to make room for the second half of *Manasseh* brought over from the east of Jordan. *Ephraim* retains its position, and *Reuben* brought over from the east is placed between *Ephraim* and *Judah*. *Benjamin* comes immediately south of the city. *Simeon* retains its southern place, and *Gad* is brought over from the east to the extreme south.

8. *the offering*] See xlv. 6.

in length as one of the other parts] *Length* is throughout measured from W. to E. as breadth from N. to S.

The *offering* here includes all the land given to priests, Levites, city, and prince. In Hebrew it is still (*therumah*) the same as *oblation*, but the different parts are distinguished, (1) *vv.* 9—12, the *oblation proper* (the priests' portion); (2) *vv.* 13, 14, the Levites' portion; (3) *vv.* 15—20, the city and its suburbs; and (4) *vv.* 21, 22, *the residue*, the prince's portion. All these together are to extend from W. to E. in the same way as the portions of the other tribes, the imaginary Jordan being the eastern boundary of all.

10. *toward the north...toward the east*, &c.] here does not mean that the measurements are *northward*, *eastward*, &c., but *along* the *north* and *east* sides, &c.

11 [1] *It shall be* for the priests that are sanctified of the sons of Zadok; which have kept my [1] charge, which went not astray when the children of Israel went astray, as the Levites went astray.

[1] Or, *The sanctified portion shall be for the priests.*
[1] Or, *ward*, or, *ordinance.*

12 And *this* oblation of the land that is offered shall be unto them a thing most holy by the border of the Levites.

13 And over against the border of the priests the Levites *shall have* five and twenty thousand in length, and ten thousand in breadth: all the length *shall be* five and twenty thousand, and the breadth ten thousand.

14 And they shall not sell of it, neither exchange, nor alienate the firstfruits of the land: for *it is* holy unto the LORD.

15 ¶ And the five thousand, that are left in the breadth over against the five and twenty thousand, shall be a profane *place* for the city, for dwelling, and for suburbs: and the city shall be in the midst thereof.

16 And these *shall be* the measures thereof; the north side four thousand and five hundred, and the south side four thousand and five hundred, and on the east side four thousand and five hundred, and the west side four thousand and five hundred.

17 And the suburbs of the city shall be toward the north two hundred and fifty, and toward the south two hundred and fifty, and toward the east two hundred and fifty, and toward the west two hundred and fifty.

18 And the residue in length over against the oblation of the holy *portion shall be* ten thousand eastward, and ten thousand westward: and it shall be over against the oblation of the holy *portion*; and the increase thereof shall be for food unto them that serve the city.

19 And they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the tribes of Israel.

20 All the oblation *shall be* five and twenty thousand by five and twenty thousand: ye shall offer the holy oblation foursquare, with the possession of the city.

21 ¶ And the residue *shall be* for the prince, on the one side and on the other of the holy oblation, and of the possession of the city, over against the five and twenty thousand of the oblation toward the east border, and westward over against the five and twenty thousand toward the west border, over against the portions for the prince: and it shall be the holy oblation; and the sanctuary of the house *shall be* in the midst thereof.

22 Moreover from the possession of the Levites, and from the possession of the city, *being* in the midst *of that* which is the prince's, between the border of Judah and the border of Benjamin, shall be for the prince.

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15. *the five thousand, that are left in the breadth*] The remainder of the great square of 25,000 reeds from N. to S.

profane] For common use, as distinguished from that which is *holy* unto the Lord; so xlii. 20.

17. The city being 4500 reeds square, leaves 250 reeds north, 250 south for suburbs; the like are marked off on the east and west from the city land.

19. *out of all the tribes of Israel*] Of old the city belonged to Benjamin and Judah, and its inhabitants were mainly from these tribes. Now all the tribes are to have equal part in it, to avoid such jealousies as in 2 S. xix. 43.

21. This verse is somewhat obscured by the punctuation in our Authorized Version. It should stand thus:—*And the residue shall be for the prince,—on the one side and on the other* **side** *of the holy oblation and of the possession of the city, over against the* 25,000 *of the oblation toward the east border, and westward over against the* 25,000 *toward the west border, over against the portions* [of Judah and Benjamin, between which the oblation was included], **shall be** *for the prince; and it shall be that the holy oblation and the sanctuary of the house shall be in the midst thereof.* This exactly describes the position of the prince's allotments on the borders of the *oblation.*

23 As for the rest of the tribes, from the east side unto the west side, Benjamin *shall have* † a *portion*.

† Heb. *one portion.*

24 And by the border of Benjamin, from the east side unto the west side, Simeon *shall have* a *portion*.

25 And by the border of Simeon, from the east side unto the west side, Issachar a *portion*.

26 And by the border of Issachar, from the east side unto the west side, Zebulun a *portion*.

27 And by the border of Zebulun, from the east side unto the west side, Gad a *portion*.

28 And by the border of Gad, at the south side southward, the border shall be even from Tamar *unto* the waters of † strife *in* Kadesh, *and* to the river toward the great sea.

† Heb. *Meribah-kadesh.*

29 This *is* the land which ye shall divide by lot unto the tribes of Israel for inheritance, and these *are* their portions, saith the Lord GOD.

30 ¶ And these *are* the goings out of the city on the north side, four thousand and five hundred measures.

31 And the gates of the city *shall be* after the names of the tribes of Israel: three gates northward; one gate of Reuben, one gate of Judah, one gate of Levi.

32 And at the east side four thousand and five hundred: and three gates; and one gate of Joseph, one gate of Benjamin, one gate of Dan.

33 And at the south side four thousand and five hundred measures: and three gates; one gate of Simeon, one gate of Issachar, one gate of Zebulun.

34 At the west side four thousand and five hundred, *with* their three gates; one gate of Gad, one gate of Asher, one gate of Naphtali.

35 *It was* round about eighteen thousand *measures:* and the name of the city from *that* day *shall be*, † The LORD *is* there.

† Heb. *Jehovah-shammah.*

30, 31. Comp. Jer. xxxi. 38.

30. *the goings out of the city* are the gates to be described in *v.* 31.

measures (reeds) concern the sides. It would be better to divide the verses thus (leaving out *shall be* in *v.* 31):—

30. *And these are the goings out of the city.*

31. *On the north side 4500 measures: and the gates of the city after the names of the tribes of Israel: three gates northward.*" Comp. Rev. xxi. 12.

35. The circuit of the city walls, a square of 4500 reeds, was 18000 reeds, not quite 37 English miles. The circuit of Jerusalem in the time of Josephus was reckoned by him to be 33 stadia, or about four miles. This manner of expressing a spiritual meaning by giving a name to a city, a people, or the like, is familiar to the prophets. See above on xliii. 15. Jerome well explains it:—"The name of the city shall be no longer Jerusalem (*the vision of peace*), but Adonai-shama (*the Lord is there*), because Jehovah will never again withdraw from it, as He once withdrew, but will hold it as His everlasting possession." Comp. Isai. lxii. 12 and Jer. xxxiii. 16. The promise that God should dwell with His people had been represented in the tabernacle and in the temple, where the visible presence of God's glory reminded them of this truth. Now the glory had departed, and should not indeed return in the same form. And yet Ezekiel in *visions of God* sees a temple reconstructed to receive the glory of the Divine Presence, a prophetic vision fulfilled in Emmanuel (*God with us*), who tabernacled among men (John i. 14). St Paul sets forth this great truth in his exposition of the call of the Gentiles, Rom. ix. 25, and St John, following the figure, predicts its complete fulfilment in the New Jerusalem, the symbol of heaven: *And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God, out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them and be their God,* Rev. xxi. 2, 3.

DANIEL[1].

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

i. *The life and times of Daniel* . . . 210
ii. *The reception of the book of Daniel* . 213
1. *Daniel and the post-exilic Prophets* 213
2. *Daniel and the books of the Old Testament* 213
3. *Daniel and the Canon* 214
4. *Daniel and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament* 217
5. *Daniel and Josephus* 219
6. *Daniel and the LXX. Version* . 220
7. *Daniel and the New Testament and the Church* 221
iii. *Difficulties connected with the book of Daniel* 223
(*a*) *Prophecies* 223
(*b*) *Miracles* 225
(*c*) *Historical statements* 226
iv. *Philology of the book of Daniel* . . 226
Conclusion 230

i. *The Life and Times of Daniel.*

DANIEL (on the name, see i. 6), a youth of considerable promise and of great personal beauty, was taken captive to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah (i. 1). This was the beginning of that new stage in the history of God's chosen people, known as the Captivity. With this history is inseparably connected the name of king Nebuchadnezzar the famous son of Nabopolassar (B.C. 625—604), the true founder of the Chaldæan-Babylonian power. It was in B.C. 607 that Nabopolassar—old, enfeebled, and unable personally to conduct a proposed expedition against the Egyptian monarch Necho—associated with himself his son Nebuchadnezzar; and this prince, already well known for his military skill as well as intellectual power, reigned conjointly with his father during the next three years. His summary defeat of Necho is recorded in 2 Kings xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2. Nebuchadnezzar advanced to Jerusalem and drove his enemy beyond "the river of Egypt." Jehoiakim submitted to the conqueror, and was permitted to retain his throne as a vassal-prince. The practice of transplanting the people of a conquered country—so largely practised since the days of Tiglath-Pileser (d. B.C. 727) by Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs successively—was carried out, on this occasion, on a somewhat eclectic principle. "Certain of the children of Israel," &c. (i. 3) were selected with special regard to their fitness for service in the royal court. Daniel and his companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were among them. From early youth to extreme old age, the future prophet lived at the Babylonian and Medo-Persian court. When the proclamation which gave freedom to his fellow-countrymen was issued by Cyrus, and the mourners by the waters of

[1] Everything contributed by the late Archdeacon Rose, and available for the purpose of this Commentary, is printed between inverted commas; and is either directly assigned to him or is closed with [R]. It is to be deeply regretted that the long illness which terminated fatally made it necessary for him to suspend all work on his labour of love, and to leave his MSS. in a most incomplete state.

Babylon turned their faces homewards to the land of their fathers, Daniel remained, too old to bear that journey, perhaps unwilling to leave scenes and memories full of self-sacrifice and yet of victory, of firm devotion to his master on earth and of yet firmer adhesion to his God in heaven.

The hand of Providence had so ordered it for the instruction and encouragement of the captives of his race.

From the very first, Daniel, like Joseph[1], won the respect of his guardians and masters by his force of character. His determination, as a boy, to avoid the "defilement of the king's meat" (i. 8) in order to preserve his purity as a Jew; his perseverance, as a man, "concerning the law of his God," to do "as he did aforetime" (vi. 5, 10), are evidences of a fearless trust and strength of character, all the more remarkable when remembered in conjunction with the habits and temperaments of the courtiers of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. To this kind of character he added God's special gift, "understanding in all visions and dreams" (i. 17, ii. 19). This power—the full importance of which among Babylonians it is almost impossible to exaggerate (see Excursus on ch. ii.)—when exercised, secured to its possessor at different times positions of high official responsibility (ii. 48, iv. 8, v. 29), and gave him a reputation which no change of dynasty could imperil (vi. 2, 28).

Of that long, if interrupted, official career two facts may be certified. (*a*) Daniel was at once the representative of the true God in the courts of heathen kings and a true child of his people. His unflinching assertion of the nature and attributes of the "great God" in the face of the polytheism of Babylon and the more refined creed of Mazdeism, was widely known. The men of his time compared his "wisdom" and "righteousness" with that of Noah and Job (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3); and in their day of despondency and reverse watched his elevation, and that of men like-minded with him, to positions in which he, above all others, could be their advocate and friend. Captive Israel had, it is true, the comfortable words of the prophets (*e.g.* Isaiah xiii., xiv.; Jer. xlv., xlvi.) to encourage them in their trials. Ezekiel was also labouring amongst them on the banks of Chebar. But, in the distant future, there were to be periods of, if possible, yet deeper affliction for God's chosen people, and marked by the overthrow and uprising of various heathen powers. Daniel—the prophet who lived to witness one of these revolutions, the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy and the rise of the Persian conqueror (v. 30, vi. 28); whose political career had sharpened in him the faculties for weighing and reading the "signs of the times;" whose patriotism, religious purity, and fidelity were above suspicion;—this Daniel was chosen to see the visions of "times of trouble," and to record for the benefit of ages, yet unborn, words of comfort such as might be expected from one so faithful to God and country. (*b*) If the prophet was this to his own people, it is equally incontestable that his integrity as an official of the highest consideration under successive dynasties was never called in question by the people among whom he lived. Trained in the mysteries of the Casdim, and president of the wise men of Babylon, Daniel demanded and received from the heathen, by virtue of his position, that reverence which was granted, sometimes by superstition, sometimes by affection, to the supposed favourites of the gods. How easy it must have been to have abused that position, or others as great, in courts such as those of the unworthy successors of Nebuchadnezzar or of the weak and flattered Darius, hardly needs illustration. That Daniel would be no party to political intrigue or current licentiousness is clear from recorded facts (vi. 4), and may be conjectured from the otherwise unexplained blank in his history between the close of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and the last days of Belshazzar (see introd. note to ch. v.). Throughout his official life Daniel was the type of incorruptible honour, the

[1] The comparison between Joseph and Daniel is in many points an interesting one. It has been well drawn out by Auberlen and Pusey (int. al.), but by no one so tersely and suggestively as by one of the earliest commentators, St Hippolytus (*e.g.* pp. 170, 173, ed. P. A. de Lagarde).

statesman who dared to speak and advise in the interests of monarch and mankind alike (iv. 27, v. 22) when his advice might have cost him his head (cp. ii. 12); and who chose the obscurity of private life (cp. vii. 1) when he felt himself powerless for good.

Daniel died (it is conjectured) in the third year of Cyrus (cp. x. 1), or soon after. His life had been a long and stirring one, as the events recorded in chapters ii., iv., v., and vi., help the reader to conceive; but its close was blessed with singular and bounteous spiritual communion (vii.—xii.) with that God Whom in his early life heathen lips had celebrated under the title of "Revealer of Secrets" (ii. 47). "Thou shalt rest" (xii. 13) is the fitting benediction which closes all that is recorded of that life of earthly usefulness and spiritual-mindedness, and all that is revealed of the intercourse with the Divine vouchsafed to this "man greatly beloved."

The traditions which assign to him a martyr's death, or a peaceful end at Ecbatana, or Susa, or Babylon, or even at Jerusalem, are traditions only, without further support than what the mingled piety and enthusiasm of Jewish or Mahommedan or Roman Catholic writers have brought to them.

If Daniel thus influenced the men of his day, heathen and Jew alike, it will be readily supposed that he in his turn was influenced by them. It is this fact amongst others which helps to explain the peculiarities of the book called after his name. It is impossible for any intelligent reader of the book to avoid noticing features which distinguish it, upon comparison, from other books in the Sacred Canon: and until the last few years, the natural explanation of these peculiarities, viz. that they were due in great measure to the natural circumstances of the prophet's life and training, was put forward apologetically rather than confidently. But now that facts laid bare by the sculptured monuments of Babylonia and by cuneiform research have been, in their broad outlines and principles, recognized, that natural explanation—so far as it has reference to the prophet's life among the heathen—comes readily to the front as the only true solution. On every page are to be found undesigned coincidences with the now known external features of the age and localities in which the book records the prophet to have lived; incidental touches, delicate shades of expression, statements otherwise unintelligible, indicate the hand of one bred and resident at courts and among men with whom the monuments have made the present age familiar. It will be one object of the present commentary to notice the most pertinent of these coincidences, and, by the aid of the writings of Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, Talbot, G. Smith, Sayce, &c., in England; of Oppert, Ménant, and Lenormant in France; and of Schrader, Mordtmann, and Prætorius in Germany, to illustrate the language employed, the habits described, the facts recorded, the classes named in the book 'Daniel.'

The same kind of influence from without, if perhaps less marked, is to be observed in many of the more purely Jewish features of the book. It forms the intermediate link between the purer Hebraism (as it has been called) of the Law and of the Prophets (Nebi-im), and the Judaism which in later years developed itself against the political might and proselytizing influence of Hellenism. In prophecy, ethical ideas, doctrines—such as those referring to the Messiah, the resurrection and eschatological ideas,—there are developments upon the simpler views of the prophets and teachers of Judah; but these are also singularly free from the errors and anachronisms, the religious, ceremonial, and moral development which mark the apocryphal literature of the Book of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, Tobit, the Sibylline books, and the like. The bearing of this fact on the often alleged Maccabæan date of the book 'Daniel,' will be felt to be of the first importance. The works of the leading Jewish writers—Zunz, Herzfeld, Frankel, Franck, Munk, Derenbourg, Grätz—taken with those of Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Nicolas and others, have happily thrown great light upon much of the obscurity which still rests upon the period during which most of these Apocrypha were composed, and furnished the means for attaining an unbiassed conclusion.

ii. *The Reception of the Book of Daniel.*

§ 1. *Daniel and the post-exilic Prophets.*

The esteem with which Daniel was regarded by his contemporaries, the pattern of religious consistency, and therefore of worldly success, which his life furnished to them, and for the instruction of the Dispersion in after times, are matters of history. The later or post-exilic prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, do not allude to him by name, but Jewish tradition and the evident influence of his writings upon Zechariah make their indirect testimony the more valuable. An ancient saying[1] declares that "Baruch the son of Neriah,... Daniel,...Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi all prophesied in the second year of Darius," a passage which certainly indicates a sense of what such men must have been to each other. Haggai's subject was not one which would, of necessity, make him refer to the prophecies of Daniel, nor was Malachi's[2]; but Zechariah—in the undisputed section of his book (i.—viii.)—is affected unquestionably by Daniel's vision[3]. The second and last visions of Zechariah (A.V. i. 18, vi.) present many points of parallelism with the visions of Daniel on the four world-powers (ii., vii.), a fact recognized and acknowledged by critics holding different views (*e.g.* Hoffmann and Stähelin): and Jewish tradition[4] explained the "myrtles" of the first vision (i. 8) to be "Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah" (Dan. i. 11, iii.), who hinder the rider of the red horse (*i. e.* God) from shedding blood. Such resemblances as those of the second and last visions find—without calling in question Zechariah's inspiration—a natural explanation in the influence of the earlier Babylonian prophet upon the mind of an independent thinker.

§ 2. *Daniel and the Books of the O.T.*

"The Books of the Old Testament," says the Venerable Archdeacon Rose, "are divided by our Saviour (St Luke xxiv. 44) into three classes: 1, The Law, 2, The Prophets, and 3, The Psalms[5]. Notwithstanding our reverence for this, the only authoritative division, we may be permitted, for critical and exegetical purposes, to consider these precious stores of divine knowledge under another aspect. For such purposes, it is very convenient sometimes to arrange the Books of the Old Testament under the following heads: 1. The Law and the Book of Joshua. 2. The Books of the Regal Period. 3. The Books of the Captivity.

"The first and the last of these divisions belong chiefly to transition periods in the history of the people of Israel; and both these periods were marked by a great outpouring of the Spirit of God. The first, including the Book of Joshua, was the season in which God by a stretched-out arm and a mighty hand brought Israel out of the dominion of the heathen, while the last was that in which God, for the disobedience of His chosen people and their disregard of their high privileges, subjected them again to heathen rulers, and chastened them by the Captivity of Babylon. But God visited His people during the Captivity with a great outpouring of His Spirit. Of the four greater Prophets, three belong to this period, and two of them prophesied in the lands of the Captivity itself. Had it not been for Ezekiel by the river Chebar and Daniel in Babylon, the Captivity would have been almost a blank in the history of the Jews.

"The literature of the Captivity has a certain analogy with that of the Exodus.

[1] Megilla 15 a, quoted in Fürst, 'Der Kanon d. A. T.' p. 47, n. 6.

[2] Cp. however for similarity of thought and expression:

Malachi i.	9	with Dan. ix.	17 sq.
i.	11 ,,	,, ii.	20.
iii.	7 ,,	,, ix.	5.
iii.	14 ,,	,, viii.	9.
iii.	16 ,,	,, xii.	1.
iv.	1—3 ,,	,, xii.	1—3, 10.
Haggai i.	8	with Dan. ix.	20.
ii.	5 ,,	,, ix.	15.
ii.	17 ,,	,, ix.	12.
ii.	22 ,,	,, ii.	44.

[3] Cp. Perowne, Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.' s. n. Zechariah; Pusey, p. 357; Zündel, p. 249. For other parallels, see Köhler, 'Nachexil. Propheten,' II. 2, p. 138.

[4] Sanhedrin 93 a, in Fürst, p. 43.

[5] The first book of the Ketubim (Hagiographa) is specified as the representative of the whole class: see later on. (J. M. F.)

The history of the children of Israel in these two periods touches secular history far more closely than in the Regal period, during which the narrative for the most part is entirely confined to Palestine. That narrow strip of land, lying between the Jordan and the Great Sea, was contiguous to all the great nations of antiquity, but mysteriously screened off from them. It was accessible to all, but scarcely a highway for any, except when Syria and Egypt were ranged against each other in arms. Syria and Egypt, however, were very little brought into collision before the Syro-Egyptian kingdoms had been developed from the Macedonian. In the case of collision also between Egypt and either Syria, Babylon, or Persia, Palestine formed a practicable route for the armies of the contending powers. Accordingly, in the Books of the Regal Period the points of contact with secular history are comparatively few, and the history is almost entirely that of the land destined to be the nursing-home of the Faith. These considerations, and others like them, will immediately suggest one advantage of this division. It will easily be perceived by a thoughtful mind how exactly the standing-point of each of these periods is reflected in the literature which professes to belong to it. Many attempts have been made by modern critics (*e.g.* by Gesenius, Hartmann and others) to arrange the books of the Old Testament in chronological order by arguments from the so-called history of the Hebrew language, but they signally fail. Critics differ in their estimates, and strive to establish contradictory conclusions from the same premisses. The tests, in fact, are insufficient and frequently repose on inaccurate statements. Thus the attempt of Gesenius to prove the Book of Deuteronomy later than the rest of the Pentateuch, rests on ten words, of which six are inapplicable. The test here suggested is broader but more trustworthy. The range of ideas and the horizon of the writers really belong to the times in which they are represented to have written. A writer of the age of the Captivity, in forging Deuteronomy, would inevitably have betrayed himself by exhibiting a false standing-point, and the same would be true, we believe, of a writer who in Maccabean times attempted to simulate Daniel.

"The first and the last of these periods, coming more frequently into contact with secular history, have difficulties of a special kind, arising from the necessity of identifying the persons named in Scripture with those otherwise known to us, and reconciling the narratives of the one with those of the other. No part of Scripture history is more fully charged with difficulties of this class than the Book of Daniel. But some of these, however formidable they may appear at first sight, are easily surmounted, while others admit of no solution which seems to meet with general approbation; and our choice must lie among conflicting probabilities."

It is in the spirit of these concluding words that the position of the book 'Daniel' in the literature of the O.T. must now be considered.

§ 3. *Daniel and the Canon.*

In accordance with subjective views of arrangement, the book Daniel is placed by the LXX. version and the English Bible after Ezekiel. This, it is well known, is not the place which it occupies in the order of the Hebrew Bible. The Jews divide the Bible into three great sections; the Law (Thorah), the Prophets (Nebi-im), and Writings (Ketubim). Daniel, as the work of a prophet, might naturally be expected to have its place in the second division, that of the Nebi-im[1], with Ezekiel and the writings of the post-captivity prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: but, as a matter of fact, it is placed in the third division, or Ketubim. The question therefore arises: Is it possible to account for this position?

The Ketubim include the remainder of the books of the present Hebrew canon; and Talmudic tradition[2] places them in

[1] Cp. Josephus 'c. Apion.' 1. 1 § 8. This division included the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel (1 and 2), Kings (1 and 2), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and twelve "lesser" prophets. The designation נביאים was used in the widest sense, and applied not only to what an English reader understands by "Prophets," but also to the "men of the Great Synagogue" (Fürst, p. 10, n. 1).

[2] Baba-Bathra 14 b.

the following order: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah (one book), and Chronicles (1 and 2): an order which differs slightly from the present synagogal arrangement —Psalms, Proverbs, Job, called, after the parallelism of the Nebi-im Rishonim, Ketubim Rishonim, first or early Ketubim; Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, called Ketubim Ketanim or little Ketubim; Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles, called Ketubim Acheronim or late Ketubim, after the parallelism of Nebi-im Acheronim[1]. It seems almost impossible to state positively when the Ketubim assumed its present shape. Critics of acknowledged skill are still undecided whether to consider the canon closed about B.C. 300 (*e.g.* Eichhorn, Vaihinger, Auberlen, Oehler) or about B.C. 180 (Ewald, Herzfeld, Fürst[2]), or even so late as the period which issued in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (Derenbourg)[3]. About the same time as the compilation of the Mishna, and with its authority (*i.e.* A.D. 189), further disputes about what was and what was not canonical were practically closed[4]. One point appears to be certain: that the formation of the Biblical canon was not completed at once; but that the Thorah, the Nebi-im, and the Ketubim represent three stages in the history of its development.

Modern criticism is agreed that, exclusive of a few changes of detail, the Thorah had received its final form, at the latest, before the destruction of the first temple at Jerusalem. The Jews, therefore, took into exile with them this sacred collection of their history and laws. Whether or not some of the Nebi-im were there enrolled into the canon, it seems certain that when Cyrus permitted the exiles to return to Palestine, the national collection was enriched by Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and some of the minor prophets[5]. The "books" of Daniel ix. 2 are evidently a collection such as that which was eventually included in the "Nebi-im[6];" and the collecting and systematizing these precious and perishable "books" may well have occupied the attention of Ezra and Nehemiah. But by that time other books had to be considered. Hence the Jewish tradition narrates that "the men of the Great Synagogue wrote (כתבו) Ezekiel, the twelve prophets, Daniel and Esther[7]." Modern criticism (Grätz, Krochmal and J. Levy) asserts that by "the men of the Great Synagogue" is to be understood the assembly convoked by Nehemiah, and consequently that the Nebi-im division of the canon was certainly considered fixed by about B.C. 400[8]. Again, the expression "wrote" is to be understood not in the sense of composing, but in that of editing or bringing the books into their present form[9]. Now this passage—coming as it does from an "old and undisputed Barai-ta[10]"—will be seen to be of the greatest value. It still leaves open the date of fixing the close of the Ketubim division, and admits the fact, proved by Talmudical quotations, that the division was still under examination either as far on as B.C. 196 (Fürst) or A.D. 65 (Grätz): but practically it affirms for these (and other) books a recognition by the highest authority and a date long antecedent to the Maccabæan period[11].

Jewish tradition has ever been busy with the *book* Daniel. "Daniel was no

[1] Fürst, p. 59.

[2] More definitely B.C. 165, p. 148. See a further enumeration of opinions in Keil, 'Einl. in d. A. T.' § 154, seq.

[3] Grätz ('Kohelet,' Anhang, I. p. 149) states that the canon was fixed three times over, about B.C. 400, about A.D. 65, and A.D. 90.

[4] Grätz, p. 166.

[5] Derenbourg, 'Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine,' p. 23.

[6] Fürst, p. 56; Grätz, p. 150, who sees in the word an exclusion of the Thorah on the one hand, and of the Ketubim on the other.

[7] Baba-Bathra 15 a.

[8] Grätz, pp. 155—158.

[9] Cp. Fürst, pp. 21, 127, 133; and Zunz's monograph, "Verfassen und Uebersetzen" hebräisch ausgedrückt ('Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' xxv. pp. 435, 445).

[10] Fürst, pp. 4, 5; Grätz, p. 153, on the contrary rejects it, but on very unsatisfactory grounds.

[11] Fürst, while asserting the antiquity of the passage in the Baba-Bathra, refers the revision named to the Maccab. era of the Great Synagogue, pp. 94, 100, 133. His view, that the "men of the Great Synagogue" express the teachers, &c., between B.C. 444—196, is perhaps one of the "fables" to which Grätz (p. 155) takes exception. Cp. however Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,' I. Excurs. "Ueber die Männer d. grossen Synagoge," pp. 380—96.

prophet in the sense that Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi were prophets. Daniel saw visions (חזא), which they did not," says the Midrash; and the conviction sprang up that visions had taken the place of prophecy. Hence the Rabbis gave to Dan. vii.—xii. the name of the rolls of visions (מגלות חזיונות). They pointed also to the abrupt change between the two parts of the book [(*a*) i. —vi. (*b*) vii.—xii.], and, considering that this had in part arisen from unconnected Megillot, they endeavoured to explain it[1]. But, freely as the Jewish doctors allowed themselves to comment upon features and details of the book, there is not only no trace of suspicion of its canonicity, but evident care was taken to preserve it as it stands in the present English version. The "additions to Daniel" (דברי פיוטין) known as the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Children, Susanna and the Elders, the History of Bel and the Dragon—which existed in Hebrew as well as in Greek and Aramaic—were carefully distinguished from 'Daniel' proper[2].

Equal sanctity and worth being asserted for all the divisions of the canon —and therefore for the Ketubim—as a protest against those (*e.g.* the Samaritans and Sadducees) who admitted only the Thorah[3], the book Daniel shared in the general esteem; and it is certainly significant that on the night of the day of Atonement, during which the High Priest kept watch, passages out of the book Daniel—together with other portions of the Ketubim—were read before him[4]. These are incontestable facts which, taken in their plain, straightforward sense, affirm for the Ketubim generally a worth and authority attributed to them by the Jewish Church, such as has ever been conceded to them by the Christian. They enable the reader who meets with the only known Talmudical comment on the authorship[5]—"the book was called after the name of Daniel"—to understand that comment as involving no disparagement of the contents or of the prophet himself, but rather as a summary statement of the fact that the book had undergone revision. Of all the books discovered and collected since the return from Babylon, "there remains," says Derenbourg[6], "no trace of a discussion about Daniel" when the Ketubim were finally closed.

It seems impossible, at this distance of time, to give exhaustive reasons for the admission of a book into the canon, or its exclusion from it[7]. One thing, however, was certainly necessary, viz. that every book should bear the stamp of real antiquity. It was the want of this mark which excluded the 'Wisdom' of Jesus son of Sirach; and it was the presence of it which may be said to have supported the claims of 'Daniel.' If the Son of Sirach was excluded on the principle, "men do not canonize their contemporaries" (Derenbourg), it is not to be supposed that the high-principled, if form-loving, doctors—who as members of the Great Synagogue, or of the Hasmonean College, or of the Sanhedrin, or of the Schools of Hillel and Shammai, guided the religion and literature of Israel after the days of Ezra —would lend themselves to the canonization of a forger, or pass off as works of antiquity books whose only mark of antiquity was the venerable name they had assumed.

Again, it may fairly be assumed that the triple division of the canon was not formed on arbitrary principles, but with a strict regard to the fundamental ideas of Judaism. The Thorah (or Law) is the first stage in the progressive development of the Old Testament religion. The Nebi-im (or Prophets) presents the next stage objectively. The Ketubim (or Hagiographa) the third subjectively, with special regard to the religion and piety of the individual[8]. In the Ketubim are revealed the workings of the religious idea in the various phases of

[1] Fürst, pp. 100—2.
[2] Fürst, p. 102. (פיוט=ποιητής.)
[3] Fürst, p. 51.
[4] Fürst, p. 52; Derenbourg, p. 297; Grätz, p. 159.
[5] Sanhedrin 93 b. in Fürst, p. 103.
[6] p. 297.
[7] "We can but guess," says Derenbourg, while Fürst goes so far as to say that the epithet of "holy" attached to the Scriptures is one of late date, and that the whole national collection was made without reference to contents or worth.
[8] Philippson, 'Development of the Relig. Idea,' Engl. Transl. 8vo. Lond. 1855, p. 117. Oehler, Art. 'Kanon,' 254. (Herzog's 'R.-E.')

individual life; they depict its relation to the great problems of thought and feeling presenting themselves by a necessary law in the later stages of civilization[1]. It was not then so much outward authority as inward features—exhibiting a greater or a less approximation to this or that stage of religious development—which led to the position in the canon of the respective books.

How does this apply to the Book of Daniel? Supposing that the Ketubim represents a specific and necessary phase in the history of this development[2], are there any features in the Book of Daniel which would naturally refer it to the third rather than to the second of these canonical divisions? Daniel was a prophet, why is he not among the prophets as in the LXX. Version? The answer is that he is not so much a prophet as an Apocalyptic seer[3]. The objective and subjective features which singly would decide his position in the Nebi-im or the Ketubim, are united in Daniel in a remarkable manner: but the subjective element preponderates; and therefore it was, that—with a deep penetration into the peculiarities of the book—Ezra and Nehemiah, or Simon the Just, did not reckon him with the prophets, but placed him in that class where subjectivity prevails. Upon this view the Book of Daniel, placed in the same collection as the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, &c., seems naturally placed. It is there from its connection with the subject-matter of those writings. And the same book placed midway between the poetry and the prose, the moral and the historical portions of this division, is again naturally placed[4]. It has elements in common with both. Prayer and prophecy link it to the softer, more spiritual members of the Ketubim: history and narrative to the sterner, more prosaic records of the Jewish annals.

[1] Westcott, Art. 'Canon' (Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.'), p. 252.

[2] Philippson, p. 116.

[3] Vaihinger, 'Stud. u. Krit.' 1857, p. 96; Zündel, p. 222, int. al.

[4] Herzfeld, II. 55, considers that the introduction of Daniel and historical works into the canon "obliterated the hymnological nature of this division." This is a tacit concession of the subjective nature of the division.

§ 4. *Daniel and the Apocrypha of the O. T.*

(*a*) It is not disputed by any that such a personal history as that of Daniel, or such a book as his, would exercise a most powerful influence upon the tone and thought of succeeding generations. This is evident, for instance, in the case of the writer of 1 Maccabees[5]. The allusions to 'Daniel' in this book are too numerous to be ignored. Acquaintance with the prophet's description of events connected with Antiochus Epiphanes (ix. 27, xi. 29 seq.) is presupposed in 1 Macc. i. 54. The dying Mattathias singles out the miraculous deliverance of the "three children" (Dan. iii.) and of Daniel himself from the lions' den (Dan. vi.) as illustrious examples of resistance to the idolator, and hails the deliverance of these patriots as an earnest of support to others (1 Macc. ii. 59, 60). Since the general credibility of the 1 Macc. is beyond dispute[6], it is somewhat surprising to hear that this speech of the Hasmonean leader is not to be taken "in diplomatic truthfulness[7];" that it is simply the free composition of a writer who placed his own thoughts in the mouth of Mattathias. Such a "conjecture" may be safely termed self-refuting. The style of portions of 1 Maccabees may be, and is, poetical; but it is one thing to allow to it poetry, another to deprive it of its just claim of trustworthiness and veracity. A writer reputed trustworthy could never have supposed that the names and deeds of fictitious heroes would animate and encourage his countrymen[8]; still less would he have ventured to place in the lips of Israel's most valiant champions references to those earlier patriots who, after all, were but creations of the brain.

(*b*) The book 'Baruch,' an apocryphal work framed upon the model of the prophets, has been described as "a cento

[5] Grimm, 'Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb. zu d. Apok. d. A. T.' 3te Liefer. 'Das erste B. d. Maccabäer,' Einl. p. xxii.; Vaihinger, s. n. in Herzog's 'R.-E.;' Westcott, s. n. in Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.;' Keil, 'Comm. üb. die Bücher d. Makkabäer,' pp. 25, 68.

[6] De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl.' § 365; Grimm, p. xix.; Keil, p. 18.

[7] Grimm, p. 49; Bleek, 'Einl. in d. A. T.' p. 587; Davidson, 'Introd. to O. T.' III. p. 163.

[8] Cp. Josephus, 'Antiq.' XII. vi. § 3.

of Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, Nehemiah, and Deuteronomy[1]. The imitations from Daniel are in fact so numerous as to have led critics, at one time, to attribute both works to one person[2]. The book Baruch is easily divided into two main sections, each marked by peculiarities of style and language (i.—iii. 8, iii. 9—v. 9), though probably the work of but one writer. It is in the former portion that the imitations of Daniel and Jeremiah are so frequent; and if Ewald's[3] date for the work—the 4th cent. B.C.—be accepted, the logical conclusion from the prayer (Bar. ii., iii.) modelled upon that of Daniel (ix., see notes on that chapter), from the historical allusion to the Belshazzar "son of Nebuchadnezzar," whose name is preserved by the older prophet alone (Dan. v. &c.), and from the reproduction of the thoughts and language of the Babylonian seer, can be but one,—the existence of the book Daniel prior to the close of the 4th century B.C.

(*c*) A difficulty has sometimes been felt in the absence of all allusion to Daniel in the 'Wisdom' of Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus[4] xliv.—l.). Sirach compiled his catalogue of names upon no settled or chronological plan; he evidently selects or omits as memory or fancy suggests. He commences his "hymn" with Enoch (xliv. 16) and refers to him again at its close (xlix. 14); speaking then of Joseph (xlix. 15, who, if any order had been intended, would have been commemorated after Jacob, xliv. 23) and going backwards (in point of date) to Shem, Seth and Adam (xlix. 16). It does not occur to Sirach, or it does not fall in with whatever plan he had, to mention Ezra or Mordecai any more than Daniel; but no one has ever yet discovered in the omission of these two first names either disparagement of the individuals, or non-acquaintance with any literary work associated with the name of the former. Why should it be so interpreted in the case of Daniel?

(*d*) The so-called Sibylline books are hardly apocryphal in the same sense as the literature just mentioned; but it may be convenient to speak here of a work which, in common with 1 Maccabees, used the Greek translation of the book Daniel[5]. These books are, as they have reached the present day, composed of a patchwork of fragments of diverse dates. The third book especially, which has been compared with the book of Daniel, contains, according to Delaunay[6], fragments dating from the end of the third century B.C. to the commencement of the Christian era; the older portions being the productions of the Jews of Alexandria, but none of the fragments presenting the complete text of an oracle. The resemblances between Daniel and the Sibyl were referred by Bleek and Lücke to one common source, but critics[7] have preferred to accept imitation of Daniel on the part of the Sibyl. Of the soundness of this preference there can be no doubt. The mere perusal of the lines[8]—

> ῥίζαν ἴαν γε διδοὺς, ἣν καὶ κόψει βροτόλοιγος
> ἐκ δέκα δὴ κεράτων παρὰ δὴ φυτὸν ἄλλο φυτεύσει
> ..... καὶ τότε δὴ παραφυόμενον κέρας ἄρξει—

recalls the LXX. version of Dan. vii. 7, 8, 11, 20; and line 613,

> πάντα δὲ συγκόψει καὶ πάντα κακῶν ἀναπλήσει,

the same version of Dan. vii. 23, 24. Hilgenfeld has not hesitated to affirm

[1] Fritzsche (u. Grimm), 'Handb.' 1ste Lief. 'Das B. Baruch,' p. 170; see also Westcott, s. n. in Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.'

[2] See De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl. in d. A. T.' § 391 f.

[3] 'Geschichte d. V. I.' IV. p. 230; do. 'Propheten,' III. 252; Dillmann, 'Ueb. d. Bildung d. A. T. Kanons' in "Jahrb. f. d. Theologie," 1858, p. 480.—Schrader dissents from this, see l. c.

[4] The point is quite independent of the disputed date of this book, or of the spuriousness (affirmed by some) of xlix. 10.

[5] See instances in Fritzsche u. Grimm, 'Handb.' &c., Einl. pp. xv., xvi.

[6] Delaunay, 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,' 1874. For the literature on this interesting subject, see Bleek, 'Ueber d. Sibyllinen,' in Schleiermacher's 'Zeitschr.' I. p. 120 sq., II. p. 172 sq.; Lücke, 'Einl. in d. Offenbar. Joh.;' Gfrörer, 'Philo,' II. p. 121 sq.; Alexandre, 'Oracula Sibyllina,' Introd.: Friedlieb, 'Die sibyll. Weissagungen.'

[7] Hilgenfeld, 'Die jüd. Apok.' p. 69, Anm. p. 54 sq., 81 sq.; Reuss, 'Sibyllen,' in Herzog 'R.-E.;' Ewald, 'Abhandl. üb. Entsteh. d. Sibyll. Bücher.'

[8] Book III. l. 396 sq. (p. 68, ed. Friedlieb).

upon inductive grounds that the Sibyl furnishes a testimony to the early prevalence of the opinion which regarded the book Daniel as a genuine prophetic writing[1]. The question then arises: How and when was this imitation produced? If the book Daniel be a Palestinian work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, how came it to have suggested ideas to an Alexandrian Jew? It is matter of history[2] that the Alexandrian was entirely ignorant of the Rabbinic institutions rooted in Palestine two centuries before Christ[3]. The writings of Philo, the book 'Wisdom,' the 4th Macc. —all Alexandrian compositions—never contain a single allusion to the highest authorities at Jerusalem, such as *the* Simon the High Priest, or the Tanaim who succeeded him. Not one reference is found to the disputes between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, or to the customs collected in the Mishna and elevated to the rank of law. A corresponding ignorance pervades the Holy Land. The Jews of Palestine know as little of their countrymen in Egypt. They are acquainted with the LXX. version by report only, and reverence it in humble deference to the extravagant fable of Aristeas. In the Mishna and the Gemaras there is no indication of the influence of Aristobulus, Philo, and writers of Alexandrian Apocrypha. These facts are so notorious that the difficulty as it affects the Book of Daniel (on the supposition of its late origin) has been met by the theory[4], that the Sibylline book (iii.), the 2 Maccabees, Enoch, and 4th of Esdras, indicate the existence of a Palestinian party in the midst of the Jews of Egypt. But the theory, however ingenious and artistically elaborated, is not only unsupported by adequate evidence, but is also quite insufficient to account for the phenomena deduced from a close comparison between Daniel and the Sibyl. Imitation on the part of the Sibyllist there undoubtedly is, but it is not that of a servile copyist. Over against the imitation must always be set differences in form and in contents, differences graphically and powerfully marked[5]. There is in fact an absolute necessity for separating Daniel and the Sibyl by a long interval of years: it is forced upon the student by the vital distinctions between ancient Hebraism and modern Alexandrianism represented in their writings.

[1] Op. cit. pp. 13, 82.

[2] Cp. Herzfeld, 'Gesch.' II. pp. 464, 499—501; Franck, 'La Kabb.' p. 271 sq.; Nicolas, 'Des doctrines relig. des Juifs,' p. 109 sq.

[3] Franck, 'Études orient.' p. 272.

[4] Nicolas, p. 141.

§ 5. *Daniel and Josephus.*

It was the opinion of Scaliger[6] that comparatively speaking "it is better to refer to Josephus than to all the Greek and Latin historians, not only for the history of the Jews, but also for that of the nations with whom he had personally no dealings." Later criticism has qualified this opinion without surrendering the recognition of the value of the Jewish historian[7], and the manner in which he speaks of Daniel is very noteworthy[8]: "Let those who read Daniel's prophecies ...marvel at one so highly honoured." He is "one of the greatest of the prophets. Kings and nations combined to pay him honour while living; and though dead, his memory shall never perish." In an interesting autobiographic passage, representing the historian as the expositor of the wishes of the Cæsar, Josephus appeals to his fellow-countrymen not to resist that Roman power which was helped by God. Urging that all was happening to them in accomplishment of divine prediction, he asked: "Which of you is ignorant of the writings of the ancient prophets? and if not, why do you forget the oracle meeting now with its fulfilment in this wretched city[9]?" He spoke unquestionably of Daniel's prediction.

[5] See p. 225, col. 2.

[6] Quoted by Paret, 'Ueber d. Pharisäismus d. Josephus,' in 'Stud. u. Kritiken,' p. 837 (1856): see also Niebuhr's opinion, 'Lect. on Anc. Hist.' III. p. 455.

[7] See especially Creuzer, 'Josephus u. seine griech. u. hellenist. Führer,' in 'Stud. u. Krit.' p. 49 sq. (1853); Reuss, 'Flav. Josephus,' 'Nouvelle Revue de Théologie,' IV. p. 293 sq.; Derenbourg, 'Palestine,' pp. 7, 12.

[8] 'Antiq. Jud.' XI. ch. xi. § 7; cp. Gerlach, 'Die Weissag. d. A. T. in d. Schriften d. Fl. Josephus,' p. 42.

[9] 'Bell. Jud.' VI. ch. ii. § 1; Gerlach, p. 43, n. 1. This writer has brought together (pp. 41—89) the Old Testament passages—especially from the book Daniel—which gave to Josephus his conception of the Messiah.

Such passages suggest the question: If the historian's reference and comment had been in allusion to a work or personage of fiction would he have been listened to with patience?

In his 'Antiquities[1],' Josephus describes the entry of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and relates how the priests of Israel saluted the conqueror as a long-expected prince. They claimed to see in him the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction that the Greek should be victorious over the Persian (viii. 6, 7, 21). Alexander, he continues, accepted the allusion, and flattered by his reception, promised and granted to the grateful Jews the petitions they proffered. The courtier-historian, it is well known, is not always trustworthy in the 'Antiquities;' he is too professedly the panegyrist of his nation to be always above suspicion. In this passage there is probably incorrectness due to exaggeration as to details, but not necessarily the falsification of the main fact[2]. The bearing and behaviour of Alexander to the Jews, so different from that usual with him towards conquered nations; his enlistment of Jews into his army; his allotting to them an important quarter in his new city Alexandria; his restoring to them privileges of which they had long been deprived;—these facts coupled with his well-known conviction that he was destined by the gods for the part he was playing in the world, furnish no uncertain testimony to the substantial truth of Josephus' account.

Josephus was not acquainted with the apocryphal additions to Jeremiah and Daniel[3]; and when he speaks of the miracles of the Book of Daniel, his remarks are unrestrained by that hesitation which is usually visible in his treatment of the supernatural events of the Bible[4]. These are critical "waifs and strays" which tend to indicate Josephus' estimation of the practical authenticity of the book Daniel.

[1] 'Antiq. Jud.' XI. ch. viii. § 5.

[2] This is the view of Westcott, s. n. Alexander III. (Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.'); Derenbourg, l. c.; Palmer, 'Hist. of Jew. Nation,' p. 134. De Wette-Schrader, Einl. § 318, n. 4, is more moderate than Reuss, Creuzer, Ewald, Bleek, who reject the passage.

[3] Reuss, pp. 286, 292.

[4] Reuss, p. 291.

§ 6. *Daniel and the LXX. Version.*

"A considerable interval," says Archdeacon Rose, "must have elapsed between the original of Daniel and its translation by the LXX. That translation was rejected by the Church[5] not only because it was incorrect, but because it was purposely corrupted in many passages. Some of these passages have been shewn by Dr Pusey to have been corrupted, as if the translators had had Antiochus Epiphanes in view. It would be impossible to believe that they would have dared so to corrupt a recent or contemporary book." In fact, the interpolations, additions and alterations found in the Greek version, and attributed, in explanation, to a translator who manipulated current traditions and appended them to his main work[6], necessitate critically the assumption of a long interval, during which Daniel was subjected to numerous and various interpolations[7], until the text assumed the artificial and late form of the present Alexandrian rendering. That the Hebrew text is the original from which the LXX. version[8] was composed is not disputed, and it is impossible that they could have been composed at the same time. Besides the apocryphal interpolations in chapter iii., the Alexandrian and other translations have added two chapters, containing the 'History of Susanna' (xiii.), and 'Bel and the Dragon'

[5] Cp. Jerome on Dan. iv. 16, "Septuaginta haec omnia nescio qua ratione praeterierunt. Unde judicio magistrorum ecclesiae editio eorum in hoc volumine repudiata est et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quae et Hebraeo et ceteris translatoribus congruit." (J. M. F.)

[6] Cp. *e.g.* i. 3, 11, 16, ii. 8, 11, 28 sq., vii. 6, 8, ix. 25, 27. In chs. iii.—vi. the difference from the present Hebrew text is marked by such additions as iii. 24 sq., the Prayer of Azariah; iii. 51 sq., the Song of the Three Children; or such abbreviations as v. 17—25, 26—28; or such variations as iv. 10 sq., 28 sq., v. 6, 9, vi. —The additions noted in ch. iii. are found also in Theodotion, in the Latin and Syriac Versions; but whether they are to be considered interpolations or not seems questionable. See Fritzsche, 'Handb. zu d. Apok. d. A. T.' 1ste Liefer. 'Zusätze zu d. B. Dan.' p. 113 sq.; Westcott, 'Apocryphal Additions to Daniel' (s. n. Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.').

[7] See Zündel, 'Krit. Untersuchung. üb. d. Abfassungszeit d. B. Daniel,' pp. 177—82.

[8] De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl.' § 321, n. *d*, *e*, points out the unity of workmanship in the LXX.

(xiv.), to the Hebrew text. They are undoubtedly late and spurious additions; the former possibly founded on fact. Fritzsche[1] places them in the second or first century B.C., and attributes them to a Hellenistic Egyptian Jew: while other critics see in them Palestinian workmanship. The contrast between the style and thought of these interpolations and additions, large and small, and those of the Hebrew original, is as clearly marked as between the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels. Allow to the growth of tradition as rapid a progress as possible, yet the difference between the (probably) oldest of these additions—the History of Susanna—and the Hebrew 'Daniel,' presupposes and requires a longer lapse of time than the one generation some critics assign as the separating limit.

§ 7. *Daniel and the New Testament and the Church.*

The testimony of the New Testament is, to a Christian, of higher, truer value than any other. The Book of the Revelation proves how powerful an influence the Book of Daniel exercised over the mind of the "beloved disciple[2]." St Paul's description of the Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 4); his delegating the judgment of the world to God's saints (2 Cor. vi. 2);—have a distinct reference, verbal and doctrinal, to the teaching of this prophetic book. The allusions to the safety of God's prophet when cast into the den of lions, and to the deliverance of the "three children" (Heb. xi. 33, 34), can be understood of none others than those whose perils are described in the canonical work. The title, "Son of Man," which broke from the lips of the dying St Stephen, was the same as that claimed by the Holy One, itself reflected to Him from the pages of the prophet[3].

The Saviour's discourses upon His second coming contain allusions to the Book of Daniel too distinct to be mistaken[4]. But He does not confine Himself to allusions. In one memorable passage He refutes by anticipation every cavil against Daniel. He sat upon the Mount of Olives, the Holy City at His feet, His disciples around Him. In a few momentous words He foretold the destruction of that temple which rose before Him in all its peerless beauty. As He spake of it He gave them the token which should be the signal of their own dispersion. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,...then let them which be in Judæa flee[5]," &c. The words have but one plain meaning and one plain reference. As spoken by Christ they invest with dignity and inspiration the author He is quoting. This can be maintained without for a moment excluding the legitimate use of intelligent and scientific criticism. Christ has said nothing which shall bind us to believe that Daniel reduced the book to its present form, but He has said that which forbids us to believe its author a Maccabæan scribe or an Egyptian enthusiast. It was a caution impressed by Theodoret[6] on the Jews of his day who rejected the Book of Daniel: "Remember that in warring against the Prophet you are warring through the Prophet against the LORD of the Prophet." The caution is neither superfluous nor unnecessary to-day[7]. The Lord of that Prophet hath borne testimony to the words of His Prophet by the mouth of His Holy Son. Christians accept that testimony for the reason given by St Thomas Aquinas:

> "Credo quicquid dixit Dei Filius,
> Nil hoc Verbo veritatis verius."

The opinion advanced by the Holy One of God, and followed by His Apostles, is in full accordance with the mind and teaching of the early Jewish and Christian Churches. To those who believe that a superintending Providence was pleased to rest the faith of the first Christians on the

[1] Op. cit. p. 121; cp. Zöckler, 'Der Prophet Daniel,' p. 42. Theodotion places the 'Hist. of Susanna' before ch. i. because traditionally referred to the period when Daniel was still a youth; 'Bel and the Dragon' forms in his text ch. xiii.

[2] See especially Auberlen, pp. 79—93, 266 sq.

[3] Comp. Matt. xvi. 13, 27, xxvi. 64, with Dan. vii. 13.

[4] Matt. xix. 28, xxiv. 30, xxv. 1, xxvi. 64.

[5] Matt. xxiv. 15.

[6] 'Opera,' Vol. II. p. 1264 (ed. Migne).

[7] As needed against such remarks as are made by De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl.' p. 503; Davidson, III. p. 168.

direct teaching of the Incarnate Christ, and compensate to their immediate successors the deficiencies of an uncritical age by a deeper spiritual intuition;—to such the testimony of antiquity will ever speak with a voice of its own.

The refutation of Porphyry's work, penned by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was for the age as complete as could be furnished. St Jerome[1]—no insignificant authority and no mean scholar—evidently thought it so. He distinctly declined to enter into many controverted points, considering them already met by the work of Eusebius. He dealt with them only as they met him in the course of his Exposition, but he declined to go out of his way to discuss what in his opinion was past discussion. He certainly was not the man to evade or explain away difficulties. The same spirit animated the majority of the Fathers of the Church. If in their love and attachment to the writings of the prophet they allowed themselves expressions and titles of affection which betray the language of the heart rather than that of stern criticism, it is not that they had neglected to examine into the authenticity of his work as far as lay in their power; it is not that they were ignorant of the peculiarities and difficulties confined to his writing. If, for example, Theodoret[2] resents it as a personal injury that one whom he loves to call ὁ θειότατος should be denied the prophetic title, and expelled from the "Chorus of the Prophets;" if St Chrysostom[3] dwells with affectionate fondness upon the virtues and the victories of one who is to him the "friend of God," the "holy Daniel;" if St Jerome[4] insists upon the one fact so commanding, so unapproachable, that "no one of the prophets has ever spoken with equal clearness about Christ;" yet in no case is the eulogy the result of a blind unthinking faith, or a concession to a popular dictum which it would have been perilous to oppose. Theodoret[5] gives his reason, when he ranks Daniel among the "organs of the Divine Spirit." The sacred writings, he insisted[6], themselves prove him to be a prophet; the issue had confirmed his claim to prescience. St Chrysostom[7] points to the prophecies, and in his "golden" language protests against mistaken views: "Daniel wrote them all, God revealing them to him, that those who read and have seen their fulfilment might marvel at the honour accorded to him." St Jerome[8] once asked, "Who can understand, or explain, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel? The first has woven the web, not of a Prophecy but of a Gospel... The third has enveloped his work from beginning to end in such obscurity that the Hebrews will not suffer it to be read till the pupil has reached the mature age of thirty years. But the fourth and the last of the four prophets, a man not only familiar with times but also the φιλοίστωρ of the whole world, discourses clearly upon (that mysterious subject) the stone cut out of the mountain without hands and overthrowing every kingdom."

The writings of Ephraem Syrus[9], or of Polychronius the Deacon[10] the brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia, present everywhere the same estimate of the prophet and his book. Exegesis, if more prevalent than philological and historical criticism, is not advanced recklessly or in defiance of purely external discussion. The same opinion will be formed by the reader who ponders the words upon Daniel of Ammonius Presbyter, Apollinarius, St Athanasius, St Basil, St Cyril, Eudoxius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Hesychius, Origen, St Hippolytus, Titus, and Victor, treasured in the noble collection of Cardinal Mai[11]; or who traces the influence of the prophet's mind in the Homilies and Sermons of St Augustine. To this body of divinity the Fathers of the Reformation turned for assistance in forming their own decision. Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, appeal to that tribunal which they considered

[1] 'Prolog. in Dan.' Vol. v. p. 491 (ed. Migne).
[2] 'Praef. in Dan.' p. 1255.
[3] Περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου, Lib. III. § 4, Vol. I. p. 722 (ed. Migne).
[4] 'Prolog. in Dan.'
[5] Loc. cit.
[6] p. 1264.
[7] Κατὰ τ. Ἰουδαίους, Lib. v. § 9, p. 897, ed. cit.
[8] Epist. LIII. Ad Paulinum, 'De studio Scripturarum,' Vol. I. p. 547.
[9] Vol. II. p. 480 sq. (ed. Caillau).
[10] 'Script. Vet. nova Collectio,' Vol. I. p. 105 sq. ed. Mai (Rom. 1825).
[11] Op. cit. p. 161 sq.

the highest,—the consentient unanimity of all former teachers. The Church of Christ, inspired by her Divine Founder, would never have sanctioned so long not only the existence of error on this subject, but also its propagation by those who were in every generation the noblest proofs of His perpetual presence among men.

iii. *Difficulties connected with the Book of Daniel.*

From the previous remarks, it will be admitted that externally the book Daniel is as well attested as any book of Scripture. Objections to the authenticity of the work were, however, advanced very early.

Porphyry (A.D. 233—302) may be called the father of the objectors. In the twelfth volume of a work against the Christians, now lost, he strove to refute the claims of 'Daniel' to the rank of prophecy[1]. He asserted that the book was not composed by him whose name was attached to it, but by some writer who lived in Judæa in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. He urged that it did not speak of things future so much as narrate the events of the past. In fact, that whatever event it recorded up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes was true history, but all beyond that date was false, as the writer must of necessity have been unacquainted with futurity. Therefore, was the conclusion, the book was written in the age of that king. Porphyry's argument founded upon a disbelief in prophecy was natural in a heathen writer and could logically lead to no other conclusion. St Jerome, when reproducing the most forcible of his objections, either appended to each the direct or indirect refutation, or pointed out the way to a sounder mode of interpretation than was possible to a non-Christian mind.

For many years the question slumbered. It was not till the beginning of the present century that Bertholdt (in 1803) gave an extended and critical basis to the more or less timid opposition of the Dutchman Spinosa, the Englishman Hobbes, the Spaniard Acosta, the German Semler, and their pupils at home and abroad. And from Bertholdt's day to the present, the book Daniel has been banished from the "authentic" lists of the Old Testament canon proffered by Gesenius, De Wette, Ewald, Hitzig, Bunsen, Bleek, Graf, Schrader, Grätz, and their followers. These critics unite in fixing the date of the composition of the book in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes[2]; and assign it to some scribe who assumed the name "Daniel" as a *nom de plume*, that name being the name of one of Ezekiel's most illustrious contemporaries (xiv.), and also that of a contemporary of Ezra (viii. 1, 2) and Nehemiah. Further, the book was not written in Babylon but in the Holy Land, and probably at Jerusalem[3]. The prophecies and miracles, singly or unitedly, have furnished to them as to Porphyry the primary objections to 'Daniel.' Philological peculiarities, alleged historical inaccuracies, "argumenta e silentio," have had more or less weight with some as secondary and complementary objections, but the "too accurate predictions," and the "irrational and impossible" character of the miracles, have been the main difficulties felt in perusing the book.

(a) *The Prophecies.* "The Book of Daniel," says Archdeacon Rose, "differs remarkably from the other prophetical books, both in regard to its prophecies and its visions. In some of its features it resembles very closely the Book of Revelation in the N. T. In Daniel many of the chief prophecies are delivered in visions or dreams of a peculiar character, and the prophecies themselves have very distinctive characteristics. Prophecies in words are usually more definite and distinct than visions. The oral prophecies of Daniel are remarkable in many cases for their definite statement of the events they predict, and of the times at which they will occur. The prophecy of the Twenty Weeks is an instance of the definite nature of the chronology of his prophecies, and the

[1] Cp. Lardner, 'Credibility,' &c., VII. p. 390 sq. (ed. 1837); St Jerome, 'Comm. on Daniel,' Preface; V. p. 491 (ed. Migne).

[2] The precise date is a matter of comparative insignificance. If one critic prefers B.C. 164, he is as likely to be right or wrong as the critic who prefers B.C. 168, or B.C. 170.

[3] Ewald, 'Proph.' III. p. 304.

eleventh chapter illustrates the minute exactness of some of his prophecies[1].

"When, however, we consider the difference between the circumstances of a prediction and a vision, we feel that the chronological element is likely to be less prominent and less distinctly marked in the latter form of revelation. From the description given of the visions of Daniel, it would seem that a picture or a scene was presented to the eye of the prophet on which he gazed, and that the vision gradually changed. And thus a series of pictures, which we may compare to a set of dissolving views, was placed before him, and the connection of each representation with the succeeding one was not distinctly marked. We know that the first part of the vision was contemporary with the prophet himself[2], but the latter part stretches on to the last times of the Christian dispensation. A question therefore naturally arises, whether great intervals of time are not passed over, and whether the scenes may not be supposed discontinuous, though not absolutely unconnected. Thus one scene in the vision may represent the state of things in one period of the world, while the next represents another, and that a much later condition, though no notice is taken of the interval between these two conditions of the Christian dispensation, *i.e.* of the transition period which intervened. In interpreting the visions of Daniel these considerations appear of great importance, because they prepare us to expect a certain degree of indefiniteness regarding chronology. We see something of this blending together of different periods of time, even in some of the most remarkable oral prophecies, such as the prophecy upon the Mount, delivered by our Saviour. Indeed the latter portion of that prophecy has rather the character of a vision.

"In applying these remarks to the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, we may observe that, although all the four empires are connected together in one image and seen at once, the separate parts of the image represent different successive states of the world. And again, with regard to the four beasts in chapter vii., Dr Maitland suggests that they did not appear successively but simultaneously, and that the word translated 'after' here bears its other meaning of 'behind.' This really makes very little difference. In either case succession, and not exact chronology, characterizes the vision: I doubt however whether the word can bear this interpretation here. It is not said 'Behind this beast,' but 'After this I was beholding and lo!' evidently in reference to time and not to space.

"In considering these visions therefore, it is quite possible that we may, at times, be intended to pass from the view of temporal things to 'the time of the end.' The vision may be supposed gradually to change, and there is no limit to the interval which may be supposed to elapse. Thus the eleventh chapter begins with the history of Greece in the time of Alexander, and running on in the twelfth it extends the vision to the end of all things. In this case the prophecy is both a vision and an oral prophecy, and partakes of the nature of both. Chronological considerations are to be used with great caution in interpreting visions. The scenes which are presented to the eye of the prophet only represent states and conditions of that to which they relate, but are not usually exhibited with a special view to chronology. It is clear that this consideration is very important in the interpretation of the Book of Daniel, where so much of the prophetical revelations is communicated in visions.

"There is also towards the end of these visions of Daniel a melting away as it were of the things of time, and a transition to the things of eternity indicated. It is therefore impossible fully to explain those portions of the Book of Daniel. They are left as a precious possession to the Church of Christ, till the time shall come when their fulfilment shall reflect light upon the Word of God."

The precision and particularity of the prophecies of Daniel extend, in the opinion of many, only so far as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; nothing specific

[1] We must not, however, overlook the circumstance that verbal prophecies are sometimes incorporated in the visions. But in speaking of visions here, we only mean the scenes brought before the eyes of the seer, not the verbal revelations incorporated in them.

[2] This is clear with regard to the fourth empire, if it is conceded that the vision of Daniel and the dream of Nebuchadnezzar relate to the same kingdoms.

being added after that date. The manner moreover in which the prophecies are conveyed is alleged to be not in accordance with the analogy of other prophecies. Similar definite historical particularity is wanting to other sacred writings, and no seer living in Babylon should have failed to predict deliverance from the captivity suffered there.

These objections taken broadly demand assent to two propositions: first, that history is determined by prophecy; secondly, that prophecy is always to be restricted within certain unvarying limits and defined by certain unvarying rules. To neither proposition can the assent demanded be given. History interprets prophecy and is not determined by it. Prophecies cannot be treated as merely human productions[1]. However much men differ, first in admitting and then in applying the doctrine of inspiration, no one who believes that the men of old were moved by the Holy Ghost will count himself to have fathomed the whole meaning and application of their writings when by the aid of his individual fancy he has lighted upon one single and just solution. He will certainly count it "a very misleading notion of prophecy to regard it as an anticipation of history" as history is commonly understood. Prophecy "is anticipated history, not in our common sense of the word, but in another and far higher sense[2]."

If explanation of the style and manner of 'Daniel' were needed, the recognition of development in prophetic revelation[3], the circumstances of his life, education and surroundings, would be more than sufficient to satisfy an unbiassed mind. Daniel is at once a commentator on the works of those who had preceded him (ix. 2—19) and the herald of deliverance to those who should follow him, "a prophet and much more than a prophet." The symbolism and apocalyptic character, the visions and dreams, are not to be explained as "marks of decay," as lacking the "freshness of the prophetic form," as unreal, and as consigning the work which contains them to the same class and the same age as the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Sibylline Oracles, the Book of Enoch, the 'Ascensio Isaiæ,' and the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs. A juster estimate of the influence upon Daniel of the Chaldæan "wisdom and learning," of the points of contact and of opposition between Judaism, Magianism and Mazdeism, and of the vast difference between the book 'Daniel' and the spurious apocalyptic literature, prohibits the assessment of the work at this incommensurate value. The prophecies of Daniel are in a style of which the Old Testament offers no precisely similar example; but when the choice is proposed between two alternatives: shall this be explained—so far as critical considerations alone are concerned—from the facts of the age and circumstances in which it professes to have been composed, or by the help of a theory which counts the prophecies of the book the work of a "romancer" inspired by ardent patriotism, or feverish zeal, or exuberant imagination? there can be but little doubt whether facts or theory will be preferred.

(b) *The Miracles.* This is not the place to discuss the subject generally; but a few remarks may be made with reference to those in the book Daniel. When these are compared with miracles recorded elsewhere by those who admit miracles at all, and are then called "irrational and impossible," it might almost be enough to say that such a *petitio principii* offends the judgment of every one who possesses ordinary powers of forming an opinion.

Men who have been taught to believe, and do believe, that God is omnipotent, omniscient and infinite, see the impossibility of a human mind being able to comprehend His work, or to assert which of His works shall be rational and possible, and which not. They who have accepted the creed of Christ and His Church must and do consider the miracles in the book Daniel from a point of view which shrinks from using hard words. They do not quote those miracles as proofs of the authenticity of the book containing them, but they cannot count them stumbling-blocks in the

[1] Mill, 'Myth. Interpr. of the Gospels,' pp. 186, n. 17, 330.

[2] Arnold, 'Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy,' I. p. 375; cp. Lee 'On Inspiration,' pp. 192, 193.

[3] Hardwick, 'Christ and other Masters,' II. p. 414.

path of historical belief. The book which contains them stands the test of history; it bears, after examination, marks of perfect truthfulness and transparent simplicity; the events it narrates furnish an adequate reason for the miracles. The trial by fire and by wild beasts, for example, brought out convincingly in the midst of a cruel and superstitious people the triumphs of faith and patience, and lent overwhelming evidence to the monotheism which the sufferers upheld. To king and country the miracles were credentials which could not be gainsayed: to Daniel and his three friends they were fresh revelations of the divine will and fresh proofs of His ability and willingness to save. Their historical importance consists in this, that they help to account for the toleration extended to the Jews in Babylon, and, in part, to the eventual freedom bestowed upon the captive race. What has been said of the miracles of the Gospel applies with equal force to the miracles of the book Daniel: "A belief in them enables us to solve problems which would otherwise be insolvable, as well as to embrace moral conceptions which would otherwise have found no illustration. To one who rejects them—to one who believes that the loftiest morals and the divinest piety were evoked by a religion which rested on errors or lies—the world's history must remain a hopeless enigma or a revolting fraud[1]."

(c) *Historical Statements.* The difficulties connected with these are considered in the notes, &c., as they occur. Here only a few general remarks are necessary. The statements of the Book of Daniel, judged by that historical method which is simply the method of common sense and experience, are not indeed confirmed in every case at present. Some points still await elucidation, others further confirmation; but the only way to obtain what is wanted is to begin with facts without theories, not with theories without facts. Facts point to a writer bred in Babylonia, as the author; theories to a Maccabæan. The facts recorded agree with other facts proved to be true, and with that probability which according to Laplace has "reference partly to our ignorance, partly to our knowledge," and is consequently a certain gauge of credibility. It is now simply impossible to condemn off-hand as fictions or inventions the historical statements put forward in the Book of Daniel. They can be measured, in the majority of cases, by their agreement or disagreement with the facts, practices, manners, and customs brought to light by cuneiform discovery. The "records of the past" are only partly open to the student; but quite enough is in his hands to enable him to compare still undecided historical allegations with proved historical facts, and by the comparative method of criticism obtain inferences which are, if negative, circumstantial and sound.

[1] Farrar, 'Life of Christ,' Pref. p. xvi.

iv. *Philology.*

The philological questions connected with the book Daniel are exceedingly interesting and important. The language of the book, no less than its general structure, evidently belongs to an age of transition. The fact is well known that it is composed partly in Chaldee (Aramaic), partly in Hebrew. The opening chapters (i—ii. 4 a) are written in Hebrew; but the "Chaldæans" on returning their answer to Nebuchadnezzar, do so in Aramaic (Angl. "Syriac," ארמית); and this language is retained as far as the middle of the book (ii. 4 b—vii. 28). The Hebrew is then resumed, and is preserved till the end (viii.—xii.). In addition to this peculiar interchange of the two dialects, occur such other solecisms as Babylonian expressions, Greek technical terms, and Persian words.

These linguistic idiosyncrasies have led in the first place to a denial of the unity of the present book. Eichhorn imagined that chapters i.—vi. were written by one scribe, chapters vii.—xii. by another. And his view underwent a curious refinement at the hands of Bertholdt[2], which Bleek[3] pronounced, soon after it appeared, partly false and destitute of foundation, partly resting on the

[2] Bertholdt's divisions may be seen in Zündel, p. 40. Michaelis made out eight, Eichhorn ten, and Bertholdt nine writers.

[3] Comp. his 'Einl.' p. 585.

slightest possible proof. Of the mutual dependence of the chapters of the book there is now no doubt. De Wette and Keil[1] have convincingly proved it.

The alternate use of Hebrew and Chaldee is the main linguistic peculiarity of the Book of Daniel, and is indicative of a date when he who wrote it was familiar with both. It certainly has the effect of externally placing the book among the writings of the Captivity; Jeremiah[2] and Ezra being the only two canonical works, connected with that period, which exhibit a similar union.

The Hebrew and Chaldee present respectively undoubted peculiarities, at the same time that they suggest as their author such a man as the Daniel of Scripture is described to be. The circumstances of his life and education are more than sufficient to account for his style and diction. It is not to be expected that a Jew trained in the courts of the Babylonian monarch would write with the purity of a Jew of Palestine; neither can it be supposed natural, that his native language would escape commixture with that which he heard daily around him. Had this been the case, the book Daniel, composed in Hebrew of the golden age, would have borne upon the face of it evident tokens of its spuriousness.

[1] In their respective 'Einleitungen,' s.n. *Daniel*. Thus iii. 12 refers to ii. 49, v. 2 to i. 2, v. 11 to ii. 48, viii. 1 to vii. 1, ix. 21 to viii. 15, x. 12 to ix. 23; while again the historical and prophetic portions are connected with each other, and become, in spite of their difference of language, bound up one with the other by such peculiarities as are inexplicable on the supposition of plurality of authorship. Such passages as the following are good illustrations of this: ii. 28, iv. 2, 7, 10 with vii. 1, 2, 15; v. 6, 9 with vii. 28 (זיו שנא); iv. 16, v. 6, 10 with vii. 28 (רעיוני יבהלנני); iii. 4, 7, 31, v. 19, vi. 26 with vii. 14 (עממיא וגו').

[2] It is evidently a matter of convenience, not of criticism, to suppose that the Targum has been in Jer. x. 11 inadvertently substituted for the text. It is undoubtedly a fragment, but it is an authentic one. The reason for its occurrence given by Kimchi and Rashi is quite satisfactory (Buxtorf, 'Bibl. Rabb.' on Jer. x. 11). The word ארקא for ארעא found in it, and said to be met with only in the Targums, may be a phonetic error, or an orthographical change by a later copyist; but possibly the two were thus early interchanged, especially as ארעא is the reading of the word in the 2nd clause of the verse. The word אלה which concludes it is not Hebrew only, it is also Aramaic, v. Kimchi l. c.

Bertholdt[3] considered that the Hebrew of the last five chapters sank in point of style below the Hebrew of the very latest books in the Old Testament. He predicted that it would become a self-evident and indisputable conclusion that chaps. viii.—xii. were written by an author long posterior to the age of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi[4]. Bleek met the prediction by the wise remark that we have not sufficient literary remains from the different centuries after the Captivity to enable us to trace the gradual degeneracy of the Hebrew language. Gesenius[5] ascribed to Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, and Malachi a slightly purer idiom than to Daniel: and asserted that, of all the Old Testament writers, Ezekiel, Daniel's contemporary, was marked by the most flagrant instances of grammatical irregularities and incorrectness[6]. If Ezra, Nehemiah[7], Haggai and Zechariah found it difficult to retain purity of Hebrew in Palestine itself, it should not cause surprise that Daniel's Hebrew should be still more deteriorated by his contact with Babylonian and foreign influence. This was to be expected if the book was written by Daniel, the prophet of Babylon. His Hebrew is impure in comparison with that of the golden or even silver ages of the language; but it betokens the closest affinity to those writings nearest the age of the assumed writer[8]; at the same time that it differs

[3] 'Einl.' p. 1536.

[4] Of many of the Hebrew words brought forward as proof of the lateness of composition (see De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl.' p. 499) it is sufficient to say that they were in use in Babylonia (*e.g.* פלמוני, חתך, זרעים, גיל, אשף, אפדן), and therefore what might be expected; of others, that if absent from the pages of the writers in whom it is assumed that they ought to be found, they are absent simply from difference of subject and the non-necessity of introducing them.

[5] 'Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache' (Leipz. 1815), p. 26.

[6] In Ezek. and Zech. are found such forms as אֹתָם for the masculine, אֹתָּ for the feminine; הוֹשָׁבוֹתִים for הוֹשָׁבְתִּים; and the form Niphahel which assumed so much importance in Rabbinical Hebrew. (Comp. Renan, 'Hist. d. Langues sémit.' p. 143. Gesenius, 'Lehrgeb. d. heb. Spr.' § 71, 4, Anmerk. Böttcher, 'Lehrb. d. heb. Sprache,' 1. p. 19.)

[7] Nehem. xiii. 24.

[8] Delitzsch, p. 274, points out the similarity between the Hebrew of Ezekiel and that of

from them by its own peculiarities and anomalies. The Hebrew is the Hebrew of the Captivity.

The "Chaldee" of the Bible (Dan. ii. 4 to vii. end; Ezra iv. 8 to vi. 18, vii. 12—26; Jer. x. 11; Gen. xxxi. 47 has two words) contains the oldest existing remains of the oldest Aramaic speech[1]. Aramaic has two dialects, west and east Aramaic, and the latter is the name given to the language which became current among the Jews during and after the Captivity. After the overthrow of Tyre by Sennacherib, Carchemish became the centre of Asiatic trade and commerce, and Aramaic was recognized as the language of commerce in the East. This led to its becoming the language of diplomacy, like French in modern times, and it was regularly spoken by officials and other educated persons in the Eastern Semitic world. The private deeds dating from B.C. 747 to 640, which have been found in Assyria, frequently have a docket attached to them giving the names and one or two of the main facts of the documents in Aramaic. As yet none of these dockets have been found in Babylonia, which was more distant from Carchemish than Assyria; but there can be little doubt that in Babylonia also, Aramaic became the common language of trade and diplomacy. The deportation of Hebrews, Syrians, &c., to Chaldæa gave an impetus to the use and study of Aramaic; and after the rise of the Persian empire, this general medium of conversation practically supplanted Babylonian in the East and Hebrew in the West[2].

The Aramaic of Ezra presents specimens of the language contemporaneous with the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus; that is, of the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th cent. B.C. And the Aramaic of Daniel may be taken to represent the language at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Cyrus.

The Aramaic, in which the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar (iii. 29, iv. 1, A. V.) or of Darius the Mede (vi. 25) are written, is only one form of the languages in which they were circulated. Daniel reproduces them either as they were issued to his own people among all "nations and tongues," or as he translated them from the official or Babylonian language. This last-named language, it must be remembered, was the language of the inscriptions, and while exhibiting most affinity to the Hebrew and Phœnician was furthest removed from Aramaic among Semitic dialects[3]. The study of the Babylonian language does not, therefore, advance the solution of the question raised. This must rather depend upon a comparison of the existing Aramaic documents, and a just deduction from the results obtained. Such a comparison is, unfortunately, only possible with a very limited number of documents. Biblical Aramaic belongs to an altogether different age, and probably to an altogether different country, from the Aramaic of the Targums and of the Talmud. The differences between them are enormous. Five or six centuries at least separate the Chaldee paraphrases of the Bible of the Targums from the passages in Daniel and Ezra, &c.[4] But it has been satisfactorily proved (1) that Biblical Chaldee had reached during and after the Captivity that stage of development in which it is presented in the Books of Daniel and Ezra; and (2) that the Chaldee of Daniel, sometimes differing from, sometimes coinciding with, that of Ezra in peculiar forms, agrees with it in regard to those characteristics which distinguish Biblical Chaldee generally from that of the Targums[5]. It is quite true that the student of to-day knows these last only after they have been carefully corrected by Masoretic hands; but, after every allowance made,

Daniel; and the proofs of this position may be seen in Keil, p. 446, or Zöckler, p. 26.

[1] Luzzatto-Krüger, 'Gramm. d. biblisch-chaldäischen Sprache u. s. w.' p. 1.

[2] Sayce, MS. communication. Babylonian (or Assyrian) was still spoken in the Parthian era; one of the cuneiform inscriptions found in Babylonia being as late as the time of Domitian.

[3] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' pp. 1, 2; Oppert, 'Elém. de la Gram. assyr.' pp. 1, 2.

[4] Derenbourg. 'Journ. Asiat.' for 1866, p. 401; cp. Luzzatto-Krüger, p. x.; Winer, 'Gramm. d. Chald.' pp. 1, 2.

[5] See Delitzsch in Herzog 'Real-Encykl.' Art. *Daniel;* 'The Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra' in 'Journ. of Sacred Literature,' 1861, pp. 374. Dr Pusey, in an appendix to the 2nd edition of 'Lectures on Daniel,' brings forward additional proofs of these points. Cf. Zöckler, p. 6.

the distinctions between Biblical and Targum Chaldee are marked by a breadth and character which it is impossible to mistake. The great gulf of time between the composition of the literary remains to be consulted is, however, very suggestive of the greatest caution in arguing from the Biblical idiom to that of the Targums, or vice versâ; and it tends to limit comparison of the Biblical passages to themselves. Such comparison led Delitzsch to the conclusion that while they retained a certain independence of style, orthography, and linguistic usage, the radical correspondence between them was a circumstantial proof of their belonging to the same age. This result could not have been attained, had this or any portion of the book been the work of a Maccabæan scribe. In the Maccabæan era Hebrew was superseded by Aramaic, and in Palestine would have been comparatively unintelligible to the thousands whom—on the supposition of Maccabæan authorship—the Hebrew as well as Aramaic sections of the Book of Daniel were intended to encourage. The Aramaic of that age would, in its turn, have approximated far more closely to that of the Targums than does that of Daniel. Criticism of the Hebrew and Aramaic sections is, philologically considered, opposed to the Maccabæan date.

The consideration of the Babylonian, Greek, and Persian words which are met with in the book leads to the same result. If it be a true postulate of criticism that the pages of every author should reflect undesigned traces of the language as well as of the customs of his time, the Book of Daniel stands the test well. In the remarks on the Persian and Greek words it will be shewn that, as a mere matter of possibility, the words—mainly technical—would be open to such a person as Daniel professes to be[1]. The Babylonian words, not less than ideas and customs, carry the proof a step farther. No Maccabæan, no Palestinian Jew could have reproduced them without mistakes. How unintelligible many of them had become by the very time at which some critics would place the book, is seen in the helpless way in which the LXX. version transliterates what it cannot pass over.

But while the diction of the book may thus be said to support the same conclusion of authenticity which the spirit and the representations pervading it directly and indirectly indicate, it does not follow that the book, as the Church *now* possesses it, is exactly in the same form as it left the hands of Daniel. In its present form the book possesses peculiarities of an internal character which seem to suggest a certain extraneous aid perfectly compatible with the recognition of its unity and authority. The change of person, for instance, is very remarkable. Daniel is sometimes spoken of historically (i. 8—21, ii. 14—49, iv. 8—27, v. 13—29, vi. 2—28, vii. 1, 2); sometimes he speaks personally (vii. 15—28, viii. 1, ix. 22, x. 1—19, xii. 5). Laudatory epithets are applied to him, and so expressed as to preclude their emanation from Daniel himself (i. 17, 19, v. 11, 12). A different and a peculiar title is given to him (ix. 23, x. 11), and there are traces of a revisionist's unintentional repetition (vi. 24, 25). It is not, of course, asserted that such changes of person are without parallel (*e.g.* Isai. xxxvi.—xxxix., vii. 3, xx. 2), and the seventh chapter of the book seems to prepare the way for the change. There, in the first and second verses, Daniel is spoken of in the third person; while the substance of the chapter is narrated in a personal form (*vv.* 2, 15, 28). The laudatory expressions, again, may be explained as proceeding from others, and retained as faithful testimonies of what was said of or to him. They may be regarded as designed sometimes to glorify God, sometimes to fill up a description otherwise incomplete; and they may be said to resemble those which St Paul applied to himself (1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6, xii. 2). Or, again, the change of person may be supposed due to the nature of the case. As a prophet, Daniel would narrate symbolic and representative events historically, but when treating of visions and revelations the personal form implying attestation seemed preferable. But to many[2] these reasons appear insuffi-

[1] See Excursus to ch. i.

[2] *e.g.* Westcott in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,'

cient and forced. It will be remarked that the change of person and the differences mentioned separate the book, as Eichhorn separated it, into two main portions; and the question which seems to suggest itself, after an impartial study of the critical phenomena of the text, is this: Did Daniel himself put what he wrote into its present form? or, did he hand down to his countrymen records which they preserved, and united together after the Return? This latter opinion was adopted in France by M. Quatremère[1], in England by Professor Westcott[2]. By the French scholar the book was considered to be composed of literary fragments of very varied description, historical pieces, diplomatic acts, &c. These he believed Daniel preserved, but did not reunite into one collected and consecutive whole. The historical notices are thought to furnish an illustration of this fragmentary character: no one supposes that the Book of Daniel offers a complete series of the historical events which took place at Babylon between the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. And this view seems supported by the old Jewish tradition (c. A.D. 500) contained in the Talmudic writing called Baba-Bathra[3]. It is there affirmed that the "men of the Great Assembly wrote (כתב) the books" contained in the memorial letters KaNDaC, *i.e.* "Ezekiel, the twelve lesser Prophets, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book, and Nehemiah, son of Hachalijah, brought the remainder of the book to a close," *i.e.* they reduced to writing, or placed in their present form, those particular writings.

Others, again, consider that Daniel himself[4] collected into one whole at the close of his life the various leading facts and visions which form the present book. Kranichfeld and Zöckler[5] adopt this view, which the notice in i. 21 may be said to make possible; but it can hardly be said to be so satisfactory as the former. It assigns to Daniel the work of a "diarist," yet leaves unexplained the vast omissions in the diary.

It seems, moreover, difficult to conceive why any writer should purposely compose *one* book in two languages; but it is not difficult to conceive such a man as Daniel treating in separate records, first, the events of general history in that vernacular dialect, which was freely spoken in the streets of Babylon; and secondly, the special fortunes of God's people, in the more sacred language, the Hebrew[6]. At the Return these revered fragments were collected and brought into one whole, acquiring at the hands of Ezra and his contemporaries that unity and yet particularity which distinguish the present Book of Daniel. It must always be remembered that the substantial authorship of a book of Scripture is not imperilled by admitting that the subordinate work of arrangement and revision was, under God's guidance, entrusted to others than the writer of the original. The present state of the text[7], the probable existence of a Chaldee original of the additions to the LXX. version[8], and that version itself, directly testify to the vicissitudes through which the Book of Daniel has passed. Criticism may make it clear that the present text exhibits marks of revision, but the proof only confirms the fact that the text must have existed long before it could be revised.

In conclusion: the broad truth stands out that "the colouring of the narrative is exactly Babylonian. The details of

Art. *Daniel*, p. 394. Zündel, p. 39 sq., does not present them in a form either persuasive or convincing.

[1] 'Mélanges d'Histoire et de Philologie orientale,' p. 385.

[2] Art. cit. pp. 392, 394.

[3] See p. 215; and cp. Westcott, Art. *Canon*, pp. 251, 253, 254.

[4] This is preferable to the view of Herbst, Sack, Speil, and Reusch, who consider Daniel the author of chaps. vii. to end only, chaps. i. to vi. being added by a later hand: see Bleek, 'Einl.' pp. 584, 5, and Zöckler, 'Einl.' p. 17.

[5] Kranichfeld, pp. 53, 59 sq. Zöckler, p. 17. Zöckler's acceptance of large interpolations in chaps. x.—xii. by a Maccabæan writer cannot however be maintained consistently with either authenticity or unity of authorship.

[6] Westcott, Art. *Daniel*, l. c.

[7] Rosenfeld (מאמר בקרי וכתיב. Wilna, 1866) enables the reader to see at once the state of the text of any book of Scripture. Daniel, a short book, has no less than 129 variations. The meaning of this may be inferred by a comparison with what Derenbourg ('Palestine,' p. 536 n.) calls the "bad state" of such long books as the Books of Samuel (174 variations), Kings (126), Jeremiah (145), Ezekiel (123).

[8] De Wette-Schrader, p. 509.

the manners and customs of the Babylonian court are given with an exactitude, remarkably confirmed by the monuments, which no writer in Palestine of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. could have possibly attained[1]." Positive and negative evidences all tend to the same conclusion. The Church recognizes the undoubted difficulties which exist in the Book of Daniel. The message is often that of "sealed words" (xii. 9), but in the utterance of the message a real man appears. No one can take up this inspired book without finding in it true marks of authenticity. There is historical accuracy and spiritual profit, and not that puerility of fiction or merely intellectual stimulant, which would have marked the work had it been a production of the Maccabæan period.

[1] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' I. p. 113. In 'La Magie, &c.' p. 14, the same writer says: "Plus on avance dans la connaissance des textes cunéiformes, plus on reconnait la nécessité de réviser la condamnation portée beaucoup trop prématurément par l'école exégétique allemande contre le livre de Daniel. Sans doute, la langue, remplie à certains endroits de mots grecs, atteste que la rédaction définitive, telle que nous la possédons, est postérieure à Alexandre. Mais le fond remonte bien plus haut; il est empreint d'une couleur babylonienne parfaitement caractérisée, et les traits de la vie de la cour de Nabuchadorossor et de ses successeurs y ont une vérité et une exactitude auxquelles on n'aurait pas atteint quelques siècles plus tard."

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Jehoiakim's captivity.* 3 *Ashpenaz taketh Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.* 8 *They refusing the king's portion do prosper with pulse and water.* 17 *Their excellency in wisdom.*

a 2 Kin. 24. 1. 2 Chron. 36. 6.

IN the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah a came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.

2 And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God: which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god;

CHAP. I. 1. *In the third year*, &c.] "It appears from Jer. xxv. 1 that the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim was the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar, and we may gather from Dan. ii. 1 that the captivity of Daniel commenced before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, because his time of probation and preparation was three years, and yet he was called before that monarch in the second year of his reign. There is no real discrepancy in these statements, as it is clear that Nebuchadnezzar is called king by anticipation. It is also probable that he was associated with his father in the latter part of his government. Saadias Gaon, Rashi, Aben Ezra, and other Jewish interpreters, as well as some Christian writers, understand *in the third year* of Jehoiakim's rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar; but this is a forced interpretation, and inconsistent with Dan. ii. 1" [R]. The kings of Assyria and Babylonia did not in general begin to count the years of their reign until the commencement of the new year following their accession. During the remainder of the year in which they ascended the throne, documents were dated, "In the year of the accession to the kingdom of so and so," and the first year of the reign commenced with the next new year's day, the first day of the month Nisan (G. Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 386). (See Note at end of Chapter.)

"We may observe here the wonderful working of God's providence. Babylon was the appointed means for the punishment of Jerusalem; but Josiah—whether from a hope of conciliating the enemy, or by inevitable necessity—made an alliance with the king of Babylon, and went out to meet Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, who was advancing against Babylon. Josiah perished in the battle of Megiddo, and the king of Egypt was afterwards routed at the battle of Carchemish. The pursuit of the Egyptians led the Babylonian host into Palestine, and Jehoiakim, who was placed upon the throne by Pharaoh-Necho, was, of course, considered as an enemy by the king of Babylon. Thus the very means by which human wisdom hoped to avert God's judgment, only aided in bringing it to pass. The motives of Josiah are not indicated in Scripture, but are a matter of conjecture" [R].

2. *part of the vessels of the house of God*] "The temple of Jerusalem had been several times partially spoiled. Shishak took away the golden shields dedicated by Solomon (1 K. x. 17, xiv. 26). In the reign of Amaziah, Joash, king of Israel, carried away the vessels of gold and silver (2 K. xiv. 14). Ahaz took the silver and the gold from the house of the Lord and sent it to the kings of Assyria (2 K. xvi. 8). Hezekiah gave the silver of the house of the Lord, and the gold from the doors and pillars, to the king of Assyria (2 K. xviii. 15). And now Nebuchadnezzar takes away many of the remaining treasures of the holy house. The further destiny of these vessels is related ch. v. 2. Their loss was a judgment of God on His people for their unfaithfulness in His worship. It may be well to call attention to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar brought these treasures into the house of his god. Jerome and some other commentators look upon this course as intended to do honour to them, but their reasoning is very inconclusive. It may have been in the intention of shewing the superiority of his gods by offering the spoils taken from the temple of another god. But although in the house of Dagon the idol fell down before the ark of the Lord, God would not interpose to protect these holy vessels in this degenerate time. Theodoret expresses the same sentiment, and interprets God's permitting His sacred vessels to be taken to Babylon, as a declaration that the Jews were little better than the Babylonians" [R]. The remaining vessels were afterwards brought to Babylon, Jer. xxvii. 18—22, lii. 17—24; 2 K. xxiv. 13, &c. Their restoration is told in Ezra i. 7—11.

into the land of Shinar] "Shinar is enume-

and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god.

3 ¶ And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs,

rated with Babel, Calneh, &c. as a portion of the kingdom of Nimrod, Gen. x. 10 (cp. note in loco): 'and the tower of Babel was in the land of Shinar.' Hence the name is synonymous with the kingdom of Babylon" [R].

The name has not yet been *certainly* found in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions; its identification with the Su-ner and Sa-ner, read there (G. Smith, 'Notes on the Early History of Assyria and Babylonia,' p. 23) being still an open question: cp., however, Loftus, 'Chaldæa and Susiana,' ch. xv. But reference to it in the Egyptian monuments of the 18th dynasty, which record invasions of Mesopotamia by Thotmes III. (cp. add. notes to Exod. i. p. 457), is frequent. Sayce, Lenormant, and Haigh, identify it with the vast alluvial plain between the Tigris and Euphrates, *i.e.* Sumir or Northern Chaldæa, the whole country having been called from an early period "the land of Sumir and Accad" (cp. the Inscriptions of Khammurabi of Babylon and Rimmon-Nirari of Assyria in 'Records of the Past,' I. pp. 4, 8; and Sayce in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. p. 248). The name is ingeniously explained to describe the land famous for "two rivers," the equivalent to the Greek Mesopotamia, and the Semitic Naharaim (Egyptian, Naharina), or the land famous for its two cities, Schrader ('Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.' p. 34) and Sayce ('Assyr. Gr.' p. 179). The name occurs in the prophetic books (*e.g.* Isai. xi. 11; Zech. v. 11), and also as defining an article of merchandise (Josh. vii. 21).

the house of his god] *i.e.* "his temple" (2 Chro. xxxvi. 7). Bel-Merodach was the patron god of Babylon; to this god Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions are addressed. The Greeks knew this temple by the name of the temple of Belus (see note to ref. in Chro.). It was in the form of a pyramid in stages, and stood up in proud independence and replete with costly ornamentation, as *the* building of Babylon in Nebuchadnezzar's time. "This," says the king in the Standard Inscription, "is the great temple of heaven and earth, the dwelling of Merodach, the master of the gods. I have restored its sanctuary, the place of repose of the deity, plating it with pure gold. I stored up inside silver and gold and precious stones... and placed there the *treasure house* of my kingdom." At the base of the pyramid was the sanctuary of Nebo—the god whose name enters into the composition of that of the king; halfway up was the sepulchral chamber of Merodach, where they consulted his oracle; and at the top was another sanctuary called "the mystic sanctuary of Merodach" (Lenormant, 'Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. 480). The greatness of Merodach as the tutelary god of the city seems to have grown with the increase of the political and religious importance of the capital. It was not till the time of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, that the god became the second personage in the supreme Babylonian triad (do. 'Les prem. Civilisations,' II. 171). Allusions to him are found in Baruch (vi. 14, 15) as bearing the instruments with which he is represented on the cylinders.

It is an open question whether or not *which* in *which he carried* includes the captives and king Jehoiakim. The intention to carry the king into captivity is expressed in 2 Chro. xxxvi. 6, and the LXX. affirm that this was actually done; but there are many difficulties connected with such transportation. Jehoiakim's death took place in Palestine (Jer. xxii. 18). The Bellino cylinder and the cylinder of Esar-haddon describe at length the custom of the conquerors and the fate of the conquered.

These verses (1 and 2) form an introduction to Daniel's proper career. It was necessary to explain the after celebrity of Daniel and his three friends at the courts of the heathen monarchs whom they served: and this is effected naturally by the few words which account for their presence in the land of captivity.

3. *Ashpenaz*] A name akin to the Ashkenaz of Gen. x. 3 (see note), and by some connected with the Sanskrit *açpa*, "horse." Aspaçanâ occurs in Persian cuneiform as the name of an official; and at the end of the inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustâm is placed in juxtaposition with one Gobryas. A similar juxtaposition in the pages of Herodotus (III. 70) gives Ἀσπαθίνης as the Greek equivalent of the same name. The LXX. call Ashpenaz (*vv.* 3 and 11) Ἀβιεσδρὶ, which may well be a corrupt form of Aba-(i)-Istar or the astronomer of the goddess-planet Istar. Ashpenaz was the "Rab-Saris" (comp. the similar compounds Rab-Mag, Rab-Shakeh) of the court, or the "prince" (*vv.* 7 and 9) "of the eunuchs," and held a position similar to that of the Kislar-Aga of the Turkish sultans. The word "Saris" had a wide application, and as in the case of Joseph's master, was borne by married men (Gen. xxxvii. 36). Here the office of the "Rab-Saris" was that of a "lord chamberlain" ("oberster Kämmerer," Luther). He was commissioned to "bring certain of the *children of Israel*," &c., to Babylon; a term used in a general sense, and not as excluding such tribes as Levi, Benjamin, and Simeon; it is defined in the next clause as particularly referring to the "king's seed and the princes."

that he should bring *certain* of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes;

4 Children in whom *was* no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as *had* ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.

5 And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of [1]the wine which he drank:

[1] Heb. *the wine of his drink.*

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of the king's seed, and of the princes] "When Hezekiah was left by God to try what was in his heart, he had shewn in his pride all his treasures to the ambassadors from Babylon, and immediately the prophet Isaiah foretold that some of the seed royal should be deported to Babylon and serve in the king's palace. Here is the fulfilment of the word of God.

"The exact relationship of Daniel to the royal family is unknown. Josephus ('Ant.' x. 10. 1) tells us that Daniel was of the family of Zedekiah.

"The word *parthemim*, here translated 'princes,' is a word of doubtful etymology. Max Müller (ap. Pusey) considers it the plural of a Persian word. Delitzsch derives it from *pardom* in the Pehlevi. We may safely assert that it is not Semitic, except as an adopted word. But there still remains an uncertainty as to its true origin" [R]. (See Excursus on Persian words at end of ch. i.)

4. "The beauty and comeliness of their attendants were the pride of Eastern monarchs: but in the case of these youths, care appears to have been taken of their intellectual culture also, more especially in those sciences which were supposed to be connected with a knowledge of future events" [R]. They were to be "skilful," "intelligent in all wisdom"—the *scientific* wisdom to be gathered from the "Chaldæan" writings (*v.* 17),—"cunning in" (rather, "knowing") "the knowledge" which comes by perception, and "understanding science," or rather, possessing the faculty of distinguishing between thoughts, and able (Aben Ezra) to impart that knowledge to others. Thus they would have strength (A. V. "ability"), physical and intellectual, to "stand in the king's palace." It is impossible to deny, says Ewald, that in this statement is exhibited a true knowledge of the mode of training and education current amongst the most intellectual heathen.

It is hardly possible to determine from the word "children" what was the age of those selected. But the analogy of Egyptian and Persian habits, together with the mention of three years' probation (*v.* 5), tends to confirm the view (*e.g.* of Aben Ezra) that they were about fourteen when they first came to Babylon. The education of an Egyptian child has been already described (see add. notes to Exod. ii. 10); that of a Persian began at five and continued for fifteen years, but was marked by a training calculated to make a boy a good athlete rather than intellectually great. At seventeen he entered the king's service, but without giving up his physical training. Provided he could endure the extremes of heat and cold, and turn his hand to any employment connected with the soldier's profession or out-door work, it was of little importance whether he could read or not, whether he understood or not the religious creed he was taught to repeat by heart (cp. authorities in Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 238). The training of the young Babylonian was far more like that of the Egyptian. From Herodotus and Strabo it is evident that there existed in Babylon, as in Egypt and (later on) in Persia, an hereditary order of "priests" named Chaldæans, masters of all the science and literature as well as of the religious ceremonies current among the people, and devoted from very early times to that habit of astronomical observation which their brilliant sky so much favoured (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' III. ch. xix. p. 291; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' II. 571). This priest class was not, strictly speaking, a caste. It was rather a sacerdotal and a learned society into which foreigners and natives, as well as the sons of the priest-members, were admitted. In the hands of these men the education of the young was deposited; and instruction in their "learning and tongue"—their written documents and scientific language—was a final and necessary part of the education of those whose physical beauty had already secured them commendation. (See Note at end of Chapter.)

Of Daniel and his three friends in their youth, suggests Ewald, the history gives us a living picture. It should not fail to be a striking example for all young men trained in royal courts. The temptations to which they will there be especially exposed should be met in the spirit in which Daniel met them: the education, the advantages, the good which will also be there especially found should be hailed as readily as Daniel hailed them. If, as Ewald thinks, Nebuchadnezzar's purpose in the education and training he gave these young captives was to alienate them from their own people, then the result proved how completely such a purpose was ordered by God for a wiser and nobler end.

5. *the king's meat*] According to oriental custom the "daily provision" was supplied at the king's cost to all connected with his court.

so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.

6 Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah:

7 Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel *the name* of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego.

8 ¶ But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile him-

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"Day by day" was king Jehoiachin, when in captivity, fed with food from the table of Evil-Merodach (Jer. lii. 34). The diet of the richer Babylonians consisted of wheaten bread, meats of various kinds, fruits, fish and game; imported wine was the usual beverage (Rawllnson, 'A. M.' III. 19). "The spirit of obedience, thus shewn by these captives in the days of their youth, an obedience which was the effect of God's grace, and the source of further grace from Him,—shed a divine light over their future days. Like Joseph and Samuel, Daniel and his companions shine forth conspicuously among those who devoted their early years to God. See Gen. xxxix. 21; Prov. xvi. 7; Ps. cvi. 46" [R].

6. *Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah*] "All these are Semitic names, *Daniel* signifying *God is my Judge*, and the others respectively *God is gracious*, *Who is as God?* and *God is a helper*. These names were changed into others derived, probably, from the language of the *Chaldæans* or *Casdim*. We have many instances in Scripture of similar changes of name. A new name—Zaphnath-paaneah—was given to Joseph (Gen. xli. 45). It is hardly necessary to call attention to names changed by divine authority, as those of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, Solomon, St Peter, &c." [R].

That this practice was usual when foreigners were admitted into the king's service, has received interesting confirmation from the Assyrian inscriptions. Psammetik II. was the son of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt. The Assyrians at that time were masters of Egypt, and they made him ruler or subordinate king of the city Athribis. At the same time they changed his name into Nebo-sezib-ani (Nebo save me!). Later on he ascended the throne of Egypt by his native name (cp. Fox Talbot, 'Illustrations of the prophet Daniel,' &c., in 'Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. x. 364). In 2 K. xxiii. 34 the Pharaoh of the day changed the name of Eliakim into Jehoiakim (see note there). In the Himyaritic inscriptions instances occur of the same person being known by two names (Osiander in 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' xx. 265). (See note to 'Bible Com.' I. p. 446, col. 1.)

The new names given to Daniel and his companions contain, so far as they can be determined, a religious element. Like the Hebrew names which they replaced they are full of a sacred, if heathen, poetry. Nebo and Beltis—the goddess-wife of Bel, were objects of Babylonian worship; the former the patron deity of Borsippa, the latter of Nipur, and their names enter in the composition of Abed-Nebo and Belteshazzar. (See Note at end of Chapter.)

8. *But Daniel purposed*, &c.] If the "king's meat" and the consecrated barley-cake of the sacrificial offering were at any time the same (see Exc. on Pers. words at end of ch. i.), and if it was sent to the members of the royal household, to partake of it would be nothing less than idolatry. To that Daniel and his companions "purposed" (lit. "set the heart," and so "determined") not to submit. In this he was like Ezekiel (iv. 9, 12—14) and unlike Jehoiachin (2 K. xxv. 27—30) and many others (Hos. ix. 3).

"The purpose of these youths, among whom Daniel was already pre-eminent, arose from their holy devotion to God, and won His most especial favour. 'A little that the righteous hath is better than the riches of many wicked.' Ps. xxxvii. 16 (comp. Prov. xv. 16, xvi. 8). Such is the declaration of God's word, and His blessing was plainly manifested in the health and comeliness of Daniel and his companions. It is of far more consequence to have God's blessing than large means. No passage in Scripture is more encouraging than this to all who strive to serve God with very slender opportunities. God's blessing makes a vegetable diet more nourishing than royal dainties, and stamps a widow's mite with a value above the choicest gifts of the rich. The hearty obedience of Daniel and the generous love of the poor widow bring that blessing. The motives of Daniel have been already alluded to. The courtesy and docility of Daniel also appear very prominently here" [R], as do the "favour and tender love" (*v.* 9) which—like Joseph and his gaoler, like Jeremiah and Artaxerxes—he had won from the Sar-sarisim. The hesitation felt and expressed by the "prince of the eunuchs" (*v.* 10) was perfectly natural. He was servant to a king who could execute children before the eyes of their father (2 K. xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 6), and in a moment of passion threaten with death the "wise men" of his country (ii. 5, 12). "Ye shall make me endanger my head" was a simple fact familiar to everyone who offended the capricious mood of an oriental despot, and knew that the

self with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself.

9 Now God had brought Daniel into favour and tender love with the prince of the eunuchs.

10 And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces † worse liking than the children which *are* of your ‖ sort? then shall ye make *me* endanger my head to the king.

† Heb. *sadder.* ‖ Or, *term, or, continuance.*

11 Then said Daniel to ‖ Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah,

‖ Or, *the steward.*

12 Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; and let them give us † pulse † to eat, and water to drink.

† Heb. *of pulse.* † Heb. *that we may eat, &c.*

13 Then let our countenances be

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penalty for disobedience was death (cp. Rawlinson's 'A. M.' II. 506). If the king saw the faces of these children "worse liking" (cp. marg. "sadder," Theod. σκυθρωπά, the same word as in Matt. vi. 16), it would not be they but their guardian who would suffer.

The principle laid down here of avoiding the Gentile food which would render a man "unclean," though it can never be said to have become one of universal application, was practically the principle maintained by the Essenes and a certain section of the Pharisees. Instances of its application are furnished by the history of Josephus ('Life,' ch. iii.), and by the records of Maccabæan times (1 Macc. i. 62, 2 Macc. v. 27). The reader of the New Test. will remember St Peter's language (Acts x. 14) and St Paul's insistance upon this principle (1 Cor. xi. 25 seq.). No similar instances are cited in the Assyrian or Persian inscriptions, nor were they likely to be. It is therefore somewhat dogmatic to assert that such practices were unknown in the days when these monarchies were all-powerful, and very irrelevant if the case of any other people but Israel be debated. Even if the word "meat" be Persian, that is no argument, says Grätz, that the writer who uses it must have lived in the Persian period; the origin of the practice described is not to be sought in the "rigorism of the Maccabæan times."

11. *Melzar*] "As the word occurs only with the article prefixed, the A. V. appears to be wrong in taking it as a proper name. The better translation would be 'the steward.' The derivation of the word is very uncertain, but it can hardly be Semitic" [R] (see Excursus on Persian words at end of chap. i.). In the Bellino cylinder mention is made of the son of one "who was governor over the young men educated in my (king of Assyria's) palace;" he occupied the same position at the Assyrian court as "the steward" did at the Babylonian. This officer was subordinate to Ashpenaz and had the immediate care of the young captives. The text says nothing as to whether or not he informed his superior of what he ultimately consented to allow. Daniel's influence over the steward is as noteworthy as his influence over that steward's superior (*vv.* 14, 15).

12. *Prove thy servants*] Hold fast the belief, says Calvin, that Daniel made not this request rashly or as if it originated with himself, but because he was moved so to do by the Holy Spirit: "Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord" (Deut. viii. 3; Matt. iv. 4). "The prudence and discretion of Daniel are here displayed. As in the case of the decree of Darius he gave no unnecessary offence, though he would not omit his prayer to God for fear of man, so here he is desirous of avoiding offence even while he refuses the food prepared for him. He proposes a trial, and trusts to God to protect His faithful servants. Many commentators suppose that Daniel had some special promise to this effect; but the sacred text does not give any such intimation" [R].

The time specified, "ten days," may be simply what we should call a round number, or corresponding to our "week," but it is not without interest to note that the number "ten" was with the Persians (Ewald), and with the Babylonians (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 31), a mystic number. In the case of the latter people it was the number of the third god—the Atmosphere—in the Second Triad of their deities.—It is now known that among the Babylonians, exorcisms which were dependent upon the use of numbers were reckoned amongst the most efficacious. In "*the* number," was the secret which the god Hea reveals to his son Silik-moulou-Khi, the mediator between gods and men, when he knows no efficacious means of helping those who appeal to him (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 25, 27, 59). Daniel's appeal here to "the steward" may therefore be not unreasonably understood to imply an appeal to the Babylonian's religious scruples. Saadia's reckoning that the ten days chosen by Daniel were those between the first day of the new year and the day of atonement is ingenious but unsupported by his brother Rabbinical commentators.

looked upon before thee, and the countenance of the children that eat of the portion of the king's meat: and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.

14 So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days.

15 And at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat.

16 Thus Melzar took away the portion of their meat, and the wine that they should drink; and gave them pulse.

17 ¶ As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and [1]Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.

[1] Or, *he made Daniel understand.*

18 Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of

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16. *and gave them pulse*] "Aben Ezra suggests that this was rice, but the word simply means a vegetable diet. The Hebrew word means *seeds*. The blessing of God was with this nourishment, and they prospered on it more than those who partook of the dainty food from the king's table" [R]. Dried dates pressed into cakes, gourds, melons, and cucumbers formed the ordinary diet, and goat's milk the ordinary drink, of the common people among the Babylonians of Daniel's day (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 18). Daniel and his companions, in fact, contented themselves with such food as their ancestors had been accustomed to before entering the land of promise (Deut. xii. 10—16), and such as many of them had retained afterwards (1 S. xvii. 17, 18). The result of the experiment was its best reward. "Non est temeritatis sed fidei, ob quam regias dapes contempserat" (Jerome). We also may learn, says Calvin, that the true proof of temperance is to be able to hunger when God calls us to hunger and want, and to be able to put aside luxuries which may be ready to hand, but which if we accept, we do so at our cost. If later on (x. 3) Daniel is seen to have adopted the practice and kind of diet usual among persons of his rank, the statement is neither a contradiction to his present resolution, nor an exhibition of weakness. Daniel in the reign of Cyrus, whether still a "president" or not, would be a very different personage from Daniel the untried captive in the first years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and with very different liberty of action from that possible to the young pupil of the Casdim. In his own home, he could eat and drink what pleased him best.

17. *God gave them knowledge*, &c.] "The blessing which God had given to the food of the body, He extended also to the soul. As He gave health to the body so He gave light and knowledge to the soul. It will be observed that the interpretation of dreams and visions was a special gift to Daniel himself, cp. Num. xii. 6. It had also been a special gift to Joseph (Gen. xli. 15). It has been made a question, whether this gift was a permanent habit always remaining with him, or a faculty given on special occasions. It is particularly said that Daniel had knowledge in all dreams and visions, which perhaps may mean a great aptitude for the exercise of this gift, while its presence was on every particular occasion an answer to prayer. This was certainly the case in the first dream of Nebuchadnezzar, ch. ii. 16—20" [R].

It has been objected that they who refused the "king's meat" should have been consistent and have refused the "learning" proposed to them. The objection is strange, coming from modern scholars, and too like a step backward to the mediæval protests against classical studies (Mullinger's 'Univ. of Cambr.' p. 14). That there would be "trial of the faith" in the education need not be denied, but the true aspect of the matter has been clearly seen by Jerome; "discunt non ut sequantur, sed ut judicent atque convincant; discunt eâ mente doctrinam Chaldæorum, quâ et Moyses omnem sapientiam Ægyptorum didicerat." Of Joseph, Moses, and Daniel, it may be said that they were men who, while learning the "wisdom" of their heathen preceptors, yet knew that "wisdom" even in earthly things is a gift of God, and that the fear of God is the beginning of that wisdom. It was, in fact, the exercise of his special power which led Aben Ezra to call Daniel the "nabi" or prophet among the others.

18. *at the end*, &c.] The three years (*v.* 5) passed away, and the "Melzar" handed over his charge to Ashpenaz. "Among all" "of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes" (*v.* 3), who were then submitted to the inspection of Nebuchadnezzar, none—in personal beauty—were like Daniel and his three friends. During that time some had been fed on the "king's meat," some on "pulse," and this was the result. In this is seen the hand of Him from Whom comes "every good and perfect gift." The king "communed," spoke genially (LXX. ὡμίλησεν) with them; and these four had the "ability" (*v.* 4) requisite to give them a place in the king's service and continue them in it.

the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.

19 And the king communed with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.

20 And in all matters of †wisdom *and* understanding, that the king inquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians *and* astrologers that *were* in all his realm.

† Heb. *wisdom of understanding.*

21 And Daniel continued *even* unto the first year of king Cyrus.

When presently the king passed on from mere ordinary conversation ("communing") to "inquiry" (to searching questions; see the force of the Hebrew), he found them superior to all the magicians and astrologers of his realm. (On these classes see note to ii. 2.)

19. *therefore stood they before the king*] "words which appear to express frequent and easy access to the king. Gabriel is said, Luke i. 19, to stand in the presence of God. This mysterious expression derives illustration from passages such as this verse of Daniel. Comp. 2 K. xxv. 19; Jer. lii. 25; Esth. i. 10, 14" [R].

21. *continued*] "Simple words, but what a volume of tried faithfulness is unrolled by them! Amid all the intrigues, indigenous, at all times, in dynasties of oriental despotism; amid all the envy towards a foreign captive in high office as a king's councillor; amid all the trouble incidental to the insanity of the king or the murder of two of his successors; in that whole critical period for his people, Daniel *continued*" (Pusey, pp. 20, 21). "Daniel's life extended beyond this term (x. 1), but that is not contradicted by the passage before us. A specific term is mentioned in which a great change took place in the state of Babylon, and the sacred historian intimates here that Daniel's life was prolonged to see it. That change was also the occasion of the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy about the seventy years, as the captivity of the Jews might then be said to terminate" [R] (see note on Ezra i. 1). Aben Ezra's addition "in Babylon" is further defined by Ewald "at the king's court." The LXX. adds to the name Cyrus "king of Persia," as if to prevent any possible confusion with others who bore the name of Cyrus or could be identified with *the* king Cyrus. The verse, like Deut. xxxiv. 5, is probably an addition by a later hand. If Daniel was about 14 at the time of his removal to Babylon (B.C. 603—4), his age in the third year of Cyrus (B.C. 534) would be about 85. He may have lived some years after this "third year," like Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 7), and Caleb (Josh. xiv. 7—11), with unabated mental power.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. I.

1. בָּא נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר וגו׳.

It is unnecessary here to enter upon the "vexed question"—who were the Chaldæans, *ethnically* speaking? The problem is far from solved[1]. The question, what was the *caste* of the Chaldæans in the time of Nebuchadnezzar? is the only one affecting the Book of Daniel.

In the most flourishing period of the kingdom of Babylon the name embraced all who by education or hereditary right had been admitted into that superior and dominant caste which had obtained exclusive possession of all priestly functions, and used their powers to govern the state.

What is known as the captivity of the Jews and their deportation to Babylonia was the combined result of several expeditions; the two principal being (1) that in the eighth year of the reign of king Nebuchadnezzar, when Jehoiachin, king of Judah, his mother, princes and officers with vast treasures were conveyed to Babylon (B.C. 599—8, 2 K. xxiv. 10, &c., and reff.); and (2) that in the nineteenth year of the same king, when, after three years' siege, king Zedekiah was taken and blinded, and the temple of Jerusalem destroyed (B.C. 588, 2 K. xxv. and reff.). The siege of Jerusalem mentioned by Daniel (i. 1) was neither of these, but one which preceded them[2]. It took place after the battle of Carchemish (B.C. 605[3]) on the Euphrates. Pharaoh-Necho had proposed seizing the passage of that river, and re-establishing in Mesopotamia a sway like to that of a Thotmes, an Amenhetp, and a Ramses. There he met the then rising Chaldæan-Babylonian monarchy, and was beaten (Jer. xlvi. 5; 2 K. xxiv. 7). At that

[1] See the monographs of Sax ('Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XXII. p. 1 sq.) and Schrader (do. XXVII. p. 397 sq.). Lenormant, 'Man. of Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. Index s.n.; do. 'La Magie,' p. 265 sq.; Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' I. p. 43 sq.

[2] Cp. 'Captivities of the Jews,' in Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.'

[3] The date assigned to it by the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Apis Steles of Egypt. (Cp. Hincks, 'Journ. of Sacr. Literat.' 1858, p. 126; G. Smith, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. 324.)

date Nabopolassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar was king, but not sole king. He had been reigning twenty-one years, and his increasing infirmities[1] had induced him three years before to associate with himself his son Nebuchadnezzar. This practice of association of father and son, repeated later on in the case of Nabonadius and Belshazzar, is found in the Egyptian annals (*e.g.* Amenhetp III. and IV.; Seti and Ramses II.; Ramses IX. and X.[2]), in the Assyrian (*e.g.* Assurbanipal with Esarhaddon[3]); in the early Babylonian (*e.g.* Kudur-mabuk and Rīaku[4]); and, in the later days of the Roman empire, was the common practice among the Himyaritic kings of Ma'în[5]. It was often productive, as in the present case, of a double method of computing the dates of the new reign. Some reckoned the era which was inaugurated by the sole sovereignty of Nebuchadnezzar from the date of the association, others from that of the death of Nabopolassar[6]. Daniel calls Nebuchadnezzar "king" without hesitation, and in strict accuracy, and he refers to that siege of Jerusalem only in which he had been personally interested, and to which the historian Berosus refers.

There is no reason for taking נָשָׂא in the sense of simply "setting out" or "starting for" a place; the verse records a plain historical fact, and in its plain meaning it is true: but it is quite possible, and even probable, that what Daniel here calls "the third year" differs slightly from the regular Hebrew "third year." There was a difference of about half-a-year between the Hebrew and Babylonian styles[7]. The Jewish year began in the autumn, the Babylonian in the spring. But in either case, whether Daniel used the Babylonian or Hebrew style, the following table[8] will shew that the statement of i. 1 is not contradicted. Under either system the third year of Jehoiakim is identified with the battle of Carchemish and the 21st year of Nabopolassar[9], and immediately afterwards followed the attack upon Jerusalem mentioned by Daniel.

A.	B.
Full Babyl. yr. = full Jew. yr.	B.C. 605—4 = $\frac{143}{144}$ Nab. era.
(1 Nebuchadn. = 4th Jehoiak.)	$\left(4^{\text{th}} \text{ of Jehoiak.} = \frac{21 \text{ Nabopolassar}}{1 \text{ Nebuchadnezzar}}\right)$
Expedition agst. Phar.-Necho ... } 20 Nabopolass. = 2 Jehoiak.	1st half of 3 Jeh. = 2nd half of 20 Nab.
Battle of Carchemish ..... } 21 ..... = 3	2nd ..... = 1st ..... 21 .....
Pursuit of Necho... id. ..... = id.	

Chapter ii. 1 records events falling after the completion of those *three* years of Daniel's training which commenced with his captivity (i. 1, 5). This is in itself a clear indication that the expedition mentioned in i. 1 was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Nabopolassar, while as yet Nebuchadnezzar was an associated king[10]. The following table will explain this point.

Jehoiakim's 3rd year.	Captivity of Daniel. Dan. i. 1. 21 Nabopolassar	
..... 4th ...		
	Nebuchadnezzar 1st year.	Jer. xxv. 1.
..... 5th ...		
	..... 2nd ...	His dreams. Dan. ii. 1.
..... 6th ...		

[1] Berosus in Josephus, 'Antiq.' x. ch. xi.

[2] Birch, 'Egypt,' pp. 109, 148.

[3] G. Smith, 'On the Chronology of the Reign of Sennacherib,' p. 15; 'Assyria,' p. 136.

[4] G. Smith, 'Notes on the Early History of Assyria and Babylonia,' pp. 17, 18.

[5] 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. p. 9.

[6] Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of East,' p. 474. The most ancient mode of dating yet found on tablets was to date from some particular event which happened in the year; *e.g.* the dedication by the king of a throne of gold for his god (G. Smith, 'Early Hist. of Babylon,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' I. 46 sq.). The Chaldæan Phul (B.C. 747) dated by the years of his reign, which was the usual Babylonian method. (Lenormant, p. 389. Cp. 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 231.)

[7] Cp. chronology in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' p. 324 n., and Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Assurs u. Babels,' pp. 365, 371.

[8] The table is taken from Niebuhr, p. 372.

[9] Westcott, Art. *Daniel*, p. 390, note *a*.

[10] Vid. 'The three first years of Daniel's captivity,' 'Journ. Sacr. Lit.' 1862, pp. 162—8; Niebuhr, p. 372. Herzfeld, Ewald and Grätz sup-

The orthography of the name נבוכדנאצר (Nebuchadnezzar) is here in accordance with that found in 2 K. xxiv. 1, xxv. 1; Ezra ii. 1. In other parts of the book its final syllables are נצר—without the א. The form (-rezzar) ראצר—adopted by Jeremiah (xxv. 1) and Ezekiel (xxix. 18)—is nearer to the cuneiform representation of the name, Nabu-Kudur-uzur (G. Smith); but the great variations in orthography which these inscriptions present (see Norris' 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n.) should prevent the dogmatic deduction that the usual form in Daniel is an indication of late composition. The omission or insertion of the א in the name of Nebuchadnezzar is an indication of Masoretic or other editing, nothing more: for a similar variation Kranichfeld points to נוֹ iii. 25, vii. 15, and נוֹא iii. 6, 11, iv. 7.

4. The instruction given to Ashpenaz that the children selected should be taught "the learning (lit. the book, ספר) and the tongue of the Chaldæans" (i. 4) was followed by the result stated in i. 20. The king "found them ten times[1] better than all the magicians (*khartummim*) and astrologers (*assaphim*)," &c. Cuneiform decipherment has done much to throw light upon the classes named and the nature of the subjects taught.

Diodorus Siculus[2], following Ctesias, who had seen the Chaldæan magi at Babylon, spoke of them as "set apart for the worship of the gods," as men "who endeavour to turn aside evil and procure good by purifications or by sacrifices or by enchantments." The vast work (in fragments) on magic—or, perhaps better—magism, discovered by Mr Layard at Kouyunjik (Nineveh), preserved in the British Museum, and published in the fourth Vol. of the 'Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' contains a collection of the formulæ, incantations, and hymns used by these men, which promises to be for the study of the subject what the Atharva-Véda has been for the study of the religious belief of ancient India[3]. This collection, consisting of about fifty tablets, many of them intact, contains between 300 and 400 lines of writing, and occupies about thirty folio pages. It may be roughly divided into three books: (1) the formulæ of conjuration and imprecation used to repel demons and evil spirits; (2) the incantations which were supposed to possess the power of healing different illnesses; (3) hymns to certain gods, the recital of which was supposed to be followed by a supernatural and mysterious power, and which differ from the liturgical hymns of the official religion. "It is curious," says Lenormant[4], "that these three divisions correspond exactly to the three classes, viz. the *khartumim* or conjurators (A.V. "magicians"), the *khakamim* or doctors (A.V. "wise men"), and *assaphim* or theosophists (A.V. "astrologers"), mentioned by Daniel (i. 20, ii. 2 and 27, v. 11) side by side with the astrologers (*Kasdim*, A.V. "Chaldæans") and diviners (*gazrim*, A.V. "soothsayers")."

There is every reason to believe that the vast sacerdotal body, which had as much influence in Babylonia as it had had in Egypt and Assyria, was composed of various classes. How early those who held the tradition of the priests of the more primitive belief were merged, through toleration and compromise, into the more dominant body who preferred the developed Chaldæan-Babylonian worship to the simple Accadian cultus of the spirits of the elements, is, and will probably long remain, a matter of uncertainty[5]; but in the most flourishing historic period of Babylon's existence—the time of Nebuchadnezzar—there survived in full vigour special classes of men, priests, and others, who devoted themselves to special branches of the one vast subject—"science," they united in studying. The priestly dignity seems to have been hereditary, with possibly such legitimate exceptions as would permit the admission of kings into the class. Thus Nebuchadnezzar was a priest-king probably by descent or in virtue of his power and royal office[6]. Again "philosophers," whether priests or not, were divided into such classes as are referred to under the names of astronomers, astrologers, scribes, and decipherers of writings. The astronomical tablets of Babylonia are of a great age, and the study of the solar, lunar, and astral bodies is found to be systematized and recorded by the 16th cent. B.C. This is in accordance with the evident belief of Greek and Roman writers in the great an-

pose that "ten" has dropped out of the text of ii. 1; and would read בשנת שתים ועשרים or בש' ש' ושלשים: but the conjecture is unsupported by any authority, and is not required by ii. 37, 38.

[1] Lit. "ten hands;" the Accadian for "one" is *id*=hand. Cp. Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 132 sq., and 'The Accad. Numerals' in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XXVII. p. 696.

[2] II. 29.

[3] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' &c. p. 11. In 'Cun. Insc. of W. A.' II. pl. 17, 18 are other tablets full of information on this subject: cp. also Sayce, 'The Astronomy, &c., of the Babylonians,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.' III. p. 151.

[4] 'La Magie,' p. 13.

[5] Lenormant carries it back to a great sacerdotal reform which took place about B.C. 2000, about the time of the commencement of the reign of Sargon, 'Les prem. Civ.' I. p. 131—3.

[6] The title "Priest-King" is found in the inscriptions of Esar-haddon and Sargon; and appears to have been the regular designation of the sovereigns of Babylon up to the time of Nabopolassar. See Hincks, 'Babylon and her Priest-Kings,' in 'Journ. of Sacred Literat.' p. 296 sq. (1859). G. Smith, 'Early Hist. of Babylonia,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 70.

tiquity of Babylonian astronomy[1]. These classes—scientific and priestly—were not confined to Babylon. They had flourishing schools at Borsippa, Erech, and other leading cities of the empire.

The usual material on which priests and philosophers, kings and civilians, wrote was the tablet of clay. The great library of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (d. c. B.C. 626), was composed almost entirely of such tablets, probably over 10,000[2]. Other kings before him, Tiglath Pileser II. (B.C. 745), Sargon (B.C. 722), Sennacherib (B.C. 705), and Esarhaddon (B.C. 681), had helped in collecting inscribed tablets, but it was reserved for Assurbanipal, the great conqueror, as his "grandest work" to collect, copy, and store in the library of the palace of Nineveh tablets which he intended for the inspection of the people, and for the diffusion of knowledge among the Assyrians. There were historical texts, the histories of former native kings, and copies of royal inscriptions from other places; copies of treaties, despatches, and orders from kings to generals and ministers: there were tablets connected with legal, social, commercial, and economical science, giving judicial and legal decisions, contracts, loans, deeds of sale and exchange, lists of tribute and taxes, property, and population;—in short, much which would help towards the formation of the census and a *précis* of the general state of the empire at various times: there were mythological tablets giving lists of the gods, their titles, attributes, and temples, hymns and prayers liturgical, official, and private; and there was the scientific division which dealt with earth and sky, the celestial phenomena and natural history, the appearance and motions of the heavens and the geography of earth with its flora and fauna. But in addition to the tablet of clay, the Babylonians used other materials. On some of the Assyrian monuments officers may be noticed writing down lists of spoil, captives, &c., on a material which is evidently papyrus, parchment, or leather. "In the night-time," says a charm, "bind round the sick man's head a sentence taken from a good book:" elsewhere the advice is given, "care not to save the newly written books,"—passages which confirm Pliny's statements[3] as to the ancient use of papyrus; while the word usually employed (sip-ra-a-ti) supports the linguistic correctness of the term (*sepher*) used in Dan. i. 4.

[1] This part of a large subject will be found summarized by Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. pp. 145—9.

[2] See Layard, 'Nineveh and Babyl.' Introd. Ch.; Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 151 sq.; Sayce, in 'Fraser's Mag.' July, 1874; G. Smith, 'Assyria,' s. n. *Assurbanipal*.

[3] Sayce, 'Use of Papyrus among the Accadians,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' I. p. 343; Fox Talbot, in do. III. p. 432.

The ancient monuments[4] which reveal to the decipherer the fact that in the composition of the population of Chaldæa and Babylonia there existed two principal elements, two great nations—the Accadians and Sumerians, reveal also the fact that Accadian (or Turanian) and Semitic (called "Assyrian") were the languages in use. It is to the Accadians that the Chaldæan Babylonians were indebted for the cuneiform system of writing, the characters of which are sometimes ideographic, sometimes syllabic in value, sometimes both: and it is from the same source that "magic" with its beliefs and practices, as it entered into Chald.-Babylonian civilization, is to be traced. On the other hand astrology and astronomy are not to be referred to an Accadian, but rather to a Cushite-Semitic origin. Consequently, while Accadian is essentially the language of magic, astrological and astronomical documents are in Assyrian, and both sciences are couched in idioms consecrated to them. In the course of time it would seem that the religious belief and the language of the Semite became predominant. The ancient Accadian magic and the ancient Accadian idiom was gradually but completely superseded. By the 12th cent. B.C. the Accadian language was, like Latin in the middle ages, the language of the learned; and, above all, a language consecrated to religious things. The venerable liturgical hymns and magic formulæ, which furnished the text-books of sacerdotal "wisdom," were still sung at certain ceremonies and recited in theurgic operations in the time of Assurbanipal (7th cent. B.C.), but they were no longer "understanded of the people;" these were dependent upon the Assyrian translation which accompanied the originals. To the priesthood of Babylonia and Chaldæa at that period Accadian was the language of religious symbolism, the holy language of prayer to the gods, and that mysterious idiom which had power to command spirits: it was the language in which they wrote the divine names, even though they read them in their Semitic form. It is in keeping with this hybrid growth and commixture of Semitic creeds and Accadian language, that in the time of Nebuchadnezzar those educated in the sacerdotal schools were known by the originally ethnic but then class name of Chaldæans (Casdim). How much earlier this took place, and how much later it continued, is immaterial. That name was then, by popular usage, at once assigned to the whole scientific body and also narrowed to that class to which alone it was strictly appropriate—the priest-magicians.

It will be readily understood that tablets (astronomical or otherwise) written in the primitive Accadian idiom, and in a style different from that current at a later date, would require explanation. Grammars, dictionaries,

[4] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 266 sq.

syllabaries, &c., were consequently prepared to facilitate study and translation by Assyrian-speaking people. By degrees the corruption of style and confusion of language became greater. It is not uncommon to find the grammar of some tablets Semitic, while the words will be sometimes Accadian, sometimes Assyrian[1]. This mixture of vocabularies is to this day one of the main difficulties of decipherment: for example; the astrological tablets are often written ideographically and in terms different from those of ordinary life. It was thus easy to conceal the meaning of these astrological observations from all but the initiated. So with the magical tablets; the language was Accadian with an Assyrian translation which helped to decipher the meaning of the original. Accadian was a dead language; but for that very reason the privileged readers of the tablets had invested with mysterious efficacy words which were unintelligible sounds to an ignorant and superstitious people[2].

It was in the booklearning and the ancient and modern languages intelligible to his instructors that Daniel and his companions were educated. That these Jews were not members of the priest-class may be asserted with safety: the monotheistic Hebrew could not conscientiously have any religious sympathy with the polytheistic Babylonian (see Dan. iii.). There is, however, nothing impossible in the conjecture that Daniel especially was trained in such rudiments of their science, true and false, as familiarized him with their books and tablets, and enabled him to discern between the good and the evil, between the wisdom and the folly contained in them. The position, however, assigned to him by Nebuchadnezzar (ii. 48), by Belshazzar (v. 29), and Darius the Mede (vi. 2), rather points to a professional or political career as that for which he had been prepared by early training; and this would be much more in keeping with what would be expected. It is known that the "Chaldæans" were not only priests and philosophers but also statesmen and generals. They commanded armies and held the chief offices of state. The archimagus was, next to the king, the first person in the realm; he accompanied the sovereign to the wars, and advised military operations in accordance with sacerdotal presage. During any vacancy in the succession he administered the government, and, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar (see on ii. 1), handed it over to the lawful heir: sometimes, as in the case of Nabonadius, he himself became king[3]. Daniel's instructors for his career were therefore members of the dominant scientific and political body; and to their care—humanly speaking—he owed the development of his great natural abilities.

According to Grätz, the whole narrative being purely fictitious in its tendency, it is best to substitute for the text ספר ולשון יונים (the "learning" and "tongue" of the Greeks), and understand by it a reflection of the *παιδεία Ἑλληνική*. The youths of the Maccabæan period were tempted to learn Greek, adopt Greek manners, &c. (cp. 1 Macc. i. 11—15). Why should they not? Let them do so, just as Daniel was (in the fiction) alleged to have learnt the profane learning and manners of his time. He and his friends suffered no harm; neither should those young patriots, who would be Greeks and yet remain true Jews[4]. This is very ingenious but utterly opposed to all that is known of the tendencies of the religious party in that period[5].

The Names given to Daniel and his Companions.

7. The names given to Daniel and his companions as well as the names Arioch and Belshazzar may be conveniently considered in the English alphabetical order. Scholars considered for some time that all these names were Persian; a better acquaintance with the Assyrian-Babylonian language has at least modified this conception. The names of the astronomers and astrologers who sign the reports preserved in the British Museum contain usually the name of a god; *e.g.* Nebo-chadrezzar, Nebo-akhi-erba, Nergal-edir, Merodach, Abil-Istar. The inference that this was also the case with the other scientific classes, as well as with the people generally, will commend itself as legitimate to any reader of the names of eponyms, officers, &c. The natural supposition, to be deduced from iv. 8 (A.V.), is that the names of gods would enter into the composition of those trained in Babylonian schools. This is now known to be the fact.

אריוך "Arioch," ii. 14. The name occurs as that of the king of Ellasar (Gen. xiv. 1, see note). Whether or not Ellasar be Larsa (mod. Senkereh), or "the city of Assur" (mod. Kileh-Sherghat)[6], Arioch is considered by some Elamitic rather than Persian[7], by others Accadian[8], and by others again Se-

[1] Sayce, in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 150, &c.

[2] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 2, 240 sq. Cp. Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. p. 480 n.

[3] Cp. Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. 495.

[4] 'Beiträge z. Sach- u. Worterklärung d. B. Daniel,' in 'Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenthums,' 1871, pp. 338, 339.

[5] See *e.g.* Derenbourg's 'Palestine,' p. 55.

[6] Lenormant, 'Man. of Anc. Hist. of East,' I. 349; Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' II. p. 243.

[7] Fox Talbot, MS. communication; just as Nebo-chadrezzar is the name of an Elamite astronomer. Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' III. p. 195.

[8] Sayce, MS. communication.

mitic. If it be of Aryan etymology the guttural termination warrants a comparison with the Sanskr. *âryaka* "venerable" from *arya* "lord." Those who prefer a Semitic etymology connect it with אריא and אריה "a lion,"—a well-known sacred symbol both among Babylonians and Egyptians[1],—and consider the termination an Aramaic suffix[2], or the proper name of a god ("Ak" = Nebo), and therefore "the lion-god[3]." The great difficulty in this and similar words is the final guttural. If Semitic, it may be the suffix of the 2nd person singular; very much as the final guttural in the biblical Chaldee הָךְ and קָךְ (so frequent in Ezra iv. v. and vi.), or in the later Chaldee idiom of the Babylonian Talmud אִיכָךְ and הַאיכָךְ, or in Arabic[4]; possibly it may be here and in similar proper names (Meshach, Shadrach) an Accadian post-position: an example of which —not in a proper name—is supposed by Sir H. Rawlinson to occur in the word זבנך "for sale," found on the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon[5]. The question of etymology is, therefore, not yet solved, but that the name was not a very uncommon one seems supported by its occurrence in early and late inscriptions. It is the *Eri-aku* (Rī-agū) who was the son of Kudur-mabuk (probably the Chedor-laomer of Gen. xiv. 1), king of Elam and of the northern part of Babylonia[6]; and the Armenian *Arak* (Aracha) who called himself "Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus" and opposed the great Darius Hystaspis[7]. The occurrence of this name in the Behistun Inscription is of great importance. Inasmuch as it is there stated that this insurgent came from Babylon, the name may be supposed to have been both common and well known in Babylonia; and, as adopted by one who personated Nebuchadnezzar, was much more likely to have been of Babylonian (and Semitic) than Aryan derivation.

עבד נגו, "Abed-Nego." This name should probably be "Abed-Nebo," the "servant of Nebo," the god whose name enters into the composition of such familiar names as Nebuchadnezzar, Nabo-polassar, Nebu-zaradan, &c. Sir H. Rawlinson has found the name Abed-Nebo in a "registry" tablet from the record office of the Assyrian kings; it occurs there as the name of a witness to a deed of sale of a slave girl by her joint owners: the tablet is dated from Nabu-shar-uzur who was Eponym during the last year of the reign of Sennacherib (B.C. 683)[8]. The junction of the word עבד with the name of a deity finds its Hebrew counterpart in Obadiah and Abdiel, and its modern representative in Abdallah. Among the Babylonians Nebo was a god of great renown, but among the Assyrians his cultus was of the most fluctuating kind[9]. He was the patron-god of Borsippa, where he was associated with the goddess Nana[10]. In the Chaldæan-Babylonian system he was one of the gods of the five planets, and corresponds to Mercury; being both an evening and a morning star, he had two names, *Nebo* and *Nouskou*; the former name, given to him as the "proclaimer" or precursor of the sun, recalls the familiar Hebrew word *nabi* or prophet. His Accadian names were *Sulpa-udda*, "the messenger of the rising sun," and *mul-an-Pa*, "star of Nebo." Nebo was always considered the god of prophetic inspiration, of letters, and of eloquence. One of his most frequent titles is "scribe of the universe." In the various hymns to his honour he is called "the son of Bel," the "maker of interpretations," "the intelligent god," "the supreme intelligence," one "to whose power no power is equal," one "whose will like the heavens does not vary," one who "in the heavens is sublime." He is described as "watching over the legions of heaven and earth," *i.e.* over the regularity of the movements of the heavenly bodies and terrestrial phenomena. Nebo is, at the same time, the god of royal unction, and the special protector of kings. In the London Inscription Nebuchadnezzar says: "I caused to be built in Babylon, of bitumen and bricks, according to the rules of art, a temple in honour of the god Nebo, the supreme regent, who bestows the sceptre of justice to govern the legions of men." He calls it "the temple of him who confers the sceptre." Not the protective but the destructive power of this god is appealed to in another inscription in the Paris library (the Caillou Michaux stone brought from Bagdad): "May Nebo, the mighty intelligence, strike with affliction and terror, so as to cast into hopeless despair,"—is the imprecation upon the man who shall move the landmark described in the inscription. On the monuments he wears a tiara with horns rising in three pairs above each other, four large wings being often attached to his shoulders. An alabaster figure of the god describes, on the shoulder, in hieratic characters, the three qualifications of the god of fire, of the canal, and of action, the last qualification being sometimes symbolized by the presence of the sceptre, the emblem of authority[11].

[1] Kolbe, 'De leonis in sacris Ægyptiorum et Babyloniorum signo,' p. 2.

[2] Meier, in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XVII. p. 682.

[3] Hincks, 'Arioch and Belshazzar,' in 'Journ. of Sacr. Lit.' 1862, pp. 401, 417.

[4] Luzzatto-Krüger, 'Grammatik,' pp. 12, 72.

[5] 'Journ. R. A. S.' 1864, p. 228.

[6] G. Smith, 'Notes on the Early Hist. of A. and B.' pp. 22, 23.

[7] Behistun Inscription.

[8] 'Journ. of R. A. S.' 1864, pp. 211—2.

[9] Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. 933; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' II. 25.

[10] Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of East,' I. 483; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 27.

[11] Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of East,' I. p. 455, 484; 'Les prem. Civil.' II. pp. 181 sq.; 'La

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to trace the reasons for the corruption of Abed-Nebo into Abed-Nego. If Nego be the true reading (see the Greek versions), Nego *may* have some connection with the title of the god, Nouskou; the interchange of *g* and *k* presents no difficulty: the insertion of the *s* does. If Nebo be the original word, the change to Nego was in all probability due to a clerical error, the copyist making a mistake between ב and נ, and that mistake being perpetuated by those to whom the name was no longer familiar. That the mistake was of early date is proved by its existence in the LXX. version Ἀβδεναγώ, from which Theodotion and the later versions copied it. As a rule, the Hebrew reproduction of Babylonian names is exact so far as the *consonants* are concerned[1], and this makes the error the more remarkable. The mistake may, of course, have been wilful, for the Jews —it is asserted[2]—"often played with the names of the heathen gods in a spirit of scorn and contumely." At least it is certain that the "scribe," who literally as well as conscientiously held by the commandment "make no mention of the name of other gods," &c. (Exod. xxiii. 13 and reff.), would find no difficulty in excusing any orthography he chose to adopt, nor would he feel himself debarred from accompanying the hateful name with some word expressive of disgust (2 K. xxiii. 13).

בלטאצר, v. Bel-shazzar. The name of the son of Nabonadius (see notes to ch. v.) signifying "Bel, protect the king," or "Bel has formed a king" (Hincks); the former being now generally preferred. The god Bel was the third member of the first triad—*Anou*, *Nouah*, *Bel*—which the Chaldean-Babylonian religion placed as emanations under the great god *Ilou* (Accad. *Dingira*): in this triad Bel was the demiurgus and god of the organized universe. Among the planetary gods—the secondary manifestations of the superior triads —he is identified with Merodach. Under the Accadian name of Moul-ge, he and the goddess Belit (Beltis) were worshipped at Nipur; and when identified with Merodach he was the patron-god of Babylon. It is unquestionable that, in the course of time, the primitive conception of the gods was changed, according to Accadian, Assyrian, and Babylonian religious mythology. Hence it will not be surprising if Merodach is found in Babylonian astral-theology identified with both Jupiter and Mercury, and that Bel should be a name sometimes coupled with Anou, sometimes separated, sometimes identified with Jupiter, sometimes assigned to a revolution of the moon. The first month (Nisan) of the year was dedicated to Anu and Bel, and the standard astrological work of the Babylonians was called after his name *Namar-Bili* or *Enu-Bili*, the "illumination" or "eye" of Bel. In the ancient Chaldæan account of the deluge he bears the title of "prince of gods, warrior," and his temple at Nipur, the ancient capital of Babylonia was restored, if not founded, by the king Urukh whose inscriptions are supposed to be the oldest contemporary documents from Babylonia[3]. That temple was further restored by the kings Ismidagan, Kudurmabuk, Kuri-galzi[4], and finally by Nebuchadnezzar whose "devotion" to Merodach is so fully recorded in the East India Company's Inscription[5]. In that inscription such titles as "the great god," "the first-born and highest of the gods," "the preserver of heaven and earth," "the sublime master of the gods;" and such attributes as who "confers empire over the legions of men," who "creates to govern," who "examines the secret motives of the heart," who "inspires a fear and respect for his divinity," who "protects (as a tutelary god) his town Babylon"—give a fair idea of the veneration with which his royal servant regarded him. Following out the identification of Bel with Merodach (Jupiter), his star is called, appositely, the "star of the king," and hymns[6] are sung to his honour. One has been compared with Ps. cxlvii.: it contains such noble parallelisms as the following:

"Lord, prophet of all glory, lord of battles,
Thou art sublime, who is equal to thee?
Thy will is a sublime decree, which thou dost establish in heaven and earth."

Another hymn speaks of "the great heavens, the father of the gods" as "the resting-place of his watching;" and others speak of his work as a mediator and his connection with the belief in the resurrection.

In the monuments he wears the horned cap, which was the general emblem of divinity and a special symbol of this god: his name enters largely into the composition of the eponyms, and, with less frequency, into that of kings and people[7].

בלטשאצר, "Belteshazzar," i. 7, ii. 26, v. 12. The name is the Babylonian *Bilat-sarra-utsur*, "Beltis defend the king[8]:"

Magie,' index s. n.; Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' III. pp. 168, 174, &c.

[1] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 209. That this exactness would not be found as regards *vowels* stands to reason, if the addition of the vowel-points be placed in A.D. 6th cent., when authentic tradition about the mode of pronouncing these names was lost.

[2] Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. p. 27, n. 13.

[3] G. Smith, 'Athenæum,' July 18, 1874; 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 232.

[4] Do. 'Early History of Babylonia,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' I. pp. 34, 70.

[5] Cp. Oppert's 'Transl.' passim, and for the description of the temple of Belus in the time of Herod. (I. 181) Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 515.

[6] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 169—80.

[7] See works referred to under Abed-Nebo.

[8] Sir H. Rawlinson ('Journ. R. A. S.' 1864,

Bilat being the feminine of Bil, "a lord," and the name of the goddess-spouse of Bel. Her Accadian name was *Nin-gelal*, or *Ninge*, or *Nin-ki-gal;* and the primitive conception regarded her and *Moul-ge* (Bel) as "the lord and lady of the abysses of the earth," that mysterious region to which the dead were considered to descend. An ancient hymn speaks of her as "reposing on elevated altars" with Moul-ge in that temple where there is no thought, no blessing...but darkness and blindness[1]. Yet out of this chaos of darkness and death came life and living things. The goddess Beltis, in whom seem merged many of the attributes and functions assigned to the goddess-spouses of *Anou* and *Nouah*, becomes the feminine principle of nature, the matter moist, passive, and fruitful, in whose bosom the generation of gods and men is produced. If Beltis is the "lady of the lower abyss[2]," she is also "the mother of the gods" and "queen of fertility:" if she is *Allat*, the goddess of the infernal regions, "the mother of the city of Erech"—the great necropolis of Chaldæa; she is also *Tamti*, "the sea," that representative of the primordial humidity whence everything is deemed to have sprung. In astral-theology Beltis is identified with Istar, the Babylonian Venus; and as a star bears the poetical names of *Nin-si-anna*, "lady of the defences of heaven," and *Mustelil*, "the brilliant." The planet was a favourite object of observation, and the two phrases are carefully noted, but with a confusion of the two names in the astronomical tablet: Venus at sunset is "Istar of Erech" and "Bilat Ili," queen of the gods; Venus at sunrise is "Istar among the stars." This identification with Istar opens up to the scientific student the point of connection with the ancient legend[3] known among cuneiform scholars as the "descent of Ishtar to Hades."

That the goddess Beltis was, from early times, held in great renown, appears from the frequent mention of her name in the Inscriptions. In the year 1874, Mr G. Smith found bricks from the "temple of Ishtar" with the dedication, "To Beltis, his lady, Shalmaneser, viceroy of Assur, king of nations," this Shalmaneser being the builder of the palace of Nineveh (c. 1300 B.C.); and another inscription from the same spot records how "Tugulti-ninip, king of nations, son of Shalmaneser...the temple of Beltis built[4]." Beltis is the goddess whom the great king Assurbanipal, in accordance with a custom of which Nebuchadnezzar's Inscription furnishes another instance, claims as his parent: "I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis[5]." Previously to the Persian conquest the shrine of the great temple of Belus was occupied by colossal images, one of which was that of Beltis. Before it were two golden lions, and near them two enormous serpents of silver[6] A hymn speaks of the fast celebrated to her at her town of Erech; and the words, "I do not follow mine own will; I do not glorify myself," specifying the character of her worshippers[7], happily illustrate the meekness and modesty so discernible in the character of the Belteshazzar of Scripture. At Babylon the worship of the goddess had lost its sombre and more sublime aspect; it had sunk into the encouragement of sensuality[8].

The practice of forming the name of a male with a female element, not unknown among ourselves and modern nations, is not without its parallel in Assyrian-Babylonian times. Abil-Istar and Istar-so-um-esses are names of writers of astronomical reports[9]; and a tablet relative to the moon-god is signed by Istar-so-um-Kamis the chief librarian of Assurbanipal...and son of Nabo-zir-asir the chief astrologer[10].

The LXX. (followed by Theod., Jerome &c.) makes no difference between Belshazzar and Belteshazzar. It has but one name, Βαλτάσαρ, to represent both. This is another instance of the priority of the existing Hebrew text and its accuracy. The compiler of the Greek version had forgotten, or chose to forget, that distinction between the two names which Daniel himself had carefully marked.

מישׁך, "Meshach," i. 7 and iii. "It is impossible," says Max Müller[11], "to give any etymology of" this name and Shadrach. "No names similar to them," says Sayce[12], "are found in the inscriptions." Hence critics have indulged freely in conjectures. Hitzig and Zöckler trace the first name to the Sanskrit mêschah = a ram, *maesha*, Justi. "It may have been," says Max Müller, "*mis*, friend, and *shah*,

p. 236), and Sayce (MS. communication), are agreed in recognizing *Bilat* as the first element in this name, though the *teth* is substituted for the *tau*. Oppert, 'Journ. asiat.' 1864, p. 52, and Schrader, 'die Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.' p. 278, take the name as Baltasu-usur (Balatsu-usur), "protect his life;" but Dan. iv. 8 is in favour of the former opinion that "the name of my god" enters into the composition of Belteshazzar. Canon Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 82, gives another derivation.

[1] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 153, 154.

[2] Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' III. pp. 169, 197.

[3] Translated by Messrs. Fox Talbot, G. Smith, Lenormant, Schrader and others.

[4] G. Smith, 'Times,' July 7, 1874.

[5] 'Hist. of Assurb.' p. 3; see Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of East,' I. p. 484.

[6] Rawlinson, 'A. M.' II. 515.

[7] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 168.

[8] Cp. Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. p. 499; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 30.

[9] Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' III. 213, 233.

[10] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 155.

[11] In Pusey's 'Lectures,' l. c.

[12] MS. communication.

king," and the compound in Persian would mean, "king of the friend." It is true that *mesha* is in the Vedas a title of the god Indra[1]; but it is hardly likely that in Babylonia the name would have been given with reference to any such deity. Others, therefore, with far more probability—if the analogy of the composition of the other names is allowed its due weight—trace it to a Babylonian source. Taking the guttural termination as either Aramaic[2] or, better, Accadian, the two consonants מיש recall the Accadian *mas* (Assyrian *sed*), or protecting "genius," which standing at the head of the demi-gods is described in the old magical books as having his abode on the top of the mountains, and acting as an ægis to all who place themselves under his protection. Such expressions as "the good *mas*," "the good *lamma*" (Assyrian *lamas* "colossus"), "the good *utuq*" (Assyrian do.), are frequent in the formulæ of incantations as opposed to "the wicked *mas*," "the wicked *lamma*," "the wicked *utuq*[3]:" and it is not without significance that Sir H. Rawlinson has found in one of the signs of the ideograph which forms the name of the god Hercules, the phonetic value *mas* as applied to the god by one of the different nations of Babylonia[4].

Such a semi-divine element, or actual reproduction of the name of a god, suggested by one or other of the above suppositions, may well be conceived as entering into the name "Meshach," as it entered into the name "Mesesi-Mordach."

If it has assumed, in the present text, the form מישך, the insertion of the י is easily explained by the wish to repeat as nearly as possible the form מישאל, or by the ignorance real or wilful of the scribe, who at the same time could write עבדנגו.

שדרך, "Shadrach," i. 7 and iii. LXX. and Theod. Σεδράχ(κ). This name is identified by some with חדרך (Zech. ix. 1), the proper name of a Syrian god who represents the seasons (חור=חדר, "to turn," "wind"). The interchange of ח with sibilants is not without parallel. Others prefer to trace its relation to Babylonian. They connect it with the Assyrian *Sadhiru* or *Sadhru*, "the scribe" (שטר), and the non-Assyrian guttural termination; or with the *sed* (cp. LXX. Σεδ-) the Assyrian equivalent of *mas* (see "Meshach," and cp. the analogy suggested by חנגיה), followed by the insertion of the *r* (frequent in Assyrian)[5] before the guttural. It may even be a name which has suffered similar transformations to those of the name which, originally sounded *Istar-duri*, became in succession *Sa-ar-du-ri* and *Se-e-du-ri*, and—when the position of the elements of the name was reversed—*Dur-sa*, *Ur-sa-a*, and *Ru-sa-a*[6]. Of both these names—Meshach and Shadrach—it must be asserted that nothing certain is yet known.

With reference to the names given to Daniel and his three friends, it is a legitimate conjecture that these would be used by the Babylonians only. Among themselves and their captive countrymen they would be known by their Hebrew names: as true patriots they would count that a disgrace which yet they were compelled by custom to endure. Thus for instance, when, in later days, certain Jews adopted Latin names in order to assimilate themselves more closely to the Romans, their fellow-countrymen resented bitterly such weakness, and pointed in contrast to the captive Jews in Goshen, who had adopted neither the language nor the names of their Egyptian taskmasters. The fact is not without importance with reference to the supposed Maccabæan date of the book "Daniel." It is well known that the Hellenizing Jews of the Maccabæan days threw off, only too readily, their nationality; and adopted Greek names, manners, and language. It was the wish of Antiochus Epiphanes that the Greek language should replace Hebrew. A Joshua (the high-priest) became a Jason (Ἰασών), an Onias, a Menelaus (Μενέλαος). The *khasidim* or national party resented this as treachery to God and country[7]. If the book "Daniel" was composed in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, how could the writer of the "fiction" have made such a mistake as to allow Daniel and his friends to take heathen names without one word of protest on their part? The difficulty is thus treated by Grätz[8]: Daniel, &c. held their heathen names in no honour; they retained their Hebrew names. Therefore the author of the book wished the "faithful" of his (the Maccabæan) time to learn from this example that even if they did take Greek names, they might still remain Jews at heart. The solution is ingenious!

Excursus on Persian Words in the book Daniel.

In the Book of Daniel there are several words, some of which are referred to Aryan and not Semitic roots. Their presence is of extreme value as pointing to a period when Oriental—Babylonian, Median, and Persian—and not Greek, supremacy exercised a special

[1] Justi, 'Handb. d. Zendsprache,' s. v. maêsha.
[2] Meier, 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' XVII. p. 682, n. 1.
[3] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 24, 29, 138.
[4] 'Journ. R. A. S.' 1864, p. 230, n. 4.
[5] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 111; Oppert, 'El. de la Gram. Assyr.' p. 103.
[6] G. Smith, 'Hist. of Assurban.' p. 150.
[7] Josephus, 'Antiq.' XII. 5, § 1; see the 'Histories' of Milman, Palmer, Derenbourg, Ewald and Grätz.
[8] 'Beiträge,' p. 341.

influence over the language. Delitzsch[1], in enumerating them, points out how they separate the book of Daniel from the Maccabæan era, and testify to its composition in the time of the captivity. Of the seven to nine words found in Daniel, three are also found in Ezra, two in Esther (see 'Appendix to Ezra' and 'A. to Esther'), and one only in the Targums. It may be of interest to set down these words, and then deduce from them the conclusion they seem naturally to offer.

גדברין (Dan.) / גזברין (Ezra) found in Dan. iii. 2, 3, and in Ezra i. 8, vii. 21, 'treasurers.'

The last syllable is considered to be the Persian *bar* keeper, cp. *bara*, "to carry:" and the former part of the word is usually traced to the old Persian, *gai(e)th* (Haug) or *gada*, *gaitha* (Justi), *ganda* (Delitzsch): —compare the Sansk. ganja (Benfey); New Persian, jihân:—hence ganjavara, *gainth-bara* or *gainz-bara* (גנז, "a treasure," so גנזך, 1 Chro. xxviii. 11). Ewald[2] gives to גדברי a meaning "machttragender" or nobleman of high official position, deriving it from the old Persian *chudvâr* (from *chad*, "God," "Almightiness"), disliking the previous identification with the half-Semitic, half-Persian גזברין.

But the Persian etymologies are not convincing (Max Müller), and Dietrich thinks that the word is to be explained as a Semitic formation borrowed from the Persians by their Semitic neighbours. It is curious that an Aramæan-Persian seal of the (probably) Achæmenian period should have been found which supports materially this semi-Semitic semi-Persian conclusion[3]. The owner of the seal bears the title שמר זנכז. The former word occurs frequently in the titles of the Persian nobles (*e.g.* Esther ii. 3, 21; Nehem. ii. 8): the ד=ז the Aram. particle indicative of the genitive; and נכז corresponds to the נכסי (מלכא) in Ezra vi. 8. Gesenius[4] has shewn the relation between such forms as נכם and נגז (בנם), and Oppert[5] that the Assyrian form of גנז would be בנן; hence the title on the seal may be taken as a faithful translation of the גזבר of Ezra and the גדבר of Daniel.

פתגם—or א, "matter," found in Dan. iii. 16, iv. 14, &c.; Ezra iv. 17, vi. 11, &c.; Esther i. 20.

Old Persian, *pati-gâma*. New Pers. *paigan*. Pehlvi, *pedam*. This word is very frequent in Chaldee and Syriac. Though Michaelis[6] connects it with *φθέγμα*, its origin is probably Persian, *path* corresponding to the Zend preposition *paiti*, the Sanskrit *prati*, and the Greek *πρός*; in Zend the preposition expresses distribution and movement towards a person or thing. *gam* is to "go" in Sanskrit, Zend, and the cuneiform inscriptions. In Armenian *patgam* is a "message," and such a meaning reduced to the more general "matter" is appropriate here.

פרתמים, "princes," found in Dan. i. 3; Ezra; Esther i. 3, vi. 9. The mistakes and conjectures to which this word was subjected may be inferred from the rendering "Parthians" of the Syriac version, and Theodotion's approximate reproduction of the original in Greek characters, *πορθομμείν*. The ring of the word is thought by some to favour a Semitic rather than Aryan etymology. Philologists who trace it to the latter source compare it with Pehlvi, *pardôm;* Zend, *fratčma;* Sanskr. *prathama;* cuneiform *fratama;* the superlative of the prep. *pra*, *πρῶτος*, or perhaps *πρότιμος*[7]. In later times the word assumes the form פַּרְתּוּנָאֵי[8].

פחה, or "captains," found in Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27; Ezra v. 3, 14, vi. 7; Esther.

The word has been connected with the Persian, *paik*[9]; mod. Pers. *paigâh:* but it occurs so often in Assyrian and other inscriptions that the Semitic origin is now unquestioned[10]. Its early reception into Hebrew is well known[11]; and the name occurs as a title of Nebo in the East India House Inscription[12].

אחשדרפניא, found in Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27, &c., iii. 12, &c., "princes," see 'Com. on Bible,' III. 423, and note on Dan. iii. 2.

Of words, presumed to be Aryan, and peculiar to Daniel, the following are mentioned by Delitzsch, Haug, and others.

אזדא, ii. 5, 8. This word is also found in the Talmudical formula אזדא פלוני לטעמיה, and is there, as in Daniel, used as a *verb*. In Persian the corresponding word *azanda*, found in the Behistun and Nakhsh-i-Rustám inscriptions, has the meaning of 'knowledge,' and is used as a *substantive*. In this respect the Per-

[1] Herzog, 'R.-E.' Art. 'Daniel,' p. 274. Cp. also Haug, 'Erklärung d. Persischer Wörter d. A. T.' (in Ewald's 'Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wissenschaft,' pp. 151 sq. 1853); Justi, 'Handbuch d. Zend-Sprache;' Benfey, 'Sanskrit-Engl. Dict.;' Max Müller, 'On Aryan words in Daniel,' see Pusey's 'Lectures,' p. 565 sq.

[2] 'Die Propheten d. A. T.' III. p. 474.

[3] Blau, in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XVIII. 300.

[4] 'Thesaurus,' s. n.

[5] 'Gramm. Assyr.' p. 7.

[6] Castell. 'Lex. Syr.' p. 744; Renan, 'Hist. d. langues sémit.' p. 155; Gesenius, 'Thesaur.' s. n.; see 'App. to Ezra.'

[7] Benfey, 'Klschr.' p. 88; Pott, 'über altpersische Eigennamen' in 'Zeitsch. der D. M. G.' Vol. XIII. pp. 376, 416; Renan, l. c.; see 'App. to Esther.'

[8] Levy, 'Chaldäisch. Wörterbuch,' s. v.

[9] Benfey, 'Monats-Schr.' p. 195.

[10] See Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' p. 85; Ewald, l. c.; Schrader, 'die Keilinschr. d. A. T.' p. 89.

[11] This is traced by Pusey, p. 566, a passage which requires the elision of the note, asserting "no possible Semitic etymology."

[12] Schrader, 'Die Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschriften,' in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XXVI. 13.

sian and Biblical modes of application of the same root are independent. Many scholars[1], however, take אזד as = אזל, "go out," and refuse to it any Persian etymology. The retention of the idea of fixedness, unalterableness, alleged to be required by the context, is possible whichever etymology be adopted. The sentence would be "the word from me is gone out" in the sense of being irrevocable and fixed. The coupling of a masc. verb and a fem. noun is not uncommon in the later inscriptions[2], and this is the case here (מלתה אזדא). It is not therefore necessary to suppose the word = אזלת (Luzzatto); though if it be considered a feminine verb its form may be considered the prototype of that to which the afformative ת of the third pers. sing. fem. was reduced in the Babylonian Talmud, viz. ה, יא, or אי. Finally, the word may be the Aramaic form of the Assyrian *Zat* with the frequent preformative א, a word akin to and derived from יצא, and used to express what is remote (in time, future and past[3]), a sense quite appropriate here.

אדרגזרין, "judges," iii. 2, 3. Haug compares this with the Persian *daregha-çara*, and explains it by "prince of the host" (Heerfürst); but the Persian word itself can hardly be said to be quite determined, *çara* is probably connected with the Sanskrit *çiras;* but *darg* or *adarg* is very obscure. Hence others[4] prefer to consider the word thoroughly Aramaic, and, breaking it up into the components אדר (Adar) in sense of "distinguished" and גזר (Gezer) one of the classes mentioned in ii. 27, understand by it here the chief financial, or—better still (see iii. 2, add. Note)—legal officers. If the analogy of the name, Adrammelech (2 K. xvii. 31; xix. 37), offers any illustration, Adar derives this signification from the god (the Assyrian "Hercules," and Greek "Saturn"), who gave his name to the Assyrian (and Hebrew) month[5]. Ve-Adar was assigned by the Assyrians to their national god Assur to complete their cycle, but it was also the name of the month dedicated to "the seven great gods." It is easy to see how this use of the word would expand into the abstract signification "pre-eminence."

דתבר, "counsellor," iii. 2, 3. The first syllable is usually taken to correspond to the old Persian and Zend *dâta* "law" (cp. the new Persian *dâtuber*, dâwer for *dadwer*, "a judge" or "king"); and the second syllable "bar" to be the same as in גדבר (גזבר). The first syllable occurs also in Daniel in the sense of "law" or "firman" (דת, א—, ii. 13, vi. 9), and is—on the above supposition—connected with the roots *dâ* "to give" (δίδωμι) and *dhâ* "to place" (τίθημι): whence—*dad* a "gift" (from *dâ*), and a "law" (from *dhâ*). Hence the word דתבר is one skilled in the law, a keeper of the law, a counsellor.

A Babylonian etymology may be found for the word, if the letter ת be taken as inserted and used to distinguish the word from another and similar class, the הדברי מלכא (see add. N. to iii. 2).

הדם, "piece," ii. 5, iii. 29, is by some connected directly with the Persian *handâma* "a member:" others associate it with the Aramæan verb הַדֵּם (ܗܕܡ, "to cut in pieces"), the Aramæan word being considered a denominative from the Aryan. Levy[6] gives no instance of the use of the word as a substantive, but only as a verb.

מלצר, A. V. "Melzar," i. 11, 16. Haug considers this to be no proper name but a Persian equivalent for a cupbearer. The first part of the word he connects with the old Persian and Sanskrit *madhu*, and new Persian *mel* (μέθυ, mel); the latter part with the old Persian *çara* or Sanskrit *çiras*, a "head." The word would thus indicate a kind of "overseer of drinking." The Rabbins give more or less ingenious derivations of a Semitic kind:—cp. Saadia in the Rabbin. Bible. Hitzig compares it as a foreign word with Μολοσσὸρ = σός, and Grätz with μελέτωρ. The word will probably be found to be Assyrian; perhaps connected with the Accadian *mul* a star, or as a corruption of the name Mulal-Assur.

נבזבה, "rewards," ii. 6; v. 17. The root of the word is found by Haug in בז, the נ and בה being considered a preposition and affix respectively. בז is connected with the old Persian *bag'* "to divide," and the modern Persian *bâj* a "present;" the word therefore reading in old Persian, *nibagvâ* "largess." Others prefer to connect it with the palpel-form בזבז from בזז "to distribute" in a prodigal sense: and this explanation is more convincing. The Assyrians used the root in the sense of heaping up (Norris 'Assyr. Dict.' I. p. 79), and the word here is a Niphal substantive.

סגנין, "governors," ii. 48. Hitherto it has been usual to trace this word to a Persian source; and the Iranian forms of speech furnish two roots from which the word might be derived. The old Persian *thanh* (to proclaim), used of the king; Zend, *çâh*, *çang;* modern Persian, *sâhkten* (to order), *Shahneh*, a "prefect;" Sanskr. *cans:* or, Zend, *çaq*, Sanskr. *çak* (to be strong). But with a better knowledge of the Assyrian-Babylonian inscriptions, an earlier derivation of the word has become apparent. Sargon is called *sakkanakku Babilu*

[1] Gesenius, 'Thes.' s. v.; Saadia, Aben Ezra, Cahen, Luzzatto-Krüger, 'Gramm.' p. 38.

[2] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' pp. 73, 157.

[3] Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. v.

[4] *e. g.* Zöckler, in loco.

[5] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 16, 107. On the Accadian and Assyrian meaning of "Adar," see Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of B. A.' III. 161.

[6] 'Chald. Wörterb.' s. n.

which Hincks[1] renders "priest of Babylon," Oppert[2] "vicaire" (vicem-gerens deorum); and *sakin subari* which Prætorius[3] renders "Hersteller der Schönheit.' The word originally applied to kings only had, in Daniel's time, passed down to describe officers of the highest rank but not of royal descent, much as the word "prince" is used in modern times. The interchange of *c*, *k*, and *g* is occasionally found in Assyrian, and in Babylonian *g* commonly takes the place of *k*[4]. *Sakin* would thus become *sagan;* and though the word, if equivalent to *sacnu*, may not be Semitic, yet its existence previous to Persian times proper is self-evident. It is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel joined with the Assyrian פחות, and in Isaiah[5], in Ezra, and Nehemiah. Such early occurrence is a strong evidence against its being considered an insertion of a Maccabæan date.

סרבלין, iii. 21, 27, "coats." The etymology of this word is referred to the Zend, *çâra vâro:—çâra=sara*, "the head," modern Persian *ser* and *sar;* and *vîr*, "to cover:"—and explained to be a covering of the head; but Max Müller, preserving the Persian origin, connects it with *shulvâr* (or *shalvâr*) "braccæ," the Arabic *serâvil*. The Greeks reproduced the word under the form *σαράβαρα* (see Theod. here) which in med. Lat. is *saraballa*. This Persian derivation necessitates the assumption that in סרבל the *l* and *r* have changed places. Other critics have consequently preferred to trace the word to the Semitic סְרְבֵּל "to cover[6]," &c., a word frequent in Syriac, Targum and Talmud. Levy[7] takes it in the sense of a mantle, and considers it "if not of Persian origin" to be traceable to ערבל from ערב to mix. But, if one more conjecture may be permitted where all is still conjectural, another etymology for the word is to be found through a process strictly in accordance with Assyrian philology. The formation of quadrilaterals in that language was frequent through the insertion of the letters *r*, *l*, *n*[8]: and the letters ś (ס) and s (ש), usually interchange in the later Assyrian inscriptions[9]. If therefore סרבל be derived from the root סבל or שבל, the word really describes the long flowing robe or outer garment which the monuments as well as Herodotus prove to have been habitual among all classes of the Babylonians (see note to iii. 21). The student of Hebrew will thus recognize in the סרבל of the Assyrian the שבל (Isai. xlvii. 2) which Gesenius and Fürst unite in rendering not "locks," but the flowing train of a dress.

סרכין, "presidents," vi. 3. The syllable סר may be the Persian *sara* (as in previous word) with the diminutive suffix ך, "the little head," or an adjective in *ka* "the head-man;" *ser* "head" in modern Persian being applied to persons in the sense of *κορυφαῖος*: but its affinity with *sar*, so frequent in the sense of "king," "prince," "chief," in the Assyrian-Babylonian inscriptions, can hardly be denied. The word *sarru-cinu* is by some scholars taken as the equivalent for סרגון (Sargon)[10]. In Exod. x. 6 and Deut. i. 15, the word is used as the Targum equivalent for שטרים. Levy s.v. hazards the conjecture that ס is formed out of ארכון *ἄρχων* with ס prefixed!

פתבג, "meat," i. 5, 8. This is said to be of Persian origin. *path* occurs again as *pith*, in פתגם (which see): *bag* is the Persian *bâg* "tribute" (see under נבזבה), and the Sanskrit *bhâga*, a portion. *Pratibhâga* is the "share of small articles as fruit, flowers, &c., paid daily to the Rajah for household expenditure;" a meaning also attached to the Greek form of the word, *ποτιβαζις*[11], *i.e.* barley bread, and wheaten toast, a crown of cypress and mixed wine out of a gold cup from which the king himself drinks. Herodotus (I. 131, 132) notes of the Persians, that "to the gods they raise no altar, light no fire, pour no libations; there is no sound of the flute, no putting on of chaplets, no consecrated barley-cake," &c. In the same sense is "meat" to be understood here. Haug[12] has preserved the peculiar union of preposition and noun in the rendering "Zukost." It is not without interest to note—as an instance of the changes to which the first syllable was subjected—that the old Persian *pati-kara* ("image") of the Behistun Inscription becomes on the Aramaic coinage of Eran פרתכרא, a form nearer to Sanskrit *prati-kara* ("counterfeit")[13]. Daniel's form of the preposition is, as might be expected, nearer to that of the inscription.

These Persian words, both those found in

[1] 'Journ. of Sacr. Lit.' 1859, p. 296.
[2] 'Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad,' p. 37.
[3] 'Bemerkungen zu einigen Inschriften Sargons,' in 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' XXVII. 519.
[4] Sayce, 'Assyrian Grammar,' p. 30.
[5] Cp. Schrader, 'die Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.' p. 270.
[6] See Gesenius, 'Thesaur.' s. n.; Buxtorf, 'Lex.' s. n.
[7] 'Chald. Wörterb.' s. n.
[8] Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 103. Cp. כרבלתהון in iii. 21.
[9] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 32: ס was more frequent at Babylon, ש at Nineveh (Oppert, p. 4).
[10] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 30. See Schrader, 'die Keilinschr. d. A. T.' p. 254.
[11] See Max Müller, *l. c.*, The LXX. renders it *ὄσπρια* (see Lidd. and Sc. 'Lex.' s. n.), *i. e.* "vegetables" generally.
[12] 'Zend-studien,' in 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' IX. 698.
[13] Levy, 'Beiträge zur Aram. Münzkunde Erans,' &c. in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XXI. 430.

the three writers, and those in Daniel alone, point to the prevalence of a supremacy very different to that existing in the reign of the Greek Antiochus Epiphanes. They are a very strong indication that the works which contain them were written at a time far anterior to it. The only other supposition sufficient to account for their presence is, that they were inserted or appended by later scribes and copyists to give an antique appearance to the books. To this no one will agree when the impossibilities connected with it are remembered.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Nebuchadnezzar, forgetting his dream, requireth it of the Chaldæans, by promises and threatenings.* 10 *They acknowledging their inability are judged to die.* 14 *Daniel obtaining some respite findeth the dream.* 19 *He blesseth God.* 24 *He staying the decree is brought to the king.* 31 *The dream.* 36 *The interpretation.* 46 *Daniel's advancement.*

AND in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep brake from him.

CHAP. II. "In this chapter we have an account of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation by Daniel, after the Chaldæans had failed to describe and interpret it. The dream itself contains a general outline of the subsequent revelations to Daniel in regard to the world-powers. It occurred many years before the other visions. At this time the kingdom of Babylon was approaching to its highest glory. In the later visions of Daniel it was in its last extremity" [R]. Nebuchadnezzar was now king *de facto* as well as *de jure*. Intelligence of the death of his father Nabopolassar, with whom he had been associated (see add. N. to i. 1), had reached him as he was proceeding to Egypt. He at once made a hasty truce with the Egyptian monarch, and by a rapid march across the desert reached Babylon to find the crown kept for him in safe custody by the head (ὁ βελτιστὴς) of the Chaldæans (Berosus). With his accession to sole dominion began the most celebrated period of Babylonian history (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 49, &c.).

1. *And in the second year*, &c.] The date would be about the sixth year of Jehoiakim, in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole sovereignty, after the death of his father Nabopolassar; about four years after the date in i. 1, and shortly after i. 18. "For the chronology, see on ch. i. 1. The first occasion on which we learn that Daniel's knowledge was put to the proof was the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Although the word is in the plural, the dream was only one. This is sufficiently explained, if it need explanation, by the contents of the dream which related to so many various materials, gold, silver, iron, &c. The sacred historian would not have related this dream had it not been a divine revelation, and had it been a mere ordinary dream we can scarcely imagine that Nebuchadnezzar would have been troubled by it. Scripture does not enable us to ascertain by what signs such dreams were distinguished from common dreams, but we can scarcely doubt that some such distinction really did exist. It is possible that in the case of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar it may have been some divine impulse, which disquieted them, though the dream itself had no sign to shew its prophetic character" [R].

Examples of the use of the word "dream" in a prophetic sense as containing a revelation are found in 1 S. xxviii. 6, and Num. xii. 6. In Joel iii. 1 the word is employed to express that which looks into the future.

The monuments of Egypt and Assyria have contributed to the records of oneirology such remarkable dreams as those of Nutmiamen, the seers of Assurbanipal, and of Gyges of Lydia: dreams which illustrate the belief of the day, and supply a natural parallel, while they endorse the authenticity of the Biblical narratives. (See add. Note at the end of the Chap.)

and his sleep brake from him] "Lit. *and his sleep was gone away upon him*, i.e. *the absence of his sleep was heavy upon him* (Pusey). We may observe that God occasionally gave revelations by means of dreams to heathen, *e.g.* Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, &c., but only His servants could interpret them, cf. Gen. xl. 8, 1 Cor. xii. 30" [R]. (See add. Note.)

his spirit was troubled] The phrase occurs in Gen. xli. 8, but with a refined difference perceptible only in the original. Saadia expresses that difference thus: "Pharaoh knew his dream but not its interpretation, Nebuchadnezzar knew neither dream nor interpretation;" and the Hebrew by its use of different conjugations of the same verb emphasizes that distinction. Similar words, recording disquiet and uneasiness, which help to give life to the narrative, are found in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal (G. Smith, 'History of A.' pp. 17, 30, 38). This is the more noteworthy, as personal and private matters—calculated to diminish the reverence with which the monarch was regarded, or likely to bring him into the category of ordinary human beings—are, as a rule, carefully excluded. The act of Nebuchadnezzar recalls the proposal of Achilles to

2 Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his

Agamemnon: "Come, now: let us consult some diviner, or some priest, or some dealer in dreams, for even a dream proceeds from Jove; and haply he will tell us why Phœbus Apollo is so fiercely angered." See also the lines from Atticus quoted in Cicero ('de Divinat.' ii. 21). On the subject of dreams and the view entertained of them in antiquity, see Calvin's note in loco ('Comm. on Daniel' in the Calvin Trans. Soc. publications). The addiction of the Chaldæan race to astrology is matter of notoriety. It is often alluded to in classical writers. Thus "Tiberius, whose dreamy superstition is well known, is represented by Juvenal as dwelling in the seclusion of Capreæ with a herd of Chaldæans, whose intimations led him to destroy Sejanus" [R].

2. *the magicians*, &c.] "It is needless to attempt any discrimination between these various classes (as the Rabbinical commentators attempt to do, *e.g.* Aben Ezra). They all apparently studied some kind of art by which secret things might be discovered and the future predicted" [R]. Modern research has, however, thrown much light on what was perhaps too fancifully explained by the Rabbis. It has been already noted that "books of language" of the three leading classes of the Chaldæan scientific and priestly body—termed in the A. V. the "magicians," the "wise men," and the "astrologers"—have now been brought within the reach of the Biblical student (see add. Note to i. 4). In the present instance and elsewhere (ii. 27, v. 11) others are mentioned. The titles may be best considered separately and in the order in which they occur.

Two classes are mentioned in i. 20. The magicians (of A. V.) are the *Khartummim:* the word occurs in Gen. xli. 8, 24, and Exod. vii. 11; and is used to describe the "bearers of sacred words" or interpreters of sacred writings to the Egyptians (see note in 'Com. on the Bible,' i. p. 278). But the etymology of the word used by Daniel is different from that used in the Pentateuch. The *Khartummim* here probably took their name from the *Kharutu*, "sceptre" or stick or rod of office which they carried: the word is very frequent in Assyrian inscriptions as applied to the "sceptre of justice" borne by the kings (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n., Schrader 'Assyr.-Bab. Keil.' p. 26); and a shape similar to the *Khartum's* wand is perhaps depicted in Layard's plates (see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 6). It was the special office of these men to repulse by their incantations, prayers, and even imprecations, the demons and evil spirits. The form of their conjuration and exorcism may almost be said to have been stereotyped. The existing specimens begin with an enumeration of the evil spirits to be conjured, and their power is qualified and decried: this is followed by the prayer that the person praying or prayed for may be preserved from their evil influences and action; and the whole closes with an invocation sometimes to a vast number of gods and goddesses, but always to "the spirit of heaven" and "the spirit of earth," to remember the petitioner. A translation of some of the Babylonian exorcisms will be found in 'Records of the Past,' I. 131; and a specimen is given in the add. note at the end of this chapter. In iv. 9 (A.V.) Daniel bears the title of *rab-Khartummim*, a title quite independent of the *rab-signin* in ii. 48, the two being probably united in his own person. If the LXX. and Theod. may be trusted, the *Khartummim* were in the habit of using music in their incantations: the LXX. generally (not always; sometimes σοφοὶ, cf. σοφισταὶ, Exod. vii. 11: in iv. 11, Daniel is τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν κρινόντων τὰ ἐνύπνια) and Theod. invariably translate the word ἐπαοιδοί.

The class mentioned in i. 20 as next to the *Khartummim* are the *Assaphim* (A. V. "astrologers"), though there was probably not so much difference of *degree* as of *kind* in any of these classes. The word is usually derived from the breathing or muttering manner in which they are supposed to have spoken. They are the "theosophists" (LXX. φιλοσοφοί, i. 20) or those whose communication, by means of hymns, &c., with the mystic and supernatural powers was acknowledged. It is possible to extract from the hymns which compose the third book of the great "magic" collection (see add. note to i. 4) the complete religious system which formed the ancient Chaldæan creed and doctrine. In its fundamental principle it was the *cultus* of the elements under the form of personified spirits, and therefore earlier and different from the public and official system recognized in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. But in his time, and even long before, these "theosophists" were accredited with a spiritual perception of spiritual things, which made them the recognized ministers of the communion between man and the supernatural beings who surrounded him. So far as the word "astrologer" may be said to represent one, and that the superstitious, side of the studies of the *Assaphim*, it may be admitted as a rendering of the original title, but, like the μαγοὶ and the φαρμακοὶ by which the LXX. and Theod. usually render the word, it is open to this objection that it obscures the more peculiar and primary meaning. The preference given by the Greek versions to these terms (Theod. μαγοὶ always; LXX. φιλοσοφοὶ only once) is of itself an

dreams. So they came and stood before the king.

3 And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit

indication of no mean value. It shews that by the Maccabæan period the true knowledge of the function and constitution of the *Assaphim* was either blurred by Persian ideas or deprived of its higher spirituality. For some specimens of the hymns used by the "theosophists" see add. Note.

The next class (ii. 2) are the "sorcerers," *Mecashephim*. This class, though mentioned in Exod. vii. 11 (see note), and, there as here, rendered by the word φαρμακοί, does not occur again in the lists in ii. 27, iv. 7 (A. V.), v. 7, 11. The word is etymologically referred to the same root as *Assaphim*, and would represent the "mutterers" of magic formulæ. In the other lists their place is filled by the *Gazerin* (see below), and some have considered the two classes synonymous; but the difference in the etymology of the words opposes itself to this explanation.

The next class (ii. 2) is the "Chaldeans," the *Casdim*. The use of the word in this and similar lists must be carefully distinguished from the ethnic sense elsewhere attached to it (*e.g.* Isai. xxiii. 13; Jer. xxv. 12; Ezek. xii. 13; Hab. i. 6. See add. n. to i. 4). The word is here, from the context, intended to describe a class of those wise men who were summoned before Nebuchadnezzar. In *v.* 4, &c., they are the spokesmen for their fellows. In this "class" sense the name has not yet been found in the contemporary inscriptions, though so assigned by Herodotus (I. 181) and Diodorus Siculus (II. 24); but if, as has been conjectured with some probability, the Biblical name *Casdim* represents originally the Assyrian *casidi* or "conquerors" (from the very common root *casadu* "to possess"), and was the name applied to the dominant Semitic people of Babylonia who wrested the land of Sumir from the Accadians at a remote period—it is easy to conceive that the name gradually lost its national character, as the nation which bore it underwent further ethnic changes, and became confined to a class. From what has been said in the add. note to i. 4, "Casdim" in the time of Nebuchadnezzar was the common designation for all; though strictly speaking it was specially appropriate to, if not appropriated by, the astrological *priest*-class. Information about the "astrologers" and "astronomers" of Babylonia has been placed within the reach of the English reader by Sayce especially (see 'The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians, with translations of the Tablets,' &c., in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.' III. p. 145 seq.; 'Records of the Past,' I. 151). This standard astrological work of the Babylonians and Assyrians was drawn up as far back as the 16th cent. B.C. for the library of Sargon, king of Agane: but it was but one out of many on kindred subjects which were to be found in the royal libraries. From a descriptive catalogue, it would seem that these tablets contained "omens of evil and the contrary signs of good; tokens of rejoicing and of sorrow to the heart of men;" omens and prophecies derived from "birds of the sky, of the water, and of the earth," their cries, appearance, and flight; omens from burning in the fire, from decaying houses, from dreams, from the signs of earth and heaven, their good and evil presage. According to the astrological creed, days and months had their omens; they were "lucky or unlucky:" the appearances of the celestial bodies, sun and moon, planets and fixed stars, were all ominous; certain consequences and occurrences were to be anticipated from their conjunctions, eclipses, or other phenomena. Rough, primitive, and unscientific, as were both method and conclusion adopted by the early astral-theologists; yet is it true that, "just as out of the alchemy of our forefathers has arisen chemistry, so out of the astrology of Chaldea came the observations which rendered possible the astronomy of Greece and modern Europe, and also the formation of a calendar: and this one practical discovery is sufficient to secure to the stargazers of Accad the respect and gratitude of succeeding generations" (Sayce). The chief astronomer was called "chief of the *abi*" (Accad. *ab* = month); and the titles *aba mat Armai* ("the astronomer of the Accadians") and the *aba mat Assurai* ("the astronomer of the Assyrians") occur in a list of court officials: they were probably those official astronomers of a subordinate position who sent in the monthly reports to the king.

It only remains to remark that the "astrologers" would be pre-eminently the foremost in power and in influence over a people like the Babylonians. The class would be considered the chosen interpreters of the signs, omens, and dreams by which the gods revealed their will; and they would demand and receive veneration accordingly. It is, therefore, not without significance that the *Casdim* divide themselves (see *v.* 10), roughly speaking, into the three classes *khartummim*, *assaphim*, and *Casdim*, *i.e.* magicians, theosophists, and astrologers.

Two other classes were presently brought forward:—the "wise men" (*v.* 12), and the "soothsayers" (*v.* 27).

"Wise men," or *khakamim*, was in Belshazzar's time the title given by the prophet to the three classes of *assaphim* (*i.e.* theosophists, A. V. "astrologers"), *Casdim* (*i.e.* astrologers, A. V. "Chaldeans"), and *gazerim* (A. V. "soothsayers," see below) inclusive, cp. v. 7,

was troubled to know the dream.
4 Then spake the Chaldeans to
[a] chap. 3. 9. the king in Syriack, [a] O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation.
5 The king answered and said to

8, 15: but in Nebuchadnezzar's time, Daniel places them at the head of, or speaks of them as first among, the other classes of *asṣaphim*, *khartumniim*, and *gazerim*. It may be impossible to affirm with certainty either that the status of the *khakamim* was different under the two monarchs, or that the title is to be accepted as a general term (*v.* 18), but it must not be forgotten that the *khakamim* were not simply "wise men" as the σοφοὶ of the Gk. versions would imply and the reader of the English epithet might be disposed to think them. The *khakamim* were properly "medicine"-men. In Babylonia and Assyria there were no medical men or "doctors" properly speaking. The study of medicine had not then attained that place in science which was accorded to it by the Greeks: in Babylonia it was only a branch of magic. Every illness was considered the work of demons: hence the "wise" or "medicine"-man, like his Red Indian brother, strove to expel the demon-malady by incantations, by exorcisms, and by the employment of potions. While he utilized his skill as a herbalist and his knowledge of the curative properties of roots and plants in the concoction of his philtres, he impressed upon his ignorant patients a conviction of his supernatural powers. In what may be termed the "medical" incantations one or other of two prevalent features are to be noticed. Sickness is either regarded as the result of the evil spirit's malice, or actually personified into a being who has laid his heavy hand on the sufferer. The latter view is especially the case with the Plague (*Namtar*) and Fever (*Idpa*). These sicknesses, so dreaded and so common, were endowed with personal existence and attributes of the most fatal kind. This personality appears at one time to have been more or less asserted of all. According to the ancient Accadian belief sickness of every kind is born of Nin-ki-gal the queen of the dark abyss and of the abode of the dead; just as among the ancient Finns illnesses are the daughters of Louhiatar the aged lady of Pohja (Lenormant's 'La Magie,' p. 233). Some specimens of the incantations of the *Khakamim* are given in an additional note. It would be in their hands that Nebuchadnezzar would be placed during his terrible illness (iv.).

The *gazerin* first appear in *v.* 27 (see also in iv. 4, v. 7, 11). The word, translated "soothsayers" by A.V., fairly puzzled the Greek translators, who simply reproduced it under the form γαζαρηνοί; while the Latin selected "haruspices" as the best solution of a difficult term. The root (to "divide") lends itself to such an application when considered with reference to the priest or officer who decided oracularly from the divided entrails of the sacrificed animal; but such an officer would seem to have been unknown to the Babylonians. It is therefore far better either to consider the term a title of some portion of the "astrologer"-class (see Gesenius' 'Comm. on Isai.' II. p. 349)—men who "divided" the heavens into spheres, &c., and divided or determined omens (see above s. n. *Casdim*); or to connect it with the *kazir* of the Assyrian inscriptions, who collected the laws of (in this case) astrological phenomena and portents, and pronounced upon them (see iii. 2, add. note).

These were the classes which presented themselves before Nebuchadnezzar to "shew" (interpret) his dream if he would but tell it to them; or drive away by their hymns and exorcisms the evil spirit which "troubled" their royal master. If there is still some indistinctness in allotting to each of these classes its special position in the scientific hierarchy, it is due (1) to the fact that these classes were not exclusive, but frequently overlapped each other, and (2) to the little help which the versions—notably the Greek versions—give with reference to a system thoroughly strange to the times in which they were compiled. Were it not for cuneiform discovery, the English reader would still be in darkness about the subject.

3. *to know the dream*] "The king here plainly intimates that though the dream had troubled and perplexed him, he could not remember what it was. Jerome observes that a kind of shadow or trace of it remained in the mind of the king, so that the soothsayers could not deceive him by any pretended dream. It is quite needless to discuss the question why God should reveal His counsels to heathen kings. Scripture shews us that He does send predictive dreams to heathens, especially when there is an inspired interpreter at hand to explain them, *e.g.* Pharaoh's dream, Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, &c. Witness also the awful warning given to the wife of Pontius Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 19)" [R].

4. *in Syriack*] "Heb. *Arâmaic*. From this passage we may gather that the national dialect or the scientific language of these *Casdim* was *not* Aramaic. But they spoke Aramaic to conform to the usage of the court. Their discourse is given in Chaldee *i.e.* Aramaic, and the use of this dialect continues to the end of the seventh chapter" [R].

The A.V. has adopted the words "in Syriac" from the LXX. "Syriac" and (so-called) "Chaldee" being languages usually comprehended under the title "Ara-

the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be [b †] cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill.

[b] chap. 3. 29. † Chald. *made pieces.*

6 But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts and [‡] rewards and great honour: therefore shew me the dream, and the interpretation thereof.

[‡] Or, *fee*, chap. 5. 17.

7 They answered again and said, Let the king tell his servants the

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maic:" but the language here is not to be confounded with the "language of the Chaldæans" (i. 4, see add. note). *That* was the old Chaldee, the language of Akkad, used by the original inhabitants of Babylonia, and in the time of Nebuchadnezzar a dead language. Oppert considers the words here and in Ezra a direction to the scribe, which found its way into the text. On the philological questions connected with the "Aramaic" sections of the book see Introduction, p. 228.

O king, live for ever] "The Chaldæans" greet the king with the stereotyped oriental formula (cf. Dan. v. 10, vi. 7, 22; Neh. ii. 3; Judith xii. 14; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' I. 32; Curtius 'R.' VI. 5). In the despatches preserved in the Assyrian records, occur such forms as "length of days, years everlasting... may (the gods) to my lord, the king, grant" (Smith, 'Hist. of Assurb.' pp. 196—7, 297; 'Assyr. Disc.' pp. 230—1, 309, 409, 414). As used in Scripture, *e.g.* as spoken to Saul (1 S. x. 24) and to David (1 K. i. 31), and by Daniel himself, it assumed something of the nature of a benediction.

5. *The thing is gone from me*] On the word translated "gone" see Exc. on Persian words at end of chap. i. Many critics prefer here (and in *v.* 8) the rendering, "The word is pronounced by me," *i.e.* I am resolved.

ye shall be cut in pieces] "*ye shall be made pieces*, see marg." [R]. The language of the king is the language of one accustomed to acts of despotism. The words of the "prince of the eunuchs," (i. 10) "my head is in danger," express the chronic state of the Babylonian nobles. By the slightest fault they exposed themselves to the royal displeasure. The punishments mentioned here, violent and cruel as they seem to us, were by no means uncommon among oriental nations. The Hebrews themselves were not guiltless in such matters (2 S. iv. 12, xii. 31). Death by the sword is coupled with that by stoning as punishments frequent among the nations with whom Jerusalem had dealt so vilely (Ezek. xvi. 40, xxiii. 47); and the extreme form of the punishment practised by the Babylonians (cp. iii. 29—the διαμερίζεσθαι of the LXX., the διχοτομεῖν of Matt. xxiv. 51) is depicted on the bas-reliefs and justified by the popular opinion of the time. Dismemberment, flaying alive, and other tortures are proudly recorded in the inscriptions (*e.g.* Smith, 'Hist. of Assurb.' pp. 137—8, 148, 163, 166—7, 208, 247, 283, 302, 304, 306). The practice alluded to in the text is still the barbarous usage of the Mishmee tribes on the British frontier of Thibet.

The destruction of the houses, especially "the reduction to heaps of rubbish" ('Records of the Past,' I. pp. 27, 43) of the houses of enemies or of those who displeased the reigning powers, was a matter of common occurrence among the Assyrians and Babylonians. Babylon itself must still have retained the memory, if not the marks, of that terrible destruction which Sennacherib had ordered (circ. B.C. 684); when "the city and its temples were delivered to the flames, and the fortresses and the towers in stages were thrown down into the canal Nahar-Arakhton" (Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 301). In fact, "It has been observed that the expression, *your houses shall be made a dunghill*, exactly expresses the effect of simple desolation in that country. Writers such as Bertholdt allow that a very accurate acquaintance with Babylon is here shewn" [R]. Ewald's opinion that these "houses" formed part of the great mass of building known as the king's palace does not seem very probable. The king would hardly have made "dunghills" of any of his outbuildings. It is more natural to place these "houses," whether simple dwellings or "schools," near the temple of Belus (cp. Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 29). The conversion of them into dunghills finds its Scripture analogy in Jehu's act, "breaking down the house of Baal and making it a draught-house" (2 K. x. 27), and is implied in the threat of Darius (Ezra vi. 11, see note). The LXX. paraphrases the clause: "Ye shall be made an example and your goods be forfeited to the crown," a thoroughly Maccabæan conception (2 Macc. iii. 13).

6. *gifts*, &c.] "It is worthy of observation that Daniel and his companions were not present when these threats and promises were uttered. Such motives would weigh little with them. Comp. v. 16, 17" [R]. On the word rendered "rewards" see Excursus on Persian words, at the end of ch. i.

7. *Let the king tell*, &c.] "The soothsayers were thus confronted with a difficulty which they could not overcome. They

dream, and we will shew the interpretation of it.

8 The king answered and said, I know of certainty that ye would † gain the time, because ye see the thing is gone from me.

† Chald. *buy*.

9 But if ye will not make known unto me the dream, *there is but* one decree for you: for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation thereof.

10 ¶ The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the king's matter: therefore *there is* no king, lord, nor ruler, *that* asked such things at any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean.

11 And *it is* a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.

12 For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and com-

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might predict the future without risk of immediate contradiction; but to tell the nature of a dream, which had gone from the king, was beyond their power. And yet, if they had any powers, the one would have been as easy as the other. We cannot forbear alluding to the many deceptions practised by spiritualists in the present day, and suggesting the similarity of their practices with those of the soothsayers of Chaldæa" [R].

8. *that ye would gain the time*] "The Chaldee word is really *buy*, as the marginal note observes, comparing Eph. v. 16. That passage, however, has a different meaning. Here the word means to obtain a sort of respite, but in St Paul *redeeming* the time seems rather to mean 'purchasing favour from God for the time in which we live,' or literally 'buying the time' in which we are living 'out of the hand of the enemy.'" [R.] Note that Nebuchadnezzar denounces the action of the Chaldæans as a pretext for preparing "lying and corrupt words" (*i.e.* words which because they were lies were corrupting; Theod. ῥῆμα διεφθαρμένον).

9. *but one decree*] *i.e.* "one" in the sense of being sure and fixed is the decree passed upon you. The LXX. paraphrases, and Theod. omits, the clause.

till the time be changed] "Until the time has passed, or until another state of things has arisen" [R]. The Babylonians considered some months and days "lucky," some "unlucky" (Sayce, 'The Astronomy, &c., of the Babylonians,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 158 seq.; Smith, 'Hist. of Assurbanipal," p. 328), some favourable to observation, sacrifice, festival, war, &c., others the reverse. Hence their wish to defer matters here from an "unlucky" to a "lucky" day. "Jerome and other commentators attempt to assign the causes which prevented Daniel from appearing before the king on the first occasion on which the dream was proposed. The jealousy of the older men in regard to a youth like Daniel, and other similar causes, are devised, of which Scripture gives us no intimation. They may have existed, but it was clearly a divine appointment, in order to vindicate the power of the true God and of Him alone to interpret dreams and predict the future. Scripture does not enable us to discover the proximate means by which it was effected, but like the events which led to the elevation of Joseph it was clearly providential" [R].

10. *no king, lord, nor ruler*] So the LXX. It is better to understand these words as pointing to various ranks of a decreasing kind (*melek*, *rab*, and *shalit*), than to consider with Theod. either of the two latter words adjectives to the first, βασιλεὺς μέγας καὶ ἄρχων. In the Inscriptions, the titles of officers of various grades following one another are frequent (see Smith, 'Hist. of Assurbanipal,' passim).

11. *except the gods, whose dwelling*, &c.] "The magicians or soothsayers here disclaim on their own part any divine illumination. But man's perplexity is God's opportunity, and His servant, who discovered and interpreted the dream, here exhibits a power which as the heathens themselves acknowledged could come only from God. So God takes the crafty in their cunning, and gives wisdom to the simple!" [R.] The phrase, also, indicates the Chaldæan belief. The Chaldæans believed each man's spirit to be tenanted by a genius or god (Lenormant's 'La Magie,' pp. 32, 181); but there was a limit to the power of these gods, and to this limit the Chaldæans allude. The sentence may be paraphrased: "the gods, whose dwelling *is* with flesh," can shew the king some things; this "rare" (the original word has a double meaning of "difficulty" and "preciousness," well reproduced in the LXX. βαρὺς καὶ ἐπίδοξος) thing which "the king requireth" they cannot shew; none can shew it except "the gods whose dwelling *is not* with flesh," *i.e.* the superior gods (cp. *vv.* 27, 28). The LXX. renders "gods,"

manded to destroy all the wise *men* of Babylon.

13 And the decree went forth that the wise *men* should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.

† Chald. returned.
‡ Or, chief marshal.
† Chald. chief of the executioners, or, slaughtermen.

14 ¶ Then Daniel †answered with counsel and wisdom to Arioch the ‡‡captain of the king's guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise *men* of Babylon:

15 He answered and said to Arioch the king's captain, Why *is* the decree *so* hasty from the king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

16 Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would shew the king the interpretation.

17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Ha-

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ἄγγελοι (and Aben Ezra); an exposition befitting the Maccabæan period and minds influenced by Platonic views ('Phædrus,' § 51, ed. Bekker), but marked by an inaccuracy impossible to the Babylonian Daniel when stating Chaldæan opinions.

13. *that the wise men should be slain*] "The Vulgate translates this, '*and the wise men were slain.*' The exact translation would be, *and the wise men* (*were*) *being slain.* This construction is compatible with the English; but the most probable interpretation seems to be that measures were taken to execute the decree, and the wise men were 'on the point of being slain.' Many commentators think that some had actually been executed. The expression of the original leaves the passage open to doubt" [R]. Daniel and his friends were included under the decree or firman (δόγμα, Theod.; cp. Luke ii. 1). They were members of the classes condemned, and so they were "sought" for death. But it must also be noted that the decree affected the wise men of Babylon only. It did not touch those outside it;—those for instance who were the superintendents or pupils of the schools at Borsippa or Erech, or the priests who attended to the cultus of Nebo at the former, and of Beltis at the latter, place.

14. *with counsel and wisdom*] "It was not till danger pressed upon the captives that the full measure of God's favour was openly shewn. They 'stood before the king,' but the value of their heavenly wisdom was as yet unknown" [R]. The word translated "wisdom" is very frequent in the Assyrian inscriptions, where it is used (as in Hebrew and Chaldee) not only in the sense of "judgment, information, advice," &c., but also in the sense of "command, will, decree" (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' i. 102).

Arioch] "We find in Gen. xiv. 1, 'Arioch, king of Ellasar,' and Ellasar is considered (see 'Dictionary of the Bible') to be one of the smaller places merged in Babylon. The etymology of the name Arioch is uncertain. It does not occur except in this passage of Genesis and in Daniel" [R]. See Excursus on Persian names, end of ch. i.

the captain of the king's guard] "In the margin the equivalent to this description of Arioch's office is given as *the chief of the executioners or slaughtermen*, which is true, etymologically speaking, but it is probably merely a name of office, applied to the king's guard, because the duty of execution often devolved on them in the courts of Eastern despots. The same name in the Hebrew form is given to Potiphar, Gen. xxxvii. 36, &c. It is sometimes applied to cooks, but this can have no place here" [R]. Arioch bore the Semitic title of that official who in Rome was known as the *præfectus prætorii*, and in modern Turkey as the Kapidschi-Pasha (Zöckler). He ranked among the "captains" (*v.* 15—the "shalit," cp. "sultan"), and had perhaps succeeded Nebuzar-adan as "captain of the guard" (2 K. xxv. 8). Potiphar held a similar office under Pharaoh (Gen. xxxvii. 36). If the "captain of the guard" (LXX. ἀρχιμάγειρος; Vulg. "princeps militiæ") held the same position at the Babylonian court that he did at the Persian, his was one of the most confidential kind and invested with great influence. Rule has pointed out how the Judæo-Spanish translators with a keen sense of the bitterness of the title render it "mayoral de los desolladores," *chief officer of the cut-throats.*

15. *Why is the decree so hasty*] The original word for "hasty" contains also a sense of bitterness and anger which is retained in the LXX. πικρῶς.

16. *that he would give him time*] "Daniel's conduct was the reverse of that of the astrologers. He asked for time and promised an interpretation, but they merely used artifices to gain time and declined attempting to describe and interpret the dream" [R]. Whether the "time" asked for was one day (Ewald) or more does not appear; but one probable reason in the request for time should not pass unnoticed; "consilium hoc fuit, ut Dei gratiam imploraret" (Calvin). Nebuchadnezzar appears to have at once acceded to the request of one whom he had already found "ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers" (i. 20).

naniah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions:

18 That they would desire mercies † of the God of heaven concerning this secret; ‖ that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise *men* of Babylon.

19 ¶ Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

20 Daniel answered and said, [c] Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his:

21 And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings,

† Chald. *from before God.*
‖ Or, *that they should not destroy Daniel, &c.*
[c] Psal. 113. 2. & 115. 18.

17—18. *concerning this secret*] "'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God,' Deut. xxix. 29. And to Him Daniel applies in the moment of trial. He anticipates as it were the gracious promise of our Saviour to united prayer, Matt. xviii. 19, by calling on his companions to join him. Nor was the answer long delayed" [R]. The designation "God of heaven" should be noticed. It is used by a Hebrew brought up among men who worshipped gods many, and who had preserved his faith in the "God of his fathers" (*v.* 23). It involves the recognition of the supreme Sovereignty of Him whose handiwork—the moon, the sun, and the planets—were the principal objects of Babylonian worship: and it assigns to Him attributes collectively which the liturgical hymns of the Babylonian priesthood assigned singly to the moon-god or the sun-god (see *v.* 23).

The title occurs in Gen. xxiv. 7; but it was not till the time of the exile and after, that it became frequent (cp. *vv.* 19, 44; Ezra i. 2, vi. 10; Neh. i. 5, ii. 4). Then it represented in the most emphatic form the protest of the repentant people of God against the idolatry (of any kind) which had once seduced them.

The last part of *v.* 18 contains a touch of great beauty. It is thoroughly like the character of Daniel that in his prayer he should make no distinction between believer and unbeliever, between himself and the proud Chaldæan priests. The same clause indirectly asserts the position assigned to "Daniel and his fellows." They were classed among the *khakamim*.

19—23. "This revelation was a special answer to a special prayer" [R]. Here is meant one of those "visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men" (Job iv. 13; Zech. iv. 1, 2). Illustrations of the popular belief in the night-communications between the god and the seer are given in add. note to *v.* 1.

21. *he changeth the times and the seasons*] "This is equally true of the physical and the moral world. As day and night, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, succeed each other by God's appointment, so God's 'never failing Providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth,' and joy and sorrow, misfortune and prosperity are from His will. He maketh a fruitful land barren for the wickedness of them that dwell therein, and He can make the wilderness blossom like the rose. So 'He changeth the times and the seasons'" [R]. Here, says Calvin, is Daniel's protest against the opinion that the world either rolls on by chance, or that nature is the supreme deity. But, to gain a true appreciation of this prayer—so replete with true faith and yet full of unobtrusive familiarity with the religious teaching of his Chaldæan preceptors; so touching in its recognition of the "mercies" of the "God of his fathers" to himself and his three companions, and through them to the captives of Israel around them—it should be studied word by word.

(*a*) Notice how it begins and ends with praise (*vv.* 20, 23). God's Name is praised as the manifestation of *the* Name above the name of Sin, Samas, Bel, Nebo or Merodach; as the Power above the kingly power of a Nebuchadnezzar, an Assurbanipal, a Pharaoh-Necho. "Blessed be Thy Name for ever and ever" is a formula which occurs here for the first time in the O. T.; and to it, as its source, is probably to be traced the solemn liturgical *Berachah* of the second temple (Neh. ix. 5, 1 Chro. xvi. 36; cp. also the doxologies in Ps. xli. 13; cvi. 48). To this Being belong "wisdom and might."

(*b*) His might is illustrated (*a*) in His changing "times and seasons" (the subdivisions of time; καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, Theod., *tempora et ætates*, Vulg.; or, times and circumstances, Cahen). He is not dependent upon the "lucky" days of the Chaldæan astrologer (see *v.* 9); (β) and in His "removing and setting up kings" (*v.* 21) —words which indicate by anticipation the details Daniel was presently (*vv.* 31—43) about to draw out, as well as the subject of later visions (vii.—xii.).

(*c*) His "wisdom" is shewn by His revelation of "deep and secret things," which He makes to His children who add wisdom to wisdom and knowledge to knowledge (*vv.* 21, 22, cp. i. 17). "Light dwelleth with Him" as a divine Being with whom "wisdom" dwells (Pss. xxxvi. 9, cxviii. 27; Prov. viii. 30; Isai. lx. 19); He "knoweth what is in darkness:" phraseology which, if inspired by the purest and holiest conceptions of *the* Divine Being whom Daniel worshipped, is not without direct allusion to

and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding:

22 He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what *is* in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast *now* made known unto us the king's matter.

24 ¶ Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise *men* of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him; Destroy not the wise *men* of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, †I have found a man of the †captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.

† Chald. *That I have found.*
† Chald. *children of the captivity of Judah.*

26 The king answered and said to Daniel, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?

27 Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, The secret which the king hath demanded cannot the wise *men*, the astrologers, the magicians, the soothsayers, shew unto the king;

28 But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and †maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days.

† Chald. *hath made known.*

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the gifts and powers attributed to the gods whose "learning" he had mastered from Chaldæan sources. The liturgical hymns as well as the inscriptions give to Sin (the moon-god) such titles as "the light of the gods," the "illuminator of heaven and earth," "one who fixes the destinies of the future" (Lenormant 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 158 seq., Smith, 'Hist. of Assurb.' p. 126, 155); and to Samas (the sun-god) the attributes of the "author of light and disposer of darkness" as bringing into the clear light of day dark, hidden, and secret things. Daniel sees these attributes all combined and purified in the God of his fathers.

(*d*) Daniel closes with words of thankfulness (*v.* 23), the *order* of which—as written in the original—should by all means be preserved: "Thee, O God of my fathers, thanking and praising am I;" God first, himself last (not as in A. V.); "for wisdom and might (His own attributes, *v.* 20) hast Thou given me; and now hast Thou made known unto me what we desired of Thee," &c.: *me...we*, "quod quatuor rogant, uni ostenditur" (Jerome): yet not alone on account of the excellency of the one but as the answer to united prayer and a recognition of the worship of God common to all (i. 8; cp. Rev. xix. 10) —a point overlooked by the LXX. and Theod. which read ἐγνώρισάς μοι.

25. *I have found*] "Arioch here claims a merit to himself, which was hardly deserved. He sought Daniel, *not* to save him, but to kill him with the rest of the wise men; but doubtless he desired to obtain favour with the king" [R]. The words do not at all necessitate the supposition that Arioch here brings Daniel before the king, as a stranger. i. 19 and ii. 16 are alone sufficient to prove such a supposition erroneous. Arioch simply addresses Nebuchadnezzar in formal, courtly language, conveying also the information that, though one of the "Chaldæan" class will interpret the dream, he will be no Babylonian-born, but one "of the children of the captivity of Judah." The action of Arioch finds a natural parallel in the manner in which Abner and Saul spoke of "the stripling" David as one whose parentage was unknown to them or unremembered (1 S. xvii. 55, 56), when the king had already attached himself, in his more lucid intervals, to the young shepherd (1 S. xvi. 21).

28. *But there is a God in heaven*] The "but" is here indicative of strong contrast. The Chaldæans spoke of gods many (*v.* 11); Daniel directs Nebuchadnezzar to One God (Aben Ezra) whose dwelling is in heaven and yet also "with flesh" among the sons of men. In this is the true reason why the wise men could not explain (even if they had known) the king's dream: it had nothing in common with human conjectures, but was the peculiar revelation of the Spirit.

that revealeth secrets] "When Joseph interpreted the dreams, both in prison and to Pharaoh, he ascribed the power only to God, and thus both to Pharaoh and to Nebuchadnezzar the great truth was proclaimed that God is not only the source of true knowledge, but the only source of the knowledge of futurity. It has been observed that Daniel

Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these;

29 As for thee, O king, thy thoughts † came *into thy mind* upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come to pass.

† Chald. *came up.*

30 But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for *any* wisdom that I have more than any living, but for *their* sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.

31 ¶ Thou, O king, † sawest, and

† Chald. *wast seeing.*

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might fear that the king would imagine that it was by some secret art, and not by the revelation of God" [R].

in the latter days] "'The latter days' in the prophetic writings very commonly means the times of the Messiah. In the present case, although it embraces this meaning also, it is more general" [R].

29. *thy thoughts came into thy mind*] Daniel gives a natural explanation of the origin of "the dream and the visions of the head." They were due to the "thoughts of the heart," which had agitated the king as he lay sleepless on his bed, and which presently reproduced themselves in dreams.

Nebuchadnezzar had but lately become the sole and undisputed monarch of the empire he was destined to raise to such greatness. The past to him was full of glory, of success, of triumph. Necho, king of Egypt, had been driven back into his own territories, his hosts scattered after the battle of Carchemish. Jehoiakim, the Jewish king, was his humble vassal. Captives, forcibly removed wholesale from the conquered districts, were supplying him with that enormous command of human strength which enabled him to advance or begin that magnificent series of public works destined to be the special glory of his monarchy. If the past had been hitherto glorious, if the present was rife with schemes of conquest and ambition, what would the future be? The Medes to the north, the rising and hardly known Persians to the east, the Arabs to the south, perhaps the Greeks in the distant west, would have to be met and conquered before the dream of greatness would be fulfilled: and when all was gained, who should reign after him? Would his son Evil-Merodach? What should happen to him and his kingdom? Thoughts such as these, natural enough at the dawn of his power, "came into the mind" of Nebuchadnezzar. They formed themselves into the terrible yet fantastic "visions of the night," and the "Revealer of secrets" sent His servant Daniel to "make known to the king what should come to pass."

30. *but for their sakes*, &c.] "The more correct translation would be 'in order that they may make known the interpretation to the king'" [R]. See marginal rendering. Rabbinic interpreters refer "their sakes" to the royal attendants or to the angels: but the expression is—as the A. V. gives it—a purely general one; and indirectly shews that Daniel will not intrude his own personality. The humility of Daniel is more strongly marked in the allocation of some other words of the original than in the A. V. The "as for thee, O king" (*v.* 29) and "as for me" (*v.* 30) are strictly "thou, O king"—evidently a formula used in addressing royalty (cp. original of *vv.* 31, 37) —and "and (or "but") I," &c.

31—35. The dream itself is one which may well have happened to the king (Ewald). Its symbolism is thoroughly natural. A colossal ("great" in height, *v.* 31) image, of human form, either standing (as was usual with the images of Nebo—Rawlinson, 'A. M.' II. 33) and so displaying the various parts of the body, or seated (like the statue of Shalmaneser in the British Museum, or like the image of the god in the temple of Bel at Babylon; see the illustration in Rawl. do. p. 35), composed of various materials (gold, silver, brass, and iron), however "terrible," was but an exaggeration of the stupendous figures, half-monster, half-human, which Nebuchadnezzar's eyes must often have rested upon. (The word translated "image," see note on iii. 1, is employed on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser—whose inscription mentions Ahab, king of Israel—to describe what is of vast proportions.) Many of these figures are found not completed as originally intended; excellent materials have been complemented by inferior; and the result has been a want of cohesion and speedier destruction (Ewald). The colossal lion found at the "Kasr" or "Palace" mound whose bricks are stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar, the "images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed upon the wall with vermilion" (Ezek. xxiii. 14), the ornamentation in seven different colours (gold, silver, yellow, blue, &c.) of the seven stages of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa (Birs-i-Nimrud)—all supply, through modern discovery, tangible points of resemblance. "Imagine the colossus towering erect and high, not in a temple but in an open field. The *torso* would be firmly upright, the arms close to the sides with the forearms laid on the thighs closed together, and the hands resting on the knees. The throne would be a solid

behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness *was* excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof *was* terrible.

32 This image's head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his [1] thighs of brass,

33 His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out [1] without hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were* of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.

35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind car-

[1] Or, *sides.*

[1] Or, *which was not in hands:* as ver. 45.

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block of iron or stone. The legs close or very near together, so as to be in one piece of iron, and the feet of iron and iron mixed with clay. There was a solemn air of united strength and majesty, which no figure less compactly seated could present" (Rule). The dream, however, possessed so many striking and peculiar features that the dreamer was compelled to ask "How is it all possible?" "What is it?" (Ewald).

"We cannot doubt the identity of the revelation in this dream with that made to Daniel himself in the Vision of the Four Beasts. Grotius has acutely observed that the image which typified the powers of the world was very bright in the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar, who would look upon them with a worldly eye; while to Daniel they were shewn in the similitude of wild beasts, as emblems of tyranny and oppression, which largely characterized the ancient world-powers. It will be observed also that the value and costliness of the materials decreased in the different parts of the image; the materials of the lower part being less precious" [R]: a symbolism retained in the inferiority of the parts of the image to the "head."

Lastly, that the destruction of this image should be due to a "stone," would be to a Babylonian symbolical of a destruction by that which was, to him, indestructible. Every edifice, palace, and temple, was almost entirely built of brick; stone was rare. Costly and magnificent as the buildings were, yet from the very nature of their materials they could make little resistance to time or force. So this image, composed of composite elements, could make no stand against that indestructible power which "smote to pieces."

31. *a great image* (α)...*this great image* (β)] Lit. (as Theod. εἰκὼν μία...Vulg. statua una) "one great image," with evident allusion to the unity of so composite a whole (cp. Exod. xxvi. 6). It was great in the sense of having *grown* (α) to be great and great in *height* (β); its "brightness" was due to the metals of which it was composed (Saadia); its "form" (lit. "aspect") inspired fear. This image had four parts, the fourth part presenting a curious admixture of iron and clay. The "stone"—like to one ready to loose itself from an overhanging cliff and to roll down with increasing velocity—not cut out by human hands but by God (Rashi), struck the feet of this image. First the feet, and last of all the head, first the inferior clay and iron, and last of all the precious gold, were swallowed up by this wave of destruction. They were "broken to pieces together" [Theod. εἰς ἅπαξ, lit. "as one" thing, or "with one stroke" (Keil)], and "became like chaff," &c. (see the Script. metaphor, Hos. xiii. 3; Micah iv. 13; Isai. xli. 15, 16; lvii. 13; Pss. i. 4, xxxv. 5; Job xxi. 18). The dreamer noted but one thing more, and that not the least marvellous, and then awoke. The "stone" became a "mountain" (lit. "height," cp. the "Tur" of the orig. with the name "Tabor") and (in the dream) "filled the whole earth."

34. *Thou sawest till that a stone*, &c.] "The language here evidently betokens a large period, and we may doubt, in regard to some of the visions of Daniel, whether time is to be reckoned continuously. In the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, the times are very definitely marked; in the visions the periods are indefinitely marked" [R].

and brake them to pieces] "The blow is struck on the feet of the image, although it is said to affect the whole image. It is evident therefore that the blow is struck during the existence of the fourth empire. This is an argument against explaining the fourth empire of any kingdom which had ceased when Christianity arose. This excludes the successors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt" [R].

35. *like the chaff*] "Compare Isai. xli. 15, Ps. i. 4. In Isaiah the victory of the Church over its enemies is described in the same terms. The contrast between the image and the stone cannot fail to strike a thoughtful heart. The image is organized and formed of the most precious materials—the stone unorganized and apparently worthless—but the earthly splendour crumbles away, while the stone becomes a mountain and fills the earth. So worldly greatness decays, while the kingdom of God increases. The stone and the mountain are prophetic names of Christ, and we may find in Matt. xxi. 44 an allusion to

ried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

36 ¶ This *is* the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

37 Thou, O king, *art* a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.

38 And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou *art* this head of gold.

39 And after thee shall arise an-

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this passage. See Gen. xlix. 24; Isai. xxviii. 16; Zech. iv. 7. To the question in Zechariah Rashi answers, "That great mountain is the Messias;" for which he quotes the Bereshit Rabba on Gen. xxviii. 10. See also Micah iv. 1, 2" [R].

stone...became a great mountain] "The Jewish interpreters acknowledge the stone to be the Messiah. See Pearson 'On the Creed.' It will be observed that the stone is cut without hands, by which the religion of the Gospel is accurately prefigured. The kingdom of Christ, though destined to sway the world, began without any of the means by which kingdoms are usually created" [R].

36. *we will tell the interpretation*] "We," *i.e.* I (Daniel) and my companions, from whom in his hour of glory as in the hour of his petition (*v.* 23) Daniel would not separate himself. This seems a more natural interpretation than that which understands "we" to represent I (Daniel) and the wisdom (from above) which is in me (Aben Ezra).

37. *Thou, O king*] In this vision individual kings are not intended, but kingdoms.

king of kings] The Rabb. interpreters connect this with the words which follow, and count it the title, not of Nebuchadnezzar, but of "the God of heaven." The present punctuation of the original text, as well as the ancient and modern versions, are opposed to this application. The Rabbins did not like to assign so high a title to the kings of the earth, and hence their assignment of it to God. But it is the title elsewhere given to Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek. xxvi. 7), it was that usual with the kings of Assyria (cp. Isai. x. 8 and inscriptions passim), of Persia (Ezra vii. 12, see note), and Abyssinia (Zöckler). That Nebuchadnezzar did not consider such a title too exaggerated to be applied to any but a god is seen in the title he himself gives to the Lord God—"King" (not "of kings," *i.e.* of human "powers," but) "of heaven" (iv. 37), a distinction common in the inscriptions. There, as here, the "king of the gods" is the title of the deity Asshur, but "king of kings" and "lord of kings," that of Assurbanipal (Smith, 'History' &c., pp. 26, 73, 196). The earthly sovereign is, similarly, in the Persian inscriptions always "king of kings" (*e.g.* 'Naksh-i-Rustám,' I. 1), Ormazd bearing some such title as "the great god" (see also note to *v.* 47). Neb. had "kingdom, power (lit. power like that of a mighty oak), strength (lit. that kind of might which is almost irresistible), and glory" (that glory which comes from priceless treasures and riches—ii. 6); possessions which the king afterwards recalled (iv. 30, A.V., note the words in the original), and which, by God's permission, were the human means of his "rule over all"—"men, beasts of the field, and fowls of heaven" (cp. Jer. xxvii. 6 and xxviii. 14).

"Thou," says Daniel; "Thou" (the personification of all this glory, the mightiest of the monarchs of Babylonia, the Babylonian kingdom itself, cp. Isai. xxiii. 15; Jer. l. 17, li. 34) "art this head of gold" (cp. Isai. xiv. 4).

the God of heaven hath given] "Daniel is careful to remind Nebuchadnezzar that great as his kingdom might be, his power came only from God. This was the great truth, his forgetfulness of which brought upon him the judgment of God" [R]. Compare God's gifts to Nebuchadnezzar with what He gave to Daniel (*v.* 23).

39. *another kingdom inferior to thee*] As silver is inferior to gold, and the breast and arms "inferior" to the head, so a kingdom "inferior" to the Babylonian was to arise. Critics are not unanimous in their interpretation of the allusion. "The two arms of this portion of the image exactly symbolize the second kingdom, consisting of the Medes and the Persians in the Medo-Persian kingdom. As these kingdoms are successive, and the Persian empire succeeded the Babylonian, we prefer the ancient exposition of this prophecy to the modern view, which makes two empires, the Median and the Persian in succession. The inferiority of the Persian kingdom may well be explained from its shorter duration. Neither had it a Nineveh or a Babylon" [R]. It was inferior in antiquity, in power, and in wealth: not morally, but politically inferior. Some sort of inferiority is probably intended by the selection of the word translated "breast," a word usually applied in Hebrew to animals and not to men. If this second kingdom be the Medo-Persian,

other kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

40 And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all *things:* and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.

41 And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.

42 And *as* the toes of the feet *were* part of iron, and part of clay, *so* the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly [1] broken.

[1] Or, *brittle.*

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it unquestionably owed its ultimate greatness under Darius the Great to the precedents of conquest and of extension of territory learnt by the Median when he joined the Babylonian in the subjugation of Assyria, and by the Persian when he joined the Median in the conquest of Babylonia. The "head" had inspired "the breast and arms." The Medo-Persian kingdom became greater than its teacher. But prior to that, when Cyrus had but just subdued Astyages of Media, and had but entered on the path of conquest, the Medo-Persian kingdom which eventually laid low the Babylonian—though of "silver," of pure, true metal—was "inferior to" the "gold," "inferior to" the kingdom which had once ruled over all.

another third kingdom of brass] This is yet "another" kingdom distinguished from the second, and "after" it. It is of "brass"—the metal of which the "belly and the thighs" (*v.* 32) are composed. If it has not to the Babylonian king the value (in point of metal) of either "silver" or "gold," yet there is this that is "terrible" in the vision—that kingdom of brass "shall bear rule over all the earth," an indication of power denied to the second kingdom. The third kingdom is taken to be the Græco-Macedonian, by those who identify the second with the Medo-Persian. "The material here symbolizes the nature of the kingdom. Babylon in its splendour might well be compared with gold, and Persia with silver, but the greatness of Alexander and his glory were only the dominion of conquest and of arms. There was no magnificence to compare with that of the former world-powers. The division into the two thighs may well symbolize the kingdoms of Egypt under the Ptolemies and that of Syria under the Seleucidæ" [R].

40. *And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron,* &c.] "It is in reference to the fourth kingdom that the greatest difference of opinion occurs. The three views which are most prominent and supported by the ablest commentators are (1) The traditional opinion, viz. that the fourth kingdom is the Roman, which is supported by the great body of commentators, both Jewish and Christian, from the earliest times, *e.g.* Hippolytus, Jerome, &c. (2) The modern view, viz. that the fourth kingdom is that of the successors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt, supported in the present day by very able writers, such as Westcott. (3) The view of the futurists, viz. that the fourth kingdom is yet to come, which is maintained by Dr Todd, Dr Maitland, &c.

"Jerome observes that the Roman kingdom, though very strong at first (*i.e.* when it entered this scheme of prophetic history), was weakest of all in his day. It asked the help of barbarians against its own citizens and its foreign enemies. The stone cut out without hands is our Saviour, born in a preternatural manner, and His kingdom raised up without riches, arms, or power" [R].

The imagery used with reference to this kingdom must be followed carefully. Its "strength" is that of iron (cp. the use of the same word in xi. 17). It is not the solidity or durability or hardness of iron which is especially signalized, but its power as an instrument of destruction (cp. the words interpolated in the LXX.). Just as iron "breaketh into pieces" (by beating or crushing), "subdueth all things" (lit. hammers or beats out thin like tin), and "breaketh all these" (lit. crushes, see Jer. xv. 12, or reduces to ruin, see Isai. xxiv. 19), so shall this kingdom "break in pieces and bruise."

Strong as is this kingdom, it yet contains within itself that "division" which is ultimately a cause of its dissolution. As in the image the feet were "part of iron and part of clay" (*v.* 33); so the kingdom "shall be partly strong" (same word as in *v.* 40) "and partly broken" (brittle like potter's clay), but not at its beginning (the "legs" are of iron, *v.* 33): dissolution is to ensue through the difference of the "feet:" one foot is of iron, the other of clay. "They" (the princes of this kingdom) "shall mingle themselves with the seed of men;" there shall be marriages (cp. xi. 6), and children born (according to one interpretation), or there shall be national unions (according to another), which, in their fatal consequences, shall be productive of corruption, want of cohesion, and eventually of national extinction. As the LXX. paraphrases it, *οὐκ ἔσονται ὁμονοοῦντες οὔτε εὐνοοῦντες ἀλλήλοις.*

43 And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave † one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

† Chald. *this with this.*

44 And in † the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, [d] which shall never be destroyed: and the † kingdom shall not be left to other people, *but* it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

† Chald. *their days.*
[d] chap. 4. 3. 34. & 6. 26. & 7. 14, 27. Micah 4. 7. Luke 1. 33.
† Chald. *kingdom thereof.*

45 Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain † without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass † hereafter: and the dream *is* certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.

† Or, *which was not in hand.*
† Chald. *after this.*

46 ¶ Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that

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44, 45. "In the days of these kings," the kings of the fourth or "iron" kingdom, "shall the God of heaven (see *vv.* 18, 37) set up (lit. "cause to stand") a kingdom which shall never be destroyed" (lit. "for ever shall not be destroyed" by division or corruption, the inherent weaknesses of the other kingdoms). Of this kingdom, two things are specially noted: (1) its *origin;* it is the kingdom of the God of heaven, of heaven—heavenly; not "coming with observation," nor with a host, nor with power (A. Ezra), but silent and sudden like its type, "the stone cut out of the mountain without hands" (*v.* 45): (2) its *duration;* "it shall stand (same word as "set up" in *v.* 44) for ever;" "it shall not be left (lit. forsaken, so as to be torn or rent in pieces: cp. our Lord's use of the root of the original word here, in the expression, "Lama *sabachthani*," Matt. xxvii. 46) to other people:" rather, its mission is to "break in pieces" (as the stone had done, *v.* 34), and (more than the stone had done) "consume" (lit. bring to an end) all these kingdoms which were of earth—earthy. "High in the impalpable air, above the highest human colossus and human kingdom, projects itself another colossus formed from the rock and mount of the heavenly Zion. A stone from this holiest of mounts looses itself and falls. If it destroys the earthly material which it strikes, it brings also with it that new, pure, heavenly spirit and material which shall fill again the earth with a stronger mount, and found a new and better city Zion" (Ewald). Note also the order in which the stone breaks these kingdoms; it is the reverse of that of their foundation (cp. *vv.* 37—40, 32—4), as if its effects would not only reach onward, but backward on the remnants of former earthly greatness.

With an abruptness more remarkable in the original (of *v.* 45) than in the A.V., Daniel reasons—from the awful destruction of kingdoms of iron, brass, silver, and gold—that "the great God" had known the thoughts of the king upon his bed, and had now made known to him what should come to pass in the latter days (*vv.* 28, 29). He urges Nebuchadnezzar in words whose emphatic order should be preserved—"certain (true, cp. ii. 8, iii. 24) is the dream, and sure (worthy to be believed) the interpretation thereof"—to turn to Him who alone could make him know (understand) his own thoughts (*v.* 30).

This "kingdom of the God of heaven" is the "kingdom of the Messiah" (Rabb.), the kingdom (as Christians believe) of our Lord Jesus Christ. He was "the stone rejected by the builders," yet which became "the head of the corner:" and with distinct reference to these words of Daniel did He urge upon the men of His day: "Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder" (Luke xx. 17, 18; Matt. xxi. 44).

One remark—Melanchthon's—sums up the "homily" of these verses (*vv.* 37—44): "Hæc enarratio non tantum est politica de imperiis, sed præbet etiam occasionem Danieli concionandi de toto regno Christi, de novissimo judicio, de causâ peccati, de redemtione et instauratione humani generis; cur sit tanta mundi brevitas; quale sit futurum perpetuum regnum, utrum in hac naturâ immundâ vel aliâ; qualis sit futurus Redemtor, et quomodo ad hoc regnum perveniatur. Ita hæc brevis narratio complectitur summam Evangelii."

46. *Then the king...worshipped Daniel,* &c.] This act need not surprise us. When, first of all, the dream was recalled to Nebuchadnezzar, and then this interpretation, so convincing from its very simplicity, was appended, astonishment would give way to a feeling of awe, and awe find expression in an act of reverence. In Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar recognized, what he afterwards described as, "the spirit of the holy gods" (iv. 8), and a "wisdom" all the more striking from its humility (*v.* 30). From whom could this spirit and wisdom come but from the "God of gods" (*v.* 47)? And it was Him he "worshipped" (προσεκύνησεν, LXX. and Theod., adoravit, Vulg.) in the person of Daniel. He "fell on

they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.

47 The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth *it is*, that your God *is* a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret.

48 Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and [c] chief of the governors over all the wise *men* of Babylon.

[c] chap. 4. 9.

49 Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel *sat* in the gate of the king.

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his face" before this man of the captives of Judah: rendering to his God at least the same external marks of reverence which he paid to his idols (see Herod. i. 183; cp. the use of the original in Isai. xliv. 15, 17, 19, and Dan. iii. 5, 7), and "offering to" (not "anointing," Saadia) Daniel—pouring out before him as a dedication (Theod. σπείσαι)—in honour of Daniel's God, an "oblation" (probably the "minchah" offered to idols, Isai. lvii. 6, lxvi. 3) and "sweet odours" (Theod. εὐωδίας: for the same elliptical use of the phrase, see Ezra vi. 10). The reader of the N. T. will hardly need to be reminded that the conduct of the people of Lystra to St Paul and St Barnabas (Acts xiv. 11, 12), and of the people of Melita to the former (Acts xxviii. 6) furnish similar instances of the feeling and consequent action described here. Historical and other parallels are to be found not only in the prostration of Alexander the Great before the high priest (see p. 220, col. 1), but in the ancient habit in Babylonia of excessive veneration exhibited towards heroes and sages. The worship of Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 14) when dead, and of Janbûschâd and Dêvanâî in their lifetime, are instances in point (Chwolsohn, 'Ueber Tammuz,' pp. 59 seq., 69 seq., and the Index to the 'Ueberreste d. Altbabyl. Literat.' s. n.). In the case of Babylonian kings, worship in the form of deification is amply illustrated by the tablets (G. Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' pp. 394, 395).

47. *The king answered...Of a truth*] The titles here used, "God of gods," "Lord of kings" (Adonai ha-Adonim, Rabb. commentators), "revealer of *secrets*," strikingly illustrate the effect which Daniel's speech had made on Nebuchadnezzar. The second especially should be remembered in connection with the title, "king of kings," given to him by Daniel himself (*v.* 37), and possibly his recognized courtly denomination. Nebuchadnezzar acknowledged now that there was a "Lord" ("a *strong* one," see Note at end) over kings, a God over gods (*v.* 11), who could "make known" (*v.* 26) what was hidden from his own "wise men." But it must not be supposed that Nebuchadnezzar's language implied full belief in the God of Daniel. He was still "your (Daniel's) God" only, not his. Nebuchadnezzar spoke and thought of Him, as Hesiod—φέρτατός ἐστι θεῶν, κράτεΐ τε μέγιστος, 'Theog.' 49,—or Homer,—Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε ('Il.' VII. 202)—spoke of the One Being whom they alike concurred in believing superior to the gods of their national pantheon. The early training of Nebuchadnezzar, if that training was conducted by his Egyptian mother, would suggest his use of the title, "God of gods," much as an Egyptian would use it, *i.e.* not as an exclusive title, but as one which, while it recognized the Deity in question as belonging to the supreme and absolute gods, considered him above all the special object of human adoration.

48. Nebuchadnezzar had promised "gifts, rewards, and great honour" (*v.* 6). He was true to his promise. Gifts many (and) great he gave to Daniel. In "honour" he raised him to the rank of "ruler" ("shalit," see *vv.* 14, 38) over the whole "province" ("district," as in iii. 2 and xi. 24, not satrapy, as that word was afterwards understood) of Babylon; and gave him the title of Rab (cp. "made him great") as "Rab-Signin" ("chief of the governors," see Excursus on Pers. words at end of ch. i.) over all the "wise men" who had their abode at Babylon.

In that hour of exaltation Daniel remembered the three friends who had shared his prayers (*v.* 18). At his "request"—the only one he had to make, and it was a "petition" rather than a "request"—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were promoted from the ranks of those "who stood before the king" (i. 19), and became "rulers" over the affairs of the province (cp. iii. 2), "administrators" (cp. the original, Cahen), "shalits" ("sultans") of the lower grade, a position which would probably keep them all in close and daily communication. The accuracy of the term "shalit" here used is confirmed by the inscriptions. It is the title given to the "governor of Babylon and the governor of Gambuli" (Botta's Mon. from Nineveh in Norris' 'Assyr. Dict.' III. 799). Whether or not any of these appointments was equivalent to the Assyrian office of "eponym" must remain doubtful. Oppert mentions in his list of functionaries, capable of taking this rank, the chief of the *sar* (*i.e.*

3,600) of the palace, and the chief of the *ner* (*i.e.* 600) of the country ('L'Étalon des Mesures Assyr.' p. 8). Daniel himself, like Mordecai in the days of Esther (ii. 19, 21, &c.), like the official to-day at the "Porte." sat (or, was) "in the gate of the king," in the precincts of the royal palace.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON CHAP. II.

1. *dreamed dreams*] Assurbanipal, when war with Teumman, king of Elam, was impending, is described as praying and receiving an answer not only to himself personally, but also through a dream to another.

"I prayed to the lofty Ishtar. I approached to her presence, I bowed under her, her divinity I supplicated; and she came to save me. Thus: 'Goddess of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the work of thy hands: ...to restore the temples of Assyria...I thy courts desire, I go to worship. ...O thou goddess of goddesses, terrible in battle, goddess of war, queen of the gods...(Teumman) urges his fighting men to go to Assyria. Oh, thou archer of the gods, like a weight in the midst of battle throw him down and crush him.' My acceptable prayer Ishtar heard, and 'Fear not,' she said; she caused my heart to rejoice: 'At the lifting up of thy hand which thou liftest, thine eyes shall be satisfied with the judgment. I will grant favour.'"

"In the midst of that night when I invoked her, then a seer slept and dreamed a remarkable dream: and during the night Ishtar spoke to him, and he repeated it to me. Thus, 'Ishtar dwelling in Arbela entered, right and left she was surrounded with glory, (?) holding a bow in her hand, projecting a powerful arrow, on making war her countenance was set. She, like a mother bearing, was in pain with thee; she brought thee forth. Ishtar, exalted of the gods, appointed thee a decree. Thus: 'Carry off to make spoil, the place before thee set, I will come to.' Thou shalt say to her thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The goddess of goddesses she repeateth to thee thus: 'Thee I will guard; then I will rest in the place of the temple of Nebo; eat food, drink wine, music appoint, glorify my divinity, until I go and this message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to take the desire of thy heart, before thee he shall not stand, he shall not oppose thy feet. Do not regard (?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in her beneficent generosity, she guards thee and overthrows all the unsubmissive. Before her, a fire is blown to capture enemies[1].'"

Again, in the war with his younger brother, Saûl-mugina, who though viceroy of Babylon wished to make himself independent, there occurs a dream which shews that the Assyrian monarchs or their advisers claimed divine injunctions in justification of their cruelty towards their prisoners and their homes: a fact which illustrates such passages in the book Daniel as ii. 5, iii. 20, vi. 16 (see notes). "A seer in the midst of the night slept and dreamed a dream, thus: 'Concerning the matter which Sin (the moon-god) was arranging, and of them who against Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, devised evil:—battle is prepared; a violent death I appoint for them with the edge of the sword, the burning of fire, famine, and the judgment of Ninip, I will destroy their lives.' This I (Assurbanipal) heard, and trusted to the will of Sin, my lord[2]."

In the record of the siege of Tyre and the affairs of Lydia, it is stated that the account of Assurbanipal's great kingdom was communicated by the god Assur to Gyges, king of Lydia, in a dream. The god's advice is thus rendered: "His (Assurbanipal's) princely yoke take, his majesty reverence, and submit to his dominion. By making obeisance and giving tribute may thy words come to him." The advice was followed, and an alliance between Assurbanipal and Gyges was the result[3].

In the second war with Ummanaldas, king of Elam, the record reads: "Ishtar, dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army a dream sent, and even told them thus: 'I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands made.' Over that vision my army rejoiced[4]."

In Egypt, and about the time of Assurbanipal in Assyria, a tablet records that in the second year of his reign Amen-meri-nout (Nutmiamen, Birch) the king was induced by a vision to appear once more in the field against the Assyrians, and to attempt the conquest of Egypt. Amen-meri-nout saw in a dream two uræi serpents or cobra di capella snakes, one on the right and the other on the left hand. When he awoke they were not there, and he asked the priests the interpretation of the vision. The explanation of one of the prophets was couched in these words, "Thou possessest the South: subject the North, that the diadems of the two regions may shine on thy head, and that thou mayest possess the whole country in its length and breadth[5]."

5. נהיתה עליו. The LXX. gives the mean-

[1] Smith, 'Hist. of Assurbanipal,' pp. 120—6.

[2] Do. pp. 156, 157. In p. 158, the part-fulfilment of the "judgment of Ninip" is recorded, and in p. 163 the burning of Saûl-mugina.

[3] Do. pp. 73—4.

[4] Do. p. 221.

[5] Maspero, 'Essai sur la stèle du Songe' in 'Revue archéologique,' p. 332, May, 1868. Birch, 'Egypt,' p. 171; Smith, 'Hist. of Assurb.' p. 50.

ing which has been generally adopted, ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: for the use of the Niphal cp. viii. 27 and Micah ii. Aben Ezra likens the expression to שנתי ערבה לי (Jer. xxxi. 26). עליו is not to be taken as = מעליו, but to אליו, לו (Gesen. 'Thes.' s. v. היה). Liter. the phrase is "his sleep had been to him," actum erat de somno ejus, "war dahin für ihn" (De Wette, &c.). A similar approximation between, if not interchange of, the prepositions על and אל is found in the Assyrian-Babylonian speech (Oppert, 'Gram.' p. 95).

8. ערנא אנתון זבנין. Grätz's remark that this phrase is without parallel in Semitic languages, so far as he knows them, may be true; but it is incorrect to assert it indicative of late composition. The occurrence of the root זבן in Assyrian-Babylonian in the sense of "to buy," is opposed to such a dogmatic statement. The Hellenistic idiom, ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρόν of Eph. v. 16 and Col. iv., which follows the Greek translation of this verse, indicates the existence of such a Semitic phrase, though instances may not be forthcoming. The idiomatic nature of the expression cannot therefore be deemed sufficient to warrant the rejection of the word from the existing text, or the substitution of בעין for it, on the plea that the ז was mistaken by the scribe for the final ן of the previous אנתון and so brought over to the next word.

19. חזוא די ליליא, "a night vision:" a comparison with the phrases employed in Scripture:—*e.g.* חזון, *vision*, Isai. i. 1; חלום, *dream*, Gen. xxxvii. 5, &c.; תרדמה, *deep sleep* or *trance*, Gen. ii. 21; חזוי ראשך, *visions of thy head*, Dan ii. 28; רעיונך, *thy thoughts*, Dan. ii. 29;—shews that the phrase here means something more than the *dream* which may be counted due to natural causes, and yet less than the *vision* seen by the prophet when awake whether by day or night. "In this case the night vision was as distinct as any appearance of real objects, and the 'secret' or *meaning* clear. The object stood full in view to be surveyed, and, as it were, studied, not with a mind immersed in sleep, but with the calmness and mastery of one who surveys an object which he can perfectly understand; and both the prophetic symbol and the events it signified were then declared with absolute prophetic certainty" (Rule). Cp. Tholuck's remarks ('Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen,' p. 52).

41. מן־נצבתא דיי־פרזלא. The word נ׳ translated "strength" in A.V. has been variously rendered. If the word be derived from נצב (יצב), to plant or fix (cp. מצבת, Isai. vi. 13), the sense of fixity, duration, and strength (Aben Ezra = כח) is a natural one. Such etymology is perhaps supported by the frequent use in Daniel of the word יציב (ii. 8, 45, iii. 24, vi. 13, vii. 16, 19). The Greek, Latin and Syriac versions render it ἀπο τῆς ῥίζης, a sense which is to be deduced from the same root, but which contains a mixture of metaphors avoided by the other rendering. The Targum form of the word is usually ניצבא.

Excursus on Chaldee Magic.

Lenormant[1] has given an analysis of the three divisions of the great work on magic: and from his translation the following specimens are taken (cp. also the index to his work for the statements here advanced).

(1) Demons and evil spirits, according to the popular creed, encompassed every man and infested every place. The *utuq*, the generic name for the former, and the *gigim* (a name as yet unexplained), had their abode in the desert; the *maskim* or "ensnarer" lived in the mountains, the *telal* or "warrior"-demon glided about through towns. These, together with the *alal* or "destroyer," formed the five principal classes of the mysterious and evil spirit-world: they went about in groups of seven, that number so sacred to magical rites and beliefs. Of these perhaps the most formidable and the most dreaded were the *maskim:* they were supposed to have their abode at times on the mountains, at times in the abysses of the earth, and to make their presence known by the earthquake. One long incantation of sixty verses describes their ravages; the god Fire was often powerless against them; the mysterious and sacred conifer, cypress, or cedar-tree (see iv. 11, A.V.) sometimes failed no less: even Silik-moulou-khi, the mediator between the petitioner and the great god Hea, had at times to confess his impotence. It was only "the name" supreme and magical "which Hea keeps in his heart" that could, when revealed to Silik-moulou-khi, curb or shatter the powers of the *maskim*.

What was the help offered by the *khartummim* to the people against this fearful spirit-tyranny? Above all, exorcisms and incantations. When the evil demon had taken possession of his victim, or perhaps also to prevent by anticipation so sad a result, such exorcisms—half-incantation, half-litany—as this were employed:

"The plague and the fever which uproot the land—the sicknesses which devastate the country, so bad for the body, so destructive to the bowels—the evil demon, the evil *alal*, the evil *gigim*—the wicked man, the evil eye, the reviling mouth and the slanderous tongue—may all these quit the body of the man son of his god" (*i.e.* the good man, protected by his guardian-god as a son is protected by his father); "may they go forth from his bowels!

Never shall they enter and possess my body;

[1] 'La Magie,' pp. 346—7.

in front of me never shall they do ill; behind me never shall they walk: into my house never shall they enter.

Spirit of heaven, remember them: spirit of earth, remember them.

Spirit of *Moul-ge* (Assyr. *Bel*), lord of countries, remember them.

Spirit of *Nin-gelal* (Assyr. *Beltis*), lady of the lands, &c.

Spirit of *Nin-dar* (Assyr. *Adar*, *i.e.* Saturn), mighty warrior of *Moul-ge*, remember them.

&c. &c. &c. &c."

The following is another exorcism against the terrible *maskim:*

"The Seven, the Seven—(dwelling) in the profoundest abyss;—the Seven, the abomination of heaven—hiding themselves in the bowels of the earth;—neither male nor female;—without spouse, without child;—recognizing neither order nor goodness;—listening not to prayer—a vermin which hides itself in the mountains;—enemies of the god Hea—ravagers of gods, abetters of troubles, powerful by violence, agents of enmity:—

Spirit of heaven, Spirit of earth, remember them!"

(2) To the *Assaphim* or "theosophists" is probably due the preservation of the hymns and litanies of the old Accadian books. In the course of time, as civilization developed itself on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as Sumerian and Accadian, the Semitic-Kushite and the Turanian, lost their distinguishing national features, the primitive Accadian creed became affected from within and without till it passed into the Chaldæan-Babylonian religion. Simple views gave place to more elaborate: the worship of spirits in their most elementary form was succeeded by a philosophical polytheism. In the most flourishing periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history the ancient belief was still there, but relegated to an inferior rank. The official and courtly religion had replaced it and its *assaphim*, though retaining the name, by a more learned hierarchy and a more exacting pantheon.

Yet it is in the early Accadian hymns that are to be sought the fundamental ideas which penetrate the later litanies and pæans. The new sacerdotal school hesitated about expunging the time-honoured songs and prayers of the old. They adapted, remodelled, and incorporated them, thus quickened with new life, into the current liturgical books. Hence certain formulæ are found which, on the one hand, contain the names of gods strange to the primitive ideas with which they are linked; and, on the other, introduce as members of the Chaldæan-Babylonian pantheon, divine personages who belong essentially to the earlier system. These patchwork results will be seen in some of the phrases of the hymns quoted below.

The Accadian hymns and writings make it clear that there was an army, "a host," of good spirits as well as of evil. The "favourable *mas*," the "favourable *lamma*," and the "favourable *utuq*," are opposed to the hostile spirits who bore the same names: see under (1). Good spirits (*zi*) and angels of more independent powers—like the *Announa* (angels of earth) and the *Igili* (angels of heaven)—led up, as intermediaries, to spiritual powers of higher rank (*an*, *dingir*, or *dimir*); these last, in their turn, yielding the palm to two of the greatest of the gods, Anna and Hea, whose highest titles are the purest and least anthropomorphic of expressions—"spirit of heaven" (*zi anna*) and "spirit of earth" (*zi kia*). These two, with the god Moul-ge—the god of the regions beneath the earth—form the triad which in Chaldæan-Babylonian times was assimilated to the supreme triad Anou, Nouah, and Bel: though the apprehension of the first and last is marked by the distinctions which separate the primitive and later beliefs. Of all these "spiritual" beings, from the lowest to the highest, one conception, at once natural and trustful, was entertained:—that they would do good to and protect their faithful worshippers. The mingled tenderness and child-like faith with which they are addressed in the hymns cannot fail to strike the most unobservant reader.

In the hands of Hea especially was placed the protection of the inhabited world. He was considered the animating spirit of all that men could see of the earth and its atmosphere, penetrating everywhere, bringing life or permitting death to all existent nature. He watched over law and order; and it was his special work to protect men from those evil influences and evil spirits which would uproot the one or the other. He knew all knowledge, and as such was able to frustrate the plots and devices of demon and sorcerer. When every other remedy failed, when invocation of other gods, or even interference on their part in behalf of man, was fruitless, when rite or talisman was given up as powerless, then Hea—if he intervened—could crush the powers which defied and mocked an arm less strong than his own. A noble hymn, dealing with the ravages of the *maskim*, after detailing the fruitless efforts of the god Fire (see note to iii. 24, A.V.), suggests to the god to address Silik-moulou-khi (see below); it continues in language which describes the high position of Hea: "'Approach Silik-moulou-khi, express to him this prayer—to him the command of whose mouth is propitious, the sublime judge of heaven.' Then did the god Fire approach Silik-moulou-khi and prayed his prayer. In the repose of night he (Silik) heard the prayer. To his father Hea, into his house, he entered and thus appealed: 'Father, the god Fire has come here and prayed his prayer. Oh! thou, who knowest the actions of the seven (*maskim*), tell us the place in which they dwell; open thine ear, O

son of Eridou' (a town near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, famous for its worship of Hea). Hea to his son Silik-moulou-khi answered, 'My son, the seven who inhabit the earth come out of the earth; the seven, who are born and bred in the earth, and enter the earth, shake the walls of the watery abyss. Come, my son Silik-moulou-khi.'" Hea then gives instructions—which are, unfortunately, only too mutilated in the original inscription—how to overcome the demons.

The conception of Hea, as given in the ancient Accadian mythology, was substantially retained by the Chaldæan-Babylonian. The name was translated into the form Nouah; and under this latter name he acts over again his same saving and protecting part in the Babylonian tablets of the deluge.

The Sun-god (Accàd. *Oud*; Assyr. *Samas*), in his turn, was another deity beloved for his vivifying and cherishing powers no less than for his active dissipating influence over deeds and agents of darkness. He was not reckoned amongst the highest and most powerful gods; but the very secondary rank he occupied was considered a reason for believing him more accessible to the prayers of men. The sensible influence of the sun on all created things was translated, theologically, into a power to arbitrate over human events and destiny. When the light of the sun was seen and felt, night and blackness, sorrow and evil, plague and vampire fled away; when that light was obscured or withheld, everything that was dark reasserted its power. Perhaps there is no deity so frequently celebrated in the collection of hymns.

"O thou, who makest the lie to vanish; who dost dissipate evil influences, auguries and prognostications of ill, dreams and evil apparitions; who bringest to nought wicked devices, and dost lead to destruction those men and those lands which practise witchcraft, I have shut up before thee in a heap of grain the images (of the evil spirits used as talismans). O, let not those rise up who practise this witchcraft and are so hardened. May the great gods, who have created me, take my hand. Do thou, who dost heal me, uphold me: uphold me, O lord, light of the Universe, the Sun."

There is exhibited in this sense of nearness to, and power of approaching, the god Sun a recognition of his intermediary influence between earth and heaven. A mediator between the gods and men was probably always apprehended both among the primitive Accadians and the later Chaldæan-Babylonians. But the part was not assigned to the Sun but to the god Silik-moulou-khi, a name which means "he who orders what is good for men." It is this god to whom Hea reveals the mysterious rite, the formula, or the ineffable name by which the powers of evil are vanquished (see above, and below under 3). It is he, "the eldest son of Hea," his "messenger" and "warrior" who reveals to men the will and the knowledge of Hea. One hymn may be quoted here.

"Before thy hail who can stand? Thy will is a sublime decree which thou dost establish in heaven and earth.

"Towards the sea I turned myself, and the sea was laid low: towards the plant I turned myself, and the plant was consumed: towards the girdle of the Euphrates I turned myself, and the will of Silik-moulou-khi had upturned its bed. O lord, thou art sublime; who is like unto thee?"

In later times the Assyrian Mardouk (Merodach) and the Accadian Silik-moulou-khi were assimilated; and the Assyrian translators of the ancient texts always so render the ancient name, but without preserving to Silik-moulou-khi the solar character he had at first, or assigning to him the planetary character associated with Mardouk (Jupiter). The following hymn depicts the beneficent part assigned to this mediator-god; and exhibits the ancient belief in the resurrection:

"Great lord of the land, king of countries, eldest son of Hea—who dost lead (in their periodic movements) heaven and earth—great lord of the land, king of countries, god of gods, servant of Anna and Moul-ge (*i.e.* of heaven and earth), the merciful one among the gods—the merciful one who dost raise the dead to life: O! Silik-moulou-khi, king of heaven and earth, king of Babylon, king of the house which rears its head (*i.e.* the pyramid of Babylon), king of the house of the right hand (the seven-staged tower at Borsippa), king of the great house of life (another temple at Borsippa)—strengthen heaven and earth.....strengthen death and life..... Thou art the favourable colossus. Thou art he who quickens. Thou art he who makes to prosper—the merciful one among the gods, the merciful one who raises the dead to life.

"O Silik-moulou-khi, king of heaven and earth, I have invoked thy name and thy might. May the gods celebrate the commemoration of thy name: may they bless submission to thee. May he whose sickness is grievous be delivered. Heal thou the plague, the fever, the ulcer," &c.

(3) The second part of the great magical collection deals with the incantations and exorcisms used by the *Khakamim*. It is perhaps impossible to prove that the "medicine" men proper were an exclusive class. The probability is that while the *Khakamim* were of necessity "Chaldæans"—using the term in the most general sense,—the Chaldæans, limiting the term to its narrower use, were not necessarily *Khakamim*. At this distance of time and with the scant means of forming an opinion at present available, it is clear that these classes overlapped and intermingled,

and yet were sufficiently distinct to leave no confusion in the minds of their contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. Hence the *Khartummim* and the *Khakamim* would often be found using the same litanies and formulæ; at other times they would employ what was peculiar to their special office. It will be sufficient here to give specimens of what was special to the *Khakamim*.

They were men whose potions and medicaments, concocted of the simplest elements, were well calculated to assist natural recovery. They did not pretend to possess skill sufficient to combat the most violent and fatal forms of sickness. When they had to deal with these last—with plague or fever, for example—there was no attempt made to treat them scientifically: the nature and origin of such maladies were unknown and considered unknowable. They were at once put down to the action of evil spirits. A fragment of an inscription goes so far as to assign an evil demon to each portion of the human body: "The *idpa* (fever) attacks the head of man; the *namtar* (plague) his life; the *utuq* his forehead; the *alal* his breast; the *gigim* his entrails; the *telal* his hand." No confession could be more convenient, when natural remedies failed.

The incantations against the "sickness of the head"—either a sort of erysipelas or a cutaneous disease—are very numerous. It appears to have been one of the most common and most dreaded: "The sickness of the head is upon man...It points and pricks like a tiara ...That sickness shall leave my face...May these head-sicknesses, these infirmities disappear like locusts; like birds may they fly away...May the sick man be replaced in the protecting hands of his god." This incantation is a specimen of them all; the sickness and its symptoms are stated at more or less length. Then follow the prayers for deliverance, or intercessions for the return of the good spirit temporarily expelled by the act of the evil demon; and sometimes the interference of the gods is asserted or invoked. This last feature is illustrated by an incantation of a dramatic kind against "the sickness of the forehead: that sickness which comes out of hell, from the abode of the lord of the abyss." After every expedient has been tried unsuccessfully—the sickness continuing to gnaw the sick man "like a troop of ants"—the exorcism continues:—

"Silik-moulou-khi has helped him. To his father Hea, in his abode, he went and appealed to him: 'My father, the sickness of the head has come forth from hell. Heal him; the man knows not the remedy.' Hea answered his son Silik-moulou-khi: 'My son, thou knowest not the remedy. Let me teach it to thee. What I know, thou knowest. Come, my son Silik-moulou-khi. Take a bucket. Draw water from the surface of the river. On those waters lay thy mighty lip; by thy mighty breath make them shine with purity. Help the man the son of his god (*i.e.* the good man)...envelop his head...let that sickness depart; let it be dispersed like the dew of night.' May the injunction of Hea heal him (the sick man). May Davkina (the spouse of Hea) heal him. May Silik-moulou-khi, eldest son of Ocean, form the image which will help him." It is evident, as Lenormant points out, that the *Khakam* would actually do this—bind round the head of the sufferer the cooling remedy, or the talisman, or the charm which the god is described as enjoining.

Among the most curious of the mysterious rites employed by the *Khakamim* was the use of the magical "knots" (see v. 12). They were considered sometimes efficacious in the case of the "sickness of the head." "Make a knot on the right," says a formula attributed to the god Hea, "and arrange on the left (? of the head) as a regular band a woman's diadem; divide it twice over into seven little bands. Bind with it the sick man's head. Bind with it his forehead. Bind his hands and his feet. Seat him on his bed. Pour over him the enchanted waters. May the sickness be carried away to the skies like a furious wind: may it be engulphed in the ground like the waters which disappear."

It is true that the popular and even sacerdotal faith in the efficacy of the potion or the knot sometimes gives place to a purer and simpler creed. Compare, for instance, the following words from a hymn addressed to the Sun and composed for the cure of a sickness; a hymn in which the *Khakam* and the sick man speak alternately:—

"As for me, the lord has struck me down. As for me, the lord, great, (even) Hea has struck me down."

"Do thou (the Sun), in thy coming, heal the sickness of his head. Do thou, who dost establish peace, act thus: heal his sickness. The man, son of his god, places (before thee) his affliction and his fear. Lessen his sickness."

"O Sun, come to my appeal, (come) to the lifting up of my hands."

"By thy command may he be delivered from his affliction, and his fear removed. May he revive from his illness...By thy mightiness may the days of his life be doubled."

Primitive, comparatively pure, as is this prayer, containing also—as it does in the opening clause—the belief that sickness is sometimes a punishment permitted by the god of goodness; such a prayer is an exception. The more general habit was recurrence to rites, amulets, talismans, knots, and philtres. These satisfied the senses, the sight, the taste, and the touch. It was inevitable that, with a superstitious people such as the Babylonians, "spiritual things" should be superseded by magical arts.

The reader of the fourth chapter of Daniel will do well to remember that Nebuchadnezzar in his madness would be in the hands of the classes here described.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Nebuchadnezzar dedicateth a golden image in Dura.* 8 *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego are accused for not worshipping the image.* 13 *They, being threatened, make a good confession.* 19 *God delivereth them out of the furnace.* 26 *Nebuchadnezzar seeing the miracle blesseth God.*

NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king made an image of gold,

CHAP. III. "The noble example of faith and courage recorded in this chapter, has been the comfort of the Church in all ages of persecution. Jerome observes that it was a testimony of the truth to the Gentiles, and an opportunity of embracing salvation, that they who first learned the power of one God by the revelation of Daniel might learn from the firmness of the three saintly children, to leave off the worship of idols and to despise death" [R].

It is difficult to determine *when* the events recorded in this chapter took place. The original text gives no date, but the LXX. and Theod. give the very old tradition that they occurred in Nebuchadnezzar's eighteenth year (*i.e.*, probably, of his sole sovereignty), and the LXX. adds that it was after a progress through the cities, countries, and nations which owned his power between India and Ethiopia. The tradition may be accepted as substantially correct. The chapter therefore deals with what occurred at the close of a period of military conquest, and before the commencement of a period of national peace and development. It occupies naturally a place between chapters ii. and iv. It is the record of the act of one who had fulfilled to the letter the interpretation of the dream of his early life—who proclaimed himself, and was "king of kings," ruler over all "men, beasts of the field, and fowls of the heaven" (ii. 37, 38); but who had yet to learn that the God who had given him "power," was yet more powerful than he, and able to deliver "His servants"—despised, captive Jews—"who trusted in Him" (iii. 15, 28).

Of the great campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar but little is known. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the authors of Kings and Chronicles, and Josephus recount with more or less fulness the events connected with the Holy Land. It is possible to follow, by means of their writings, those terrible events in the history of God's people which culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem (B.C. 585), and the forcible removal of the captives to Babylonia (see for a summary, Rawlinson, 'Anc. Mon.' III. pp. 50—55; Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. p. 476, &c.; De Saulcy, 'Sept Siècles de l'Hist. judaïque,' &c. pp. 1—6): but of the wars conducted against his nearest political neighbours, the Medes to the north, the hill-tribes of the Zagros-range to the east, and the Arabs to the south—neighbours who must have been subjugated to a great extent before he could turn with safety against Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia and Egypt—nothing but the most meagre information remains (see Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Assurs u. Babels,' p. 208 sq.).

As a conqueror, with laurels gleaned from every field, with the images of captive gods, with the spoils of temples (and among them those of the temple of Jerusalem) Nebuchadnezzar entered his capital as Assurbanipal had entered his (see Smith, 'Hist. of A.' p. 271 and passim); and—again like the conquerors of Assyria (see *v.* 1 note)—celebrated his victories by the erection of his royal image and a religious festival.

1. *made an image of gold*] "Jerome justly remarks: We soon forget the truth! He who had been worshipping the servant of God as if he were God, now makes an image of himself that he may be worshipped.

"It is astonishing to think what difficulties have been invented for this passage! First it is assumed that this image was simply a statue, and then its proportions are said to be absurd; secondly, that it was all of solid gold, and then the amount of gold required is almost beyond belief. Let us, however, suppose it a bust upon a pedestal, and not solid, but of some material covered with plates of gold, and all these difficulties vanish" [R].

These difficulties have, in fact, been removed by the decipherment of inscriptions, and a better acquaintance with the habits of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

In the annals of Samas-Rimmon (the son of Shalmaneser, the Assyrian contemporary of the Israelite kings, Ahab and Jehu), this prince is described as erecting, after a victorious campaign, a statue of himself: "an image (*zalam*) of my magnified royalty I made" ('Records of the Past,' I. 17) and the same practice is recorded of Shalmaneser and others (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 345; Oppert, 'Gram. Assyr.' p. 120). The image was probably colossal, perhaps seated; and was raised on a pillar or obelisk like the colossal statues of the kings of the 12th dynasty placed on the summits of pyramids erected near the lake Mœris in Egypt and still visible in the days of Herodotus (Birch, 'Egypt,' p. 71). Those colossal seated statues may perhaps have suggested to Nebuchadnezzar—so lately the conqueror

whose height *was* threescore cubits, *and* the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

2 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellers, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

3 Then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellers, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

4 Then an herald cried †aloud, To you †it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages,

† Chald. *with might.*
† Chald. *they command.*

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of Egypt—a model to be imitated. The image in this case was "of gold," *i.e.* golden (Ewald); together with the supporting pillar it was overlaid with the precious metal which the conquest of numberless temples had procured, but which the Talmudists—prone to magnify their woe and to verify the ancient prophecy (Ezek. vii. 19)—affirmed to have been brought from the temple of Jerusalem alone, and heaped in contempt at the foot of the pillar. The height of the whole (60 feet) would secure for it the certainty of being seen from a vast distance. During the trigonometrical survey of Mesopotamia Captain Selby ascertained that in the level plain of Dura the dip of the horizon at 12 miles is 53 feet. Allowing therefore a radius of from 13 to 15 miles from the centre of the city of Babylon to the wall, the inhabitants would be able at sunrise to see the summit of the pedestal. Sunrise was, and is, in the East, the principal time of prayer; and, in that singularly clear climate where objects are visible till they dip below the horizon, it may fairly be imagined that it was at that hour that prince and people would be aroused by the military and sacerdotal music sounding from palace and temple, to worship the image set up (*v.* 7).

The reasons for the erection of the image are sufficiently indicated in the previous remarks. They altogether obviate the necessity of considering the quaint rather than theological conception of Saadia, that Nebuchadnezzar acted as he did in order to seduce Israel once more to idolatry, and so nullify the restoration of the kingdom of Israel as interpreted to him by Daniel (ii. 44).

plain of Dura] "Oppert has identified the scene of this with a spot near the mound of Dowair or Dûair: where the pedestal of a colossal statue has been found by him" [R]. Quatremère's view (Migne, 'Dict. de la Bible,' II. p. 31, n. 1), that "Dura" was to be placed within the precincts of Babylon itself is thus confirmed: and Captain Selby reports that the plain bears that name to the present day (see the Survey-Map of Mesopotamia in the India Office, and Rawlinson in 'Journ. of R. Geogr. Soc.' x. p. 93). The name signifies the "plain of the wall," a meaning preserved in the LXX. ἐν πεδίῳ τοῦ περιβόλου. "Dur" is often the first part of the name of a district or city mentioned in the inscriptions, *e.g.* Dur-Yagina, Dur-Kurigabri, Dur-Sargina; and in the "Black Stone" or Esarhaddon's Inscription Dûru-Suanna-ki is that part of Babylon which is elsewhere called Imgur-Bel, or wall of Babylon. The plain in front of it would thus be naturally called the plain of Dur or Dura.

"Bleek suggests that this story was a kind of moral tale, invented to give the Jews courage to resist Antiochus Epiphanes, *when he placed the statue of Jupiter on the altar at Jerusalem.* As Antiochus Epiphanes never placed the statue of Jupiter there at all, this suggestion is worthless. 'He built (ᾠκοδόμησαν, they built, 1 Macc. i. 55, an expression which could not be used of erecting a statue) an altar over the altar for burnt-offerings. Hengstenberg makes this quite clear. 'Die Authentic. des Daniel,' &c., p. 87—89" [R].

2. *sent to gather*, &c.] The messengers or runners which were to be found throughout the East, in Babylonia as well as in Israel (1 S. xi. 7, in the days of Saul; 2 Chro. xxx. 6, 10 in the days of Hezekiah), or later in Persia (Esther iii. 15, viii. 14) would be sent out on their mission. The officials summoned are apparently the leading civil and military classes (see add. Note)—"the princes (satraps), the governors (see ii. 48) and the captains;" the ministers of justice—"the judges, the counsellors;" and of finance—"the treasurers." From the inscriptions, it is clear how great stress was laid on attendance on the great religious ceremonies: not to take part in them when present was equivalent to open rebellion and even sacrilege.

4. *O people, nations, and languages*] Babylon at this time at the height of her glory, commercial and military, contained within her vast area representatives from east and west, north and south, the Greek and the Mede, the Phœnician and the Assyrian, the "captive

5 *That* at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, ‖ dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up:

‖ Or, singing. † Chald. symphony.

6 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

7 Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down *and* worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

8 ¶ Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews.

9 They spake and said to the king

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of Judah," and the Arab of the south. The official proclamation, spoken by the herald, addressed them as "people, nations (better "tribes," Theod. and Vulg.), and languages" (lit. "tongues," see Gen. x. 5; Isai. lxvi. 18). It was a form of address which reminded them of the greatness of the monarch who claimed the obedience of Semite and Aryan alike, and it was probably the formula then in use. The inscriptions—which assign to Rimmon-Nirari, Sammas-Rimmon, and others the title of "king of the four races" ('Records of the Past,' I. 3, 12), or to Sargon the "empire of nations" (lit. "tongues" or "languages," see Oppert, 'Inscription de Khorsabad,' p. 37; Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n.), and the opening phrases of Assurbanipal's edicts, *e.g.* "to the men of Rosa, the men of the sea-coast, and the Neruti" (Smith, 'History of A.' pp. 108, 189)—amply illustrate both the language used here and the sense of cosmopolitan power intended.

5. *the sound of the cornet...all kinds of musick*] (On the philological questions connected with these instruments, see additional Note.) The Babylonians (cp. Isai. xiv. 11; Ps. cxxxvii. 2), like the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, the Greeks, and the Persians, were a music-loving people. Music was a recognized accompaniment of every social feast, or triumphal procession, and was introduced at the religious ceremonies (see add. N. p. 265, col. 1). In the present case it was used to give the signal for prostration before the image. At the sound of the "cornet" (*i.e.* the straight horn), "the flute" (or "pipe"), the "harp" (the "cithera"), "the sackbut" (not the wind-instrument known by that name, but probably a kind of harp), "the psaltery" (perhaps the modern oriental *santour*), "the dulcimer" (lit. the *symphonia*; conjecturally identified by some with a bagpipe like the modern Italian *zampogna*), "and all kinds of music (instruments)," "princes" and "people," "governors" and "tribes," were to "fall down and worship" (lit. prostrate themselves: προσκυνεῖν cp. ii. 46) the golden image.

6. *the same hour*] The shadow of the pillar itself would serve to measure the space of time between the sentence and its execution.

be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace] This was the penalty for refusing to worship the image: a penalty which from its excessive cruelty has been held to throw discredit upon the genuineness of the narrative. Judged by our notions the punishment would be most cruel if not impossible, but —independently of allusions to a similar practice recorded in the Old Test. (Gen. xxxviii. 24; Jer. xxix. 22) and of the well-known Jewish tradition of the deliverance of Abraham from the fire of the Chaldees —the Assyrian monuments shew that the punishment was common centuries before the days of Nebuchadnezzar. In Smith's 'History of Assurbanipal' (p. 163, see also Fox Talbot in 'Illustrations of the Prophet Daniel from the Assyrian writings,' 'Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology,' II. 361), Saul-mugina, the king of Babylonia, is recorded as rebelling against his brother Assurbanipal, and making war with him. Saul-mugina was defeated and taken prisoner. He was condemned to death, and by the order of his brother was thrown into "a burning fiery furnace." The same fate overtook Dunanu, who had uttered curses against the gods of Assurbanipal; "over a furnace they placed him and consumed him entirely" (Smith, do. pp. 137, 138). The celebrated "Inscription of Khorsabad" records burning and flaying as punishments inflicted on the king of Hamath and his allies (B. C. 714), and a similar fate befell Assourlih (B. C. 712) (see Oppert and Ménant in 'Journal asiatique,' 1864, pp. 24, 25, 50). The narrative in the text of Daniel, pointing out the commonness of the punishment (cp. the mode in which it is mentioned in *vv.* 6 and 11) is therefore amply confirmed by these "silent" records of the past. That it was an extreme form of punishment need not be disputed; but the severity of the punishment is only too easily explained, if it be remembered, how despotic Nebuchadnezzar was, how solemn this occasion, how religious the ceremony, and therefore how irreligious and fanatical disobedience would at such a time appear to be.

8—12. *certain Chaldeans ... accused the*

Nebuchadnezzar, O king, live for ever.

10 Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image:

11 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, *that* he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

12 There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, † have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

† Chald. *have set no regard upon thee.*

13 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar in *his* rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought these men before the king.

14 Nebuchadnezzar spake and said

Jews] Among the prostrate worshippers, a few figures remained standing. They "fell not down nor worshipped the image." Chaldæans, men of rank and mark, at once ("at that time") drew near to the king. Saluting him with the usual formula of respect (*v.* 9, cp. ii. 4) they "accused" the Jews. The word—correctly paraphrased by the A.V. (LXX. and Theod. *ὑπολαβόντες*, Vulg. accusaverunt)—is a curious one: literally it means—like the phrases *mordere, dente carpere, rodere carnem*—they "ate the pieces of the Jews," *i.e.* they calumniated, they slandered, they informed against them. "'They could not bear,' says Jerome, 'the pre-eminence acquired by the Jews through the influence of Daniel'" [R]. The expression is found as the Targum rendering of the "talebearer" in Lev. xix. 16, and is frequent as a Syriac and Arabic idiom. It is intended, according to the Arabs, to signify such persistent malice and craft that (figuratively speaking) a man's enemies hunt him down, take him, cut him in pieces, and eat his flesh.

The nature of their "accusation" was well calculated to inflame king Nebuchadnezzar "with rage and fury" (*v.* 13, the words in the original indicate a passion and glowing anger far more intense than that described in ii. 12). The men whom they accused, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego owed their position to his royal favour (*v.* 12, cp. ii. 49). It was their duty to shew respect to any "decree made," established (*v.* 10) by him. By their conduct they proved themselves ungrateful and undutiful; they "regarded not," they established not his decree (*v.* 12, a point omitted in the A.V. and Syr., but retained in the Greek and Latin versions). And if ungrateful and disloyal to their master, they were furthermore acting in a manner profane and irreligious. "They," urged the Chaldæans in loud tones (Rashi), "serve not" (LXX. and Theod. *λατρεύειν*, Vulg. colere, the word in the original here, *vv.* 14, 17, 28, and in vi. 16, is the word so frequent in the inscriptions for the proper service or worship of the gods) "thy gods" (plu. not sing. as LXX. *εἴδωλόν*), &c.; or—if the emphatic order of the original be observed—"thy gods they are not serving, the golden image which thou hast set up they are not worshipping." The king's favour and command, the glory and victorious power of the monarch, the image which representing him symbolized also the tutelary deity—all were despised by these Jews, whose rank and position would be sure to invite comment upon their actions.

Daniel was not present at this dedication of the image: and he was not among the Jews accused. Conjectures have been freely offered to explain his absence; such as—that Daniel stood too high in royal favour to be touched;—that he, personally, was too much loved;—that he was ill;—that he was engaged elsewhere on business;—that as "Rab-Signin" (ii. 48) he was exempted from the prostration demanded of lay officials. These conjectures raise more difficulties than they appease. Yet it may be safely asserted that—had his absence caused any defect in the religious ceremonies, had it been possible to raise against him a charge of dereliction of duty—the "accusers of the Jews" would not have been slow to incriminate him in the charges they alleged against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. That they did not do so, is not to be explained away upon the supposition that the deliverance of his companions stopped proceedings against their chief. Certainly had this chapter been the composition of a pseudo-Daniel or the record of a fictitious event, Daniel would have been introduced and his immunity explained.

13. *in his rage and fury*] "The fury of heathen persecutors against the truth is quite proverbial. The Romans, who tolerated all heathen superstitions, persecuted Christianity to the death" [R].

14. "The king distinguishes here between serving his god, and worshipping his image. The distinction is suggestive even to Chris-

unto them, *Is it* [1] true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

15 Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; *well:* but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who *is* that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?

16 Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we *are* not careful to answer thee in this matter.

17 If it be *so*, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver *us* out of thine hand, O king.

18 But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve

[1] Or, *of purpose*: as Exod. 21. 13.

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tians, as warning us that we may render outward acts of homage, without really serving God" [R]. If the precedents alleged (note to *v.* 1) make it probable that the "image set up" was the image of Nebuchadnezzar's "magnified royalty" (cp. also *v.* 15), it would also seem from *vv.* 12, 14, 18 that worship of the god of the monarch was considered to be implied in the worship of the monarch. The inscriptions prove that this was the case. "I made," says Shalmaneser III., "an image of my royalty; upon it I inscribed the praise of Assur my master, and a true account of my exploits," &c. (Obelisk of Shalm. III., see Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 120). It was impossible to separate the bending down before the image of royalty from implied acknowledgment of the god who had—according to popular belief—prospered the king. The refusal of Shadrach, &c. contained therefore insult upon insult, and the insidiousness of the "accusation" becomes patent. It was sure to produce the effect described: and for the following reason:—The Babylonian inscriptions illustrate and confirm in a remarkable manner the developed religious enthusiasm of king Nebuchadnezzar for his god (note the singular, *v.* 14): it was one of the most marked features in his character. Merodach (Jupiter) the patron-god of Babylon, to whom the name of Bel was specifically transferred by the Babylonians during the later period of their history (see Schrader in 'Stud. u. Kritik.' Jan. 1874), was—according to the standard Inscription—"the lord, the joy of his heart in Babylon, which was the seat of his sovereignty and empire." "Merodach," he says, "the great lord, has appointed me to the empire of the world, and confided to my care the far-spread people of the earth. Merodach, the great lord, the senior of the gods, the most ancient, has given all nations and people to my care." The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar always terminate with a prayer to Merodach, invoking his favour for the protection of the throne and empire, and for its continuance throughout all ages to the end of time. It was, therefore, a gross insult, that three men —"captives" of the race Merodach had helped him to conquer—should dare to refuse homage to his god. That an opportunity was given to them of doing that which gratitude and prudence joined in suggesting, was perhaps due, as Aben Ezra thinks, to Nebuchadnezzar's recollection of his esteem for Daniel. Perhaps also a remembrance of the high opinion he had ever formed of them (i. 19, ii. 49) inclined him to mercy.

Is it true] So the majority of the versions: the phrase is a difficult one, and has been variously rendered; "Is it your set purpose," or "Do you scornfully refuse to worship," &c., &c. So long as the etymology of the original word is in dispute, the older translation may fairly claim the preference.

15. *who is that God*, &c.] "When Pharaoh asked, 'Who is the Lord?' the question might arise from the uncertainty and doubts which the multitude of gods in Egypt produced; but the words of Nebuchadnezzar like those of Sennacherib, 2 K. xviii. 35, were words, not of inquiry, but of defiance and scorn. His rage at being thus opposed appears to have obliterated all the religious feelings which Daniel's interpretation of his dream had formerly excited in him" [R].

16. *we are not careful*, &c.] Better, "we are not wanting," &c., *i.e.* "it is not necessary for us" (Cahen, see add. N.). The thought is: "*We* need not answer you; God will answer you" (*v.* 17).

17. "How calm and confiding is the faith of these willing martyrs. They had done nothing in defiance of the king, they had only refused, and that not ostentatiously, compliance with a command of the king which violated the rights of conscience. They doubted neither the power nor the will of their God to save them. What an example is this, even to Christians, who fall into similar dangers!" [R].

thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

19 ¶ Then was Nebuchadnezzar † full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: *therefore* he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

† Chald. *filled.*

20 And he commanded the † most mighty men that *were* in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, *and* to cast *them* into the burning fiery furnace.

† Chald. *mighty of strength.*

21 Then these men were bound in their † coats, their hosen, and their † hats, and their *other* garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

† Or, *mantles.* † Or, *turbans.*

22 Therefore because the king's † commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the † flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.

† Chald. *word.* † Or, *spark.*

23 And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

24 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied, and rose up in haste, *and* spake, and said unto his † coun-

† Or, *governors.*

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19. *heat the furnace one seven times more*, &c.] *i.e.* as Theod. paraphrases it, ἕως εἰς τέλος ἐκκαῇ. It should not be forgotten that, the number seven being "quite sacramental" among the Babylonians (see Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 54), the expression used has peculiar force. The increased heat and the proportionate fury of the flame typified increased homage to the "god of fire" (see note on *v.* 25) whose majesty and divinity were impugned by the rebellious contempt of the "three children."

21. "Considerable differences of opinion prevail as to the exact meaning of the words, employed to describe the garments of the captives. Neither the Rabbinical writers nor modern scholars speak with any certainty. The garment mentioned second (*Petish*), seems certainly to indicate an inner garment of fine linen, and if we consider the last three words as indicating a linen garment and two outer garments, the description appears to accord with the Babylonish monuments. But the exact equivalent of these nouns it is perhaps impossible to determine" [R]. Modern inquiry has, however, shewn that the dress here described, however difficult of explanation (see add. Note), was that of the Babylonian courtier of the day. In the time of Herodotus (I. 195, see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. p. 1 seq.), the well-to-do inhabitants of the capital wore a long linen gown reaching down to the feet, a woollen gown or tunic over this, a short cloak or cape of a white colour, and shoes like those of the Bœotians. The hair was confined by a head-band or fillet (rather than "turban," or A.V. "hat"), and they carried a stick in the hand. The sculptures and seals reproduce, with some difference from the description given by Herod., the dress of an earlier period. The long robe is worn over the shorter tunic; it is a sleeveless garment, and leaves bare the right shoulder: sometimes a long inner dress is seen underneath it. The head-band or fillet is there, but no cape or tippet, and no shoes. The dress of the priests was a flounced and striped robe reaching to the feet; over it was an open jacket or cape of the same kind. A long scarf hung down the back, and on the head was worn a crown or mitre or horned cap. Whether or not this was a dress common to the scientific classes; whether or not the variations in the head-dresses figured on the monuments represent also degrees of rank and office in the "schools," it is at present impossible to determine. It was in some such dress as this—the long robe (A.V. "coat"), the inner tunic (A.V. "hosen"), the cloak or outer "clothing" (see 1 Chro. xv. 27), and their other garments—that the victims of Nebuchadnezzar's "fury" went to meet death.

At that moment—when the interrupted idol-festival was about to begin again, when the sound of the musical instruments was about to be heard once more calling the worshippers to prostrate themselves before the image—there rose up, according to the Greek and Latin versions, the prayer of Azariah. He and his companions lay helpless; in that helplessness they prayed to "the God whom they served." The "prayer"—unquestionably apocryphal and relegated by Luther to its proper uncanonical position,—is yet a model of trustful devotion, though somewhat marred by that hatred of their ignorant enemies which no true companions of Daniel would have ever expressed.

24. *the king was astonied*, &c.] As he sat on his royal seat over against the "door" (*v.* 26) of the furnace, watching the end, he saw a sight which filled him with "astonishment," not unmixed with "terror" (a sense of the original word which seems preferable to that of "vexation" or "repentance" sometimes associated with the Hebrew root). He sprang

sellers, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

25 He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and [1] they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.

[1] Chald. *there is no hurt in them.*

26 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the [1] mouth of the burning fiery furnace, *and* spake, and said,

[1] Chald. *door.*

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from his seat, not because (Gk. versions) he heard the song or hymn of praise, but because transfixed by the sight of "four men, loose (from their bonds), walking, and having no hurt" (hardly as Vulg. nihil corruptionis, but rather no wound, no damage, see Ezra iv. 22). He "rose up in haste" (lit. in restless terror) and appealed to his "counsellors." The officials here mentioned do not bear the same title as the "counsellors" (A. V.) of *v.* 2 (see add. Note to that verse). They, to whom Nebuchadnezzar now addressed himself, were his closest and most confidential ministers (cp. LXX. rendering of the word:—οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως). It was into their hands that the affairs of the kingdom were entrusted during his illness (iv. 36, A.V.); and, though in their number would probably be included the "princes, governors, and captains," they probably held for the time being much of that special rank which is associated with the modern apprehension of the term "minister."

25. It is a question still unsolved: Did others beside the king see "four" men loose, &c.? The narrative would admit it; the courtiers' stereotyped reply, "True, O king," is not of much weight for or against this view; but the older belief has been that this "sight" (same word as in *v.* 27)—an *objective* sight and not a vision—was granted unto the king alone.

"The form of *the* fourth was like to a son of the gods." "The astonishment of the king was without doubt increased by the sublime form" (LXX. ὅρασις, same word as applied to the "image" in ii. 31) "of the fourth amongst them: but the translation 'the Son of God' (A. V. only) cannot stand: the definite article is not found in the Chaldee text" [R].

What did the expression—"a son of the gods"—mean as used by Nebuchadnezzar? It was the language of one educated in and familiar with the Babylonian belief in gods. From the union of Bel and Mylitta had sprung a divine progeny of "sons," and one of those divine visitors had vouchsafed to appear now, an "angel" (lit. "messenger," *v.* 28) of deliverance to Shadrach and his fellows. The inscriptions offer numerous examples of kings calling a particular god and goddess their father and mother ('Records of the Past,' 1. 8); Assurbanipal, for instance, calls himself the progeny of Assur and Beltis (do. 56): the name Bar is the name given to a god (do. 1. 11); and there was a "god of fire." And it is possible to identify this "son of the gods" more closely still. In the old Accadian books of magic, "Fire" is the god *Iz-bar*, the god "who lifts up himself on high, the great chief who extends the supreme power of the god of heaven." Under those titles he is regarded as the Fire of the Kosmos everywhere present in nature, at once necessary to life and exhibiting his brilliancy in the stars. The name *Iz-bar* will recall to the student of the Babylonian deluge tablet the name of the hero *Iz-dhu-bar* (mass of fire) who plays a principal part in that ancient epic. In an incantation of 60 versicles directed against the ravages of the "seven spirits of the abyss" the god Fire is described as approaching Silik-moulou-khi (the mediator with the supreme god Hea), and expressing to him the prayer of the petitioners. Silik-moulou-khi hears the prayer and lays it before his father Hea. In a religious system which laid so much stress on the worship of the elements, it is not surprising to find Fire adored as a real material substance superior as a god even to the sun itself (see hymn (1) in add. Note). Hence he is invoked as the great disperser of witchcrafts, and the hero who puts evil spirits to flight. Universal peace and especially freedom from the attacks of malignant demons are considered ensured to a land under this god's protection (see hymn (2) in add. Note). The sacrificial flame was adored as enshrining his presence: hence he bore the title of "the supreme high priest on the surface of the earth;" while the trustful simple people recognized in the flame which burnt on the domestic hearth that tutelary power which protected house and home from harmful influences (see hymn (3) in add. Note).

In the Assyrian period, the translators of the old hymns sometimes retained the ancient names of the god (either *bil-gi*, "flame," or *iz-bar* or *bar*, "fire"), sometimes assimilated him to the Nebo or Bin of the Chaldæan-Babylonian system.

Bar-Elohin, *i.e.* Bar-Ili, is the name which Nebuchadnezzar gives him in this verse, and it would perhaps be a better translation to render his words either "the form of the fourth is like *Bar-Elohin*" or "like Bar of the gods." The king saw in that flame fed by human sacrifice the greatest and most active of the gods with whom the priest had direct communication by sacred rites and magic incantations: and he recognized the intervention in favour of his victims (see add. Note).

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come *hither*. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire.

27 And the princes, governors, and captains, and the king's counsellers, being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

28 *Then* Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, Blessed *be* the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God.

29 Therefore †I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak † any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be [a]†cut in pieces, and their houses

† Chald. *a decree is made by me.*
† Chald. *error.*
[a] chap. 2. 5.
† Chald. *made pieces.*

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26. *servants of the most high God*] Without waiting for comment from his "counsellors," Nebuchadnezzar drew near the door of the furnace, and summoned forth these "servants." The title given to the God of Shadrach, &c. must not be exaggerated into indicating *belief in Him* on Nebuchadnezzar's part. It is simply a recognition that, in comparison with his own Babylonian deities, the God of Shadrach is greater than they, He is "the most high God" (LXX. ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ὁ ὕψιστος). It did not follow that he would give up his own national gods, or suggest to his people the adoption of the worship of "the most high God." "Though the heathen king is again convinced of the power and greatness of the God of the Jews, it will be observed that the proclamation presently (*v.* 29) put forth is only a decree of punishment against those who calumniate Him. It does not declare Him God alone, and the other gods mere idols" [R].

27, &c. As the king and his counsellors "saw" these men, their bodies not "ruled" by the fire...their coats (lit. the inner robes, see *v.* 21) and therefore every other robe they wore untouched, themselves unaffected even by the smell of the fire—it may be that, as Theod. says, προσεκύνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ: it was a natural and spontaneous act fitly introducing the "blessing" of *v.* 28. But the caution must again be repeated; this "blessing of the God of Shadrach," &c. does not amount to belief in Him. So far as the Biblical history tells anything more about Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.) it may be inferred that a deeper impression was made upon him by this deliverance than had been made by the interpretation of his dream (ch. ii.); but information gathered from sources external to the sacred narrative forbids the supposition of spiritual reformation in the king.

The doxology—like in its spirit to that in iv. 34 and vi. 26, yet sufficiently unlike to be marked by language evoked by the peculiar circumstances of the case—exhibits a belief in divine protection and a recognition of the merits of his intended victims, which is worth notice. Nebuchadnezzar's belief in the intervention of a "son of the gods," or *Bar-Elohin* (*v.* 25), or, as he here calls him, "an angel" or messenger sent—not by a god such as his mythology revealed to him—but by the unknown God, the God of Shadrach, &c., the most high God, is quite in accordance with his belief in the attributes of the god Fire, the "messenger" of the god Silik-moulou-khi (see hymn 3, add. N. *v.* 25), and the popular belief of his day (see note on the "watchers," iv. 17): and it is—in itself—a most valuable testimony to the genuineness of the narrative. In the "three children" he marks a "trust" in their God which "grasps" Him tightly and seizes firmly His help (see the word in the original); it was the result of this trust, that they could disobey ("*and* changed") the king's word and yield their bodies rather than serve any god except their God. Centuries later an apostolic council spoke with deep gratitude of men who in the spirit of their Babylonian predecessors "had hazarded their lives for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Acts xv. 26).

29. *speak...amiss against the God of Shadrach*, &c.] The words of benediction were followed by action. A decree issued in the usual form ("made," see *v.* 9 and vi. 26; the formula customary in such cases, cp. Ezra vi. 11) expressed an earnest intention, if—according to our notions—a mistaken mode, of doing honour to the "God who could deliver after this sort." The severest punishments (see ii. 5) were threatened against all who "spoke amiss" against God. The older versions understand by this "blasphemy," but the word would be more strictly rendered "error;" and the idea conveyed by the tenor of the edict would be a reproof of what was intentionally erroneous rather than blasphemous: "blasphemy" in the modern sense of the word would have been unintelligible to the easy-going and

shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort.

30 Then the king † promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon.

† Chald. *made to prosper.*

polytheistic Babylonian. He and his king would consider it *dangerous* to "speak amiss" of a God who had shewn such power; and that danger the prospect of punishment would materially prevent.

One more act still remained to be performed: an act of justice and reparation. Whether or not the "binding" and "the casting into the fire" was preceded by degradation, is not quite clear. The whole action was rapid. But such a death as that to which Shadrach, &c. were condemned was the death of criminals of the worst dye, and it had been brought about by the "accusation" of "certain Casdim." Therefore the king "made to prosper" (see marg.: the "promoted" of A. V. comes from the Vulg., and is hardly so correct as the marginal rendering) Shadrach, &c.: he restored them to their old position "over the affairs of the province of Babylon" (ii. 49), making them to prosper (Theod. *κατηύθυνεν*) by those numberless, though unmentioned, means through which a sovereign exhibited his favour towards his officers.

The contents of this chapter—apart from the consideration of the event as a miracle—may be summed up in Archdeacon Rose's words: "Never was the promise, 'when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee' (Isai. xliii. 2), so wonderfully fulfilled as here. Doubtless it was ever the source of spiritual comfort to the Christian martyr, but here it was fulfilled in the letter."

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. III.

2. The names of the officers of state gathered together may be conveniently considered separately.

אחשדרפניא. These are the "princes," sometimes the *σατράπαι*, sometimes the *ὕπατοι* of the LXX. and Theod., and the "satrapæ" of the Lat. Ver. The etymology of the word has been given in the appendix to Ezra (Vol. III. p. 423); but its occurrence in the book Daniel as the title not of a Persian but of a Babylonian officer, points to a time when the word had a use and a significance anterior to the Persian period. The form here is substantially that which the Aramaic or Hebrew would assume, if a phonetic reproduction of a word current in Babylonia were intended. The importation of foreign words and titles by such a conqueror as Nebuchadnezzar is readily conceived, though it may not be possible to fix decisively when they were introduced. Words used in commerce, and titles of military and social importance, would be among the first to be adopted; and during his eighteen years' campaigns, Egyptian and Phœnician, Mede and Arab, would each add to the list. The concluding syllables *pani* lend themselves easily to Assyrian and Babylonian adoption: *cf.* the *ḫalik pani* or "predecessor" of the inscriptions (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n.). And as with the use, so with the significance. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar the office of the *Aḫashdarpan* was, as the LXX. intimates, rather that of the *ὕπατος* (which word it uses twice, *e.g. vv.* 3, 27, to *σατράπης* once, *v.* 2): it was not then invested, as it afterwards was, with the duties allotted to the *σατράπης* by Darius the Mede (vi. 2), or, later still, and in its most complete form, by Darius Hystaspis.

סגניא, "governors," (see Exc. on Pers. words at end of ch. i.). The word is Assyrian-Babylonian. Variously rendered by the Greek versions *σατράπαι* (Theod. on ii. 48), *στρατηγοὶ* (LXX. and Theod. *vv.* 2, 3), and *τοπάρχαι* (LXX. *v.* 27), these officers were probably military men rather than civilians, though—as is still the case with the British rule in India—the soldier was often a "magistratus" (Vulg.). The "governors" of the "wise men" bore the same title, but were rather lords "spiritual" than "temporal."

פחותא, "captains" (see Exc. to ch. i.). This title is of frequent occurrence in Assyrian inscriptions. The "captains" held probably subordinate positions to the previous classes. When the Hebrews adopted the title they gave it to the "governors" or provincial prefects (1 K. x. 15); and this civilian sense is encouraged here by the *τοπάρχαι* of the LXX. and Theod. (in *v.* 27, LXX. translates it *ἀρχιπατριῶται*); but a military sense is preferable where a Babylonian official is in question (see Isai. xxxvi. 9; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23; Jer. li. 23, &c.).

אדרגזריא, "judges" (see Exc. on Pers. words, ch. i.). The word is there shewn to be an Assyrian-Babylonian compound. The "Adar" prefixed to the "Gazer" probably gave to the compound the same rank as the "Arch" before "Bishop," and the word "Prime" before "Minister." The גזרין are mentioned in ii. 27 (see add. Note to ii. 2), but a sacerdotal or caste sense is hardly in place here. If the word be derived from the Assyrian *Kazir*, a "collector" or "restorer" of laws (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n.), the *Adargazer* here was one who applied to the laws of his country that discriminating and analytical process which the *gazer* of the sacerdotal

class applied to the laws of the firmament. The A.V. therefore gives a better rendering than the general ἡγούμενοι of the LXX. and Theod. (in *v.* 2, LXX. has ὕπατοι, elsewhere ἡγ.).

גדבריא, "treasurers" (see Exc. on Pers. words, ch. i.), a sense now usually adopted. The LXX. (on *v.* 2) by its rendering διοικηταὶ, "controllers," supports such a signification, though together with Theod. it elsewhere prefers τύραννοι (see *v.* 3); see also under הדבר below.

דתבריא, "counsellors" (see Exc. ditto).

תפתיא, "sheriffs." The word is an ἅπαξ λεγ., Assyrian in use, and probably formed from פתה, a root (cp. the kindred פתח, פתע) common in the sense of spreading out, opening, disclosing, speaking, &c. The prefix ת [common in Assyrian, as in *tasmeatu* (שמע), a hearing, *talucu* (הלך), a going; Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 110; Oppert, ditto, p. 101] generally denotes abstract nouns as in Hebrew; but here the word would seem to have passed from the description of the qualities of an office to the officer himself. Gesenius ('Thesaurus,' s. n. פתה) compares it etymologically as well as illustratively with the modern *Mufti*, the "jurisconsult." Grätz's objections to the Aryan etymologies proposed for this word are sound, but his own hazardous alteration of the word into הפתיא, *i.e.* the Greek ὕπατοι, will not be much helped by the reason alleged, "the writer wished to heap up many titles of honour."

שלטוני מדינתא, the "rulers of the provinces," the ἄρχοντες of the Greek versions, and the *principes* of the Latin. It is a thoroughly Assyrian-Babylonian word from the root שלט "to rule," and formed by the addition of the frequent termination ן: cp. the words *Kirban*, "offering" (the "Corban" of Mark vii. 11), *rishtan*, "first-born" (Oppert, 'Gr. Ass.' p. 99). The word *siltan*, so frequently applied to kings, is also the proper designation of the governor of a province. In the Khorsabad Inscription, Sargon's title as governor of Egypt is *siltannu;* as it was also the title of the first of the Hyksos princes, who were of Semitic family ('Com. on the Bible,' Vol. I. p. 447): and at the time that Babylon was subservient to Assyria, *salat* (or siltan) was the title of its governor (cp. 'Journ. asiat.' 1861, p. 21; 1864, p. 11; Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 246). When Babylonia became the leading oriental power, it would seem that the title was allotted to the rulers of the subject provinces, with an office corresponding to the "lieutenant-governors," and in some cases governors, with which the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain are familiar. Under the form *sultan* the word has passed into current language with the highest attributes of power.

הדברי מלכא, *v.* 27 (and *v.* 24), "counsellors," LXX. φίλοι, Theod. μεγιστᾶνες, or δυνάσται, Vulg. *optimates*, or *potentes*. The initial ה is a difficulty. It is not the article, but from its occurrence in both *vv.* 24 and 27 is part of the word. The Persian etymologies (*e.g.* from חדא, "god," the Sanskr. *svadha*, and the suffix בר, as in גזבר, &c.; and so the *vice-king*, the nearest to the king: or from *hamd*, "counsel") are not satisfactory. It is better to take the word as reproducing orthographically a vicious mode of pronunciation. Just as the Assyrian word בל or פל, "son," is written incorrectly הבל side by side with the correct form (cp. Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 12), so here הדב may contain the same feeble letter ה prefixed to the root דבר. That root has in Assyrian (see Norris, s. n.), as it has in most of the Semitic languages, a primary meaning of "leading" and "guiding." The A.V. expresses well the official position of the men who are also the φίλοι of the king.

The assumption (*e.g.* by Ewald and Grätz) that גדבריא and הדבריא are one and the same word is not in itself very probable, and is unnecessary if the above explanation of הדבריא be correct. If the words had been the same in any existing copy of the original text, traces of the fact would have been visible in one or other of the versions. That the difficult word is not replaced by the easier by any scribe is strong evidence in favour of its genuineness.

These were the representatives of the leading governing classes. Whether or not they can be divided into three groups of two (Ewald) is immaterial. The conjunction "and" occurs so rarely though uniformly:—*e.g.* before "captains" and "all the rulers" (*vv.* 2 and 3; see also *v.* 27)—that nothing definite can be attached to its presence or absence. It is sufficiently clear that "ministers" of political, military, and legal authority are designated under the titles given.

4. כרוזא, "herald." The assumption that this is a reproduction in Aramaic of the Greek κῆρυξ is now given up. The root so widely spread in the Indo-Germanic languages is found in the Assyrian-Babylonian inscriptions: *karaz* is there the word for an "edict," such as the herald announced (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. n.): and from the same root would be derived the title of office here preserved. It is also found on an Assyrian coin of the 7th or 8th century B.C. (De Vogüe, 'Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale, p. 125). "Notre pierre gravée," says de V., "nous prouve l'emploi de la racine כרז à une époque antérieure non seulement à Daniel, mais à toute intervention de la Grèce dans les affaires araméennes." The Greek κῆρυξ was the name for the shell of twisted form, used as a horn, and originally employed by the herald or crier, who therefore took his title from the emblem, rather than from the nature, of his office.

At a later period the Greeks confined the κῆρυξ to the herald's person, and styled his horn βυκάνη, from the Latin *bucina* (Chappell's 'Hist. of Mus.' I. 283, 284).

16. לא חשחין אנחנא. The word חְ, unknown to the Targ. or Talm. (it is not given in Levy's 'Chald. Wörterb.'), occurs in Ezra vi. 9, vii. 20. The substantive is frequent in the inscriptions (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' s. v.) in the sense of "wants," "deficiencies," "privations." As used here the verb intimates one of two ideas: (a) "*we* are not wanting in respect and courtesy towards thee, the king, in not answering;" or (b) "*we* are not wanting, there is no deficiency on our part as to the complete answer we can give; but God will give it." Notice the emphatic position of the אנחנא.

The LXX. of the verses 17 and 18 is instructive. The rendering הן (*v.* 17) by γὰρ, and והן לא וגו (*v.* 18) by the paraphrase καὶ τότε φανερόν σοι ἔσται, ὅτι, κ.τ.λ., shews how a writer of the Maccabæan period found it necessary to express himself in order to avoid misunderstanding (Kranichfeld).

According to some commentators, the tribulation and persecution of the days of Antiochus Epiphanes furnished to the writer of the book "Daniel" the base upon which to found the "fiction" reproduced in this chapter. This opinion is in many ways most unfortunate. The situation and the circumstances do not correspond in any degree. One instance alone is sufficient. No unprejudiced reader can compare the events given in Dan. iii., and the language used by the "martyrs for the faith" (see *vv.* 16—18), with the events and language of 2 Macc. vii. (see *vv.* 9, 16), without coming to the conclusion that, while the former might justly furnish both an example to the sufferers of the Antiochian period and a model for an after literary production (supposing the narrative in 2 Macc. vii. fictitious), the latter could never have been toned down to the still, almost passionless, character which the chapter in "Daniel" exhibits.

21. סרבליהון. A.V. "coats;" marg. "mantles:" see Exc. of Pers. words at end of ch. i. The most probable conjecture as to what garment is intended is in favour of the long robe described under the text. The uncertainty on the subject prevalent in the Maccabæan times is illustrated by the Septuagintal variations—ὑποδήματα (*v.* 21) and σαράβαρα (*v.* 94).

פטישהון. A.V. "hosen," LXX. and Theod. τιάραι. These two renderings fairly represent the conjectures of critics founded upon two main lines of deductions from the conjectured root. The monuments make it probable that some (if not all) the scientific classes wore a head-dress which differed from the royal crown on the one hand, and from the simple fillet of the Babylonian gentleman on the other. The tiara may therefore be that particular part of the dress alluded to under the word *patish*. The affinity of this word to the Greek πέτασος—the broad-brimmed hat worn with the χλαμὺς by ἔφηβοι after the dress in which their tutelary god Hermes was represented—is phonetically evident, the root being onomatopoetic (Gesenius). From the sense of "beat"-ing came that of spreading out; a sense which as applied to an article of dress would lead on the one hand to the horn- or other shaped cap and "hat," and on the other to the thin "cobweb"-like garment. The LXX. adopted the former view; the A.V. the latter—"hosen." The head-dress worn by (int. al.) the sacerdotal class is also assigned on the monuments to many of the gods. The fact finds an interesting parallel in the abovementioned habit of the Epheboi: and if *patish* represents in the case of the Babylonian what the *petasos* represents with the Greek, there is just that difference in shape and construction which is natural to independent origin.

כרבלתהון, "hats," marg. "turbans." This translation can hardly stand, though etymologically defensible (see Fürst, 'Lex.' s. v.). The word is a quadrilateral, formed by the insertion of *r*, and Assyrian (Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 103). The meaning of the root is to "bind," "gird;" and the dress here meant is the tunic which was kept close to the figure of the wearer by the girdle or belt so essential to the Babylonian costume. It is probably the same as the *kulubultu* of the Assyrian inscriptions (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 560).

25. ברֿאלהין. The whole conception of the god Fire and the attributes assigned to him bear an interesting likeness to the views entertained of the *Agni* of the Vedas. The following are some of the hymns to the god Fire given in the 'Cuneif. Insc. of West. Asia,' IV., and translated into French by Lenormant ('La Magie,' &c., p. 169, seq.):

(1) "Fire, lord who gathers together, lifting himself up on high in the land;—hero, son of the Ocean, lifting himself up on high in the land:—Fire, illuminating with thy sublime flame, thou establishest light in the abode of darkness:—prophet so renowned thou establishest destiny. Thou dost mingle copper and tin. Thou dost purify gold and silver. Thou art the emanation of the goddess Nin-ka-si. Thou art he who makes the wicked tremble in the night.

"May the works of the man, son of his god (*i.e.* the good man), shine with purity: like the heaven may he be sublime: like the earth may he be fruitful: like the middle of heaven may he be brilliant."

(2) Is a hymn which speaks of the peace granted to the country under the god's protection:

"The rest of the god Fire, the hero! With thee may lands and rivers be at rest: with thee may the Tigris and (Euphrates) be at rest: with thee may the sea and (the mountains) be at rest: with thee may the path of the daughter of the gods (perhaps the milky way) be at rest: with thee may the inner parts of the productions (of nature) be at rest: with thee may the hearts of my god and my goddess (pure) spirits be at rest: with thee may the hearts of the god and goddess (pure) spirits of my town be at rest. In those days may the hearts of my god and goddess open, and the destiny of my body be pronounced."

(3) Is a hymn exhibiting the attributes and functions of the god as tutelary god of the domestic hearth:

"I am the flame of gold, the great one, the flame which rises from the reeds, the uplifted ensign of the gods, the flame of brass, the protecting one who lifts up burning tongues. I am the messenger of Silik-moulou-khi. He comes back and lifts himself up,...to the door he lifts himself up on high. May the god of the house instal himself in the house. May the favourable demon, the favourable god enter the house.

From the evil *utuq*, from the evil *gigim*, from the evil *telal*, from the evil *maskim*, from the phantom—spirit of heaven, remember it, spirit of earth, remember it."

If the translation, "son of the gods," be preferred, it may be defended on the following grounds. The ordinary Assyria terms for "son" were *ablu* (or *bal* in composition), and *maru*, from which may have come the Aramæan *bar* (Sir H. Rawlinson in 'Journ. of R. Asiat. Soc.' 1864, p. 232 n.). *Bar* was, however, an old Accad. word signifying "another" or "second," (Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 177), and when borrowed by the Assyrians it would easily acquire the sense of "son."

Excursus on the Musical Instruments.

It[1] has been now proved that the musical instruments of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia were, practically speaking, identical. The ancient sculptures of both nations, and the resemblance in the divisions of the octave and in the musical interval of a fourth, are alone sufficient evidence of the fact. And it has also been proved that the entire Greek system of music was mainly derived from Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and other countries of more ancient civilization than Greece. The point is not without importance in estimating the value of the criticism, that the names of some of the instruments mentioned in this chapter being Greek, the narrative could only have been compiled at a time when Greek influence had made itself felt in Palestine, *i.e.* in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The instruments, taken *seriatim*, are as follows:

קרנא, "cornet:" the *σάλπιγξ* of the Greek versions. The Assyrian trumpet here meant was straight and rather longer than the Egyptian. Some of the earlier specimens seem to have been constructed with a gradually increasing circumference, like the English guard's horn. *Salpinx* is the name given by Josephus to the long common trumpet in use, while he calls the short and small straight one of Moses —*bukane*.

משרוקיתא, "flute:" *σῦριγξ* (from the root שרק, see Fürst's 'Lex.' s. v.). If the *syrinx* represents accurately the instrument here intended, that instrument was rather a "pipe" or set of pipes than a "flute." In the third cent. B.C. the *syrinx* had ten pipes or reeds; in older sculptures seven or eight[2]. It was blown like the showman's pipe of to-day or the old Pandean pipe.

But it seems now next to impossible to identify many of the "pipes" used by the ancients. Some derived their names from the special purposes to which they were devoted, or from the nations from whom the Greeks derived them, or from their resemblance to the objects copied (*e.g.* the *bombyx* or silk-worm pipe). The "flute" or the instrument blown at the side, as modern musicians know it, was the *photinx* of the Greeks: while the flute blown at the end (like the modern clarionet) was so ancient that the Egyptians, in attributing it to Osiris, intimated that its origin was lost in antiquity.

קיתרס, "harp." The *kithara* was among the Egyptians and Assyrians a portable lyre, used frequently for poetico-musical contests. The lower strings were played with the fingers of the left hand, and the upper strings with a *plectrum* held in the right hand. The etymology of the term is very obscure, and it has been usual to consider the Aram. word in Daniel a transcript of the Greek *κίθαρις*. The *keri* and *kethib* do not agree, the former omitting the י: and a later scribe, perplexed in reproducing—if possible phonetically—a word strange to him, may well have adopted that which was a transliteration of the Greek form. But it should not be forgotten that the termination *-is* is very common in Assyrian, and the root of the word may perhaps be traced to קרס with the ת inserted between the first and second radicals (cp. קתרב, "an approach" from קרב; עתבש, "an active one," from עבש, to "do[3]"). From קרס, "to curve, bend, bow," come the Hebrew קרס, a "hook," and the Chald. קירס, a "weaver's comb:" and the musical instrument may have been so called

[1] For proofs of the various statements in this Note, see Chappell's 'Hist of Music,' I. Index.

[2] See Illustr. in Layard's 'Ninev. and Babyl.' pp. 252, 253.

[3] Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 101.

either from its bent form or from the comb-like instrument with which it was played.

Whether or not the word קיתרס actually represents the *κίθαρις*, is perhaps an open question. The Assyrians had an instrument with bars of metal, such as those found on the Egyptian *sistrum*, the instrument employed (in Egypt) for temple use and religious purposes only. It is singular that the Assyrian name of the instrument corresponding to the *sistrum* is unknown, but it may be presumed that the use of it for religious and festal purposes would continue. It is seen on the monuments[1], and there is of a slightly different form from the Egyptian prototype; in that, instead of the bars of metal being straight and loose, they are fastened into a long shallow box, as a sound-board, and *bent* to curves of different heights, so that they might with greater ease be struck separately by a rod of metal held in the right hand. A similar instrument, called the *Kanun*, is still in use. The strings are stretched over two bridges, and are played with the two hands. The instrument is rested on the knee[2]. Can it be that the instrument mentioned by Daniel as the קיתרס was the *sistrum* of ancient Egypt? (See under "dulcimer.") The question may be fairly deferred till cuneiform scholars have thrown more light on that interesting subject—the music of the Assyrian and Babylonian people.

סבכא, "sackbut:" *σαμβύκη*. *Sambuke* was a name given to several instruments: *e.g.* to the *trigon* or small triangular harp with four strings, to the *barbitos* or many-stringed harp, to the lyre-phœnix or lyre which came from Phœnicia, to the instrument (Egyptian) known as the *magadis* (see below), to the "dulcimer" of the middle ages, and to the large "pipe." The clue to all the above various applications of one and the same word is to be found in the fact that all these instruments were made out of the one wood, "elder-wood," which the name signifies. This system of naming musical instruments was very common in ancient times. The *sambuke* was not originally Greek, hence the root of the word is not Greek. According to Renan, it passed from the East to the West[3]. Pythagoras and Euphorion mention[4] that the *sambuke* was played both by Parthians and by nations bordering upon the Red sea; and while Aristides spoke of the instrument as the most feminine or highest-sounding of lyres[4], Strabo called its name "barbarian." Its Egyptian origin may, however, almost be asserted as indisputable; and from that country it spread east and west.

פסנתרין, "psaltery:" Greek *ψαλτήριον*. It is stated by Clem. Alex. that *psalterion* was a name applied generally to such stringed instruments as were Egyptian; and there is no doubt that the word was used to describe generally the several kinds of stringed instruments played upon with the fingers of both hands rather than with the *plectrum* (see *kithara*). The most common of these was the "harp," and this is probably the instrument intended here. The Assyrian harp[5] differed from the Egyptian in having the sounding-board above instead of below the strings. This "psaltery," though bearing the Greek name, does *not* correspond with the Greek instrument[6]. The Greek *psalterion* of Erato is of a quadrilateral form. It is a curious fact, in connection with this, that the early Latin commentators on the Psalms refer to and describe an instrument which also bears the Greek name *psalterion*, yet does not correspond to the Greek instrument. Cassiodorus describes it as triangular, and it is more nearly represented by the Greek and Etruscan *trigon* or by the Assyrian harp in the time of Assurbanipal (B.C. 667—647). A century after the death of Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville describes the "psaltery" as of the form of a *delta*.

Daniel thus preserves the record of the name of an instrument which had its national and peculiar shape for probably many years before its adoption by the Greeks. The termination of this word, ין־, has been quoted as exclusively Greek, *-ιον*. The *form* of the termination dependent upon the introduction of the vowel-points may be, but not the termination itself. Long before it was Greek, it was Assyrian. The termination pronounced *anu* and *inu* is probably due to the same origin as that of mimmation—the attempt to give firmness to the final vowel[7]. Meier[8] maintains the Semitic origin of the term.

סומפניה (om. in *v.* 7, and written סיפניא in *v.* 10). This is rendered "dulcimer" by the A.V., and *συμφωνία* by the Greek versions. The difficulty attending the identification of the musical instruments of the ancients is felt very strongly here. To which of the usual causes of difficulty—the absence of a distinctive name, contradictory descriptions, application of the same name to various instruments (*e.g.* the *magadis* was a name transferable to any stringed or wind instrument that might be played in octaves), or the want of the necessary musical qualifications in the describer—the present case must be referred, it seems now impossible to say. One thing is certain, that such words as *symphonia*, *melodia*, and *harmonia* are not what the English reader usually understands by them. The "dulcimer" of the A.V. and the "lutes" of Luther's version are conjectures only. If the instru-

[1] Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' pp. 252, 253.
[2] G. Smith, 'Assyr. Disc.' p. 130.
[3] 'Hist. gén. d. Langues sém.' p. 207.
[4] See also Lidd. and Sc. 'Lex.' s. v.
[5] See fig. in Chappell, 1. p. 392*.
[6] See fig. do. p. 308.
[7] Sayce, 'Assyr. Gr.' p. 109.
[8] 'Wurzelwörterbuch,' p. 719.

ment was the "dulcimer," it corresponded to the ancient *sistrum* (see under *kithara*); if it was the "lute," it was the ancient representative of the modern "guitar;" an instrument with a long finger-board according with the length of the neck, whose Egyptian name *nefer* has been traced in the Hebrew נבל and in the Greek *νάβλα*. Perhaps it is best to rest contented with the statement: that *symphonia* is "a vague name for some instrument of harmony[1]," which, according to Polybius, was recognized as the name of an instrument in common use in the Maccabæan period, and an especial favourite with Antiochus Epiphanes[2]. The variation in orthography is somewhat remarkable. The סיפניא of *v.* 10 is to be pronounced according to the present vowel-points סוּפַנְיָא; this differs by one letter מ from the סומפניה of *vv.* 5 and 15. The difference arises from transcription or want of acquaintance with Assyrian on the part of the scribe. In the original system of cuneiform writing מ and ו (*m* and *w*) are not distinguished: and just as the Assyrian כמה, "to burn," corresponds to the Hebrew כוה, and the Assyrian אמר, "to see," to the Hebrew אור[3]; so the word here, if written either סמפניה or סופניא, would be pronounced in the same way. It is quite possible that the present text preserves in the form סומפ׳ that combination which at the time of transcription made the word most intelligible to the reader.

כל זני זמרא, "all kinds of music." Among these would probably be included the Assyrian representatives of the hand- and larger drums, the *magadis*—long pipes (usually two, *dis*) with or without bridges (*magas*), the *guigras*—the "span-long" pipe, so called because used at the lamentations for Adonis (*Guigres*, the Phœnician name of the god), the timbrels, the tambourines, the cymbals, the clappers or short maces, and castanets.

The remarks made upon the names of these instruments individually, lead to one general conclusion: they were certainly not borrowed by the Babylonians from the Greeks. The names are Babylonian as well as Greek. The passage from Polybius (referred to under סומפניא) is alone sufficient evidence that by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes the name "symphony" was no *new* name for the instrument it described; while it no longer requires proof that the intercourse between Egypt, Greece, and Assyria was of a kind to permit the adoption, by all three countries, of words of commerce, of war, and of art, the primeval source and etymology of which became lost in the darkness of ages. To throw discredit upon this fact, and to argue for a Maccabæan date, from the absence of these names both from other exilic and post-exilic books of the O. T., or from the cuneiform writings, is to ignore the dissimilarity of the events of this chapter to that of any other in the canon, and to plead as if the whole of cuneiform literature was disclosed to the student. The monograph of Brandis[4] will convince most English readers that *historically* the existence of these instruments with the names they bear —reproduced phonetically and in Hebrew characters—in the time of Nebuchadnezzar is not only possible but probable.

[1] Chappell, I. 259.
[2] See the passage in De Wette-Schrader's 'Einl.' § 316.
[3] Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 11; Sayce, do. p. 27.
[4] 'Ueber d. histor. Gewinn aus d. Entzifferung d. Assyr. Inschriften,' p. 1 seq.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *Nebuchadnezzar confesseth God's kingdom,* 4 *maketh relation of his dreams, which the magicians could not interpret.* 8 *Daniel heareth the dream.* 19 *He interpreteth it.* 28 *The story of the event.*

CHAP. IV. Introductory note. The verses 1—3 of the Authorized Version are by the Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts attached to chapter iii. There is no question but that the A.V. is right. The ancient assignment of these verses arose from the view that Nebuchadnezzar wished to proclaim by his edict the "signs and wonders" wrought by God in the deliverance of Shadrach, &c. from the fiery furnace. Luther, the English translators, and modern commentators have — almost unanimously—associated the royal edict with the events of ch. iv. The whole connection of the verses, equally with the evident lapse of time between the events recorded in chaps. iii. and iv. (cp. iii. 1 and iv. 28, &c.), is in favour of such association, though it need not be denied that the events of chap. iii. may fairly be included under "signs and wonders," and were in the king's recollection when he issued his edict.

When did the events of ch. iv. take place? The LXX. of course places them in the same year—the 18th—of Nebuchadnezzar's reign as the events of ch. iii. Ewald has added ten years to this number, and places them in the 28th. When, as in the present case, everything is conjectural, it is best to leave the point as open as the Scripture narrative has left it. Such notes of time as ch. iv. itself furnishes are as follows: Nebuchadnezzar was "at rest" and "flourishing in his palace" (*v.* 4): the madness did not fall upon him till he had completed that magnificent building

NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king, unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

2 I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me. [1] Chald. *It was seemly before me.*

3 How great *are* his signs! and

(*vv.* 28—30, see note). The Book of Daniel is therefore silent upon the life of Nebuchadnezzar during those 20 to 30 years which witnessed the gradual development of his greatness as a conqueror in the West. The notes on the later chapters of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and on such chapters of Jeremiah as the xxiind and xxxvith, will give the reader a succinct account of much which then happened; for example, of the wars in Judæa, Phœnicia and Egypt: while a more complete account may be read in Rawlinson's 'A. M.' III. 51 seq.; Lenormant's 'Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. 476 seq.; Niebuhr's 'Geschichte Assurs u. Babels,' 210 seq.; and Duncker's 'Geschichte d. Alterthums,' I. 825 seq. (1863).

It was only after these wars that Nebuchadnezzar could have found time to give himself thoroughly to those works of architectural adornment and utility which for some time had been slowly progressing; and it was only after these wars that the description fairly applies to him:—he was "at rest." It may be assumed that a man like Nebuchadnezzar —who considered himself (according to the inscription) "the chosen of Merodach, the god-born," and who was not only a soldier of the first rank, but also a "priest-king" of unquestioned intellectual greatness—could not pass through those many years of campaigning, and of contact with "nations and languages," without being arrested by one phenomenon—a phenomenon which asserted itself due to divine interference. The Jews and their king were his captives; Jerusalem and the sacred temple of the God of Israel lay in ruins. Prophets had foretold this; and Nebuchadnezzar had a living witness to the truth of their prophecy and the sternness of divine justice, in the presence of that vast Hebrew multitude which peopled the "Hallat" or "profane" quarter of Babylon. Think of it, as he would, from his heathen point of view, there was perpetually before him a proof that there was One who did "according to His will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: none could stay His hand, or say unto Him, What doest thou?" (*v.* 35). "The pride of the king and his humiliation by a severe judgment of God are the subjects of this chapter" [R]. It is also full of evidence of Daniel's gradual advance and greatness. Just as Ezekiel's testimony to Daniel's "righteousness" (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20) brings him forward as the example of what the Hebrew captive might be in the sight of his God, so this chapter tells of the esteem and confidence he had won from his royal master (iv. 8, &c.). It was the reward of 20 to 30 years' silent waiting and working.

1. "These most wonderful events in the life of the king are narrated in his own words, apparently from a proclamation issued by him" [R]. That proclamation opens in the usual way—with a salutation—(cp. Ezra iv. 17, vii. 12, and the opening words of the letter of Ummanaldes to Assurbanipal, G. Smith, 'Hist. of A.' p. 252), and is addressed in true oriental fashion "unto all people in the earth" (not "in the land" only), over which Nebuchadnezzar considered himself "the king." (See n. to iii. 4.) Whether Nebuchadnezzar was the actual writer of the events detailed in this chapter, or Daniel simply recorded what happened and gave to it that half-narrative, half-personal form which the changes from the first to the third persons and vice versâ has caused it to assume—is practically a matter of indifference. The under-tone of genuineness which makes itself so unobtrusively felt to the Assyrian scholar when reading it, is quite sufficient to decide the question of authenticity; while the analogy of similar documents, and the attestation of the LXX. ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, give the preference to the first-named view.

2, 3. *signs and wonders*] (Cp. Deut. vi. 22; Isai. viii. 18.) The words are not synonymous but indicate the omens or premonitory signs of the future and the events which cause wonder or amazement. "They are such," says Aben Ezra, "as when a man sees them, he marvels at them because he hath seen nothing similar."

The force of these verses is best ensured by a strict translation according to the order of the words in the original, an order retained in the Greek and Latin versions. *v.* 2. "Signs and wonders which the high God hath wrought toward me" (lit. "with me" as LXX. and Theod., "in conjunction with me"), "good" (in *v.* 27 "acceptable;" in vi. 1 "it pleased") "is it before me to shew" ("proclaim"). *v.* 3. "His signs how great (are they)! His wonders how mighty!" (&c. as in A. V.).

The closing doxology of *v.* 3 is repeated with but slight alteration in *v.* 34 (a kind of repetition very common in the inscriptions: cp. the invocation of Merodach at the beginning and end of Nebuchadnezzar's inscription on the wonders of Babylon, pp. 26, 27 transl. by Oppert), and is thoroughly Semitic in its cast (cp. Pss. lxii. 5, cxlv. 13).

To the question which may arise: "Is it in

how mighty *are* his wonders! his kingdom *is* [a]an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion *is* from generation to generation.

[a] chap. 2. 44.

4 ¶ I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace:

5 I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me.

6 Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise *men* of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream.

7 Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof.

8 ¶ But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name *was* Belte-

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keeping with Nebuchadnezzar's character?" Archdeacon Rose has answered: "His character is that of an impressible man, very open to religious convictions but not consistent and constant in his adherence to those convictions. It is almost impossible for a Christian in a Christian land to realize the difficulties which would surround a monarch in the position of the king of Babylon in regard to religion and more especially to the exclusive creed of the Jews;" or, to word it as Ewald has done, the language of the king is the language of one who has had great experience of the "signs and wonders" of God.

4. *at rest...and flourishing*] Significant words, which go far to indicate the period of his life referred to. Nebuchadnezzar was "resting" in undisputed possession of a "dominion" which extended "to the end of the earth" (*v.* 22); he was in his own house; not now a warrior at the head of his army, but in that dwelling, that palace of which one small fragment alone remains (Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 506): he was "flourishing" like a tree; a simile used by the king with distinct reference to his dream (*v.* 10), and conveying to the Oriental mind a recognized symbol of fresh, mighty growth (cp. Pss. i. 3, lii. 8, xcii. 13; Prov. xi. 28; Ezek. xlvii. 12), a growth, in this case, "reaching unto heaven" (*v.* 22). Nebuchadnezzar was, as Theod. puts it with a terse alliteration, *εὐθηνῶν καὶ εὐθαλῶν*.

A "dream" broke in upon this "rest."

"It seems probable that there was something in this dream which distinguished it from an ordinary dream by the effect which it had upon the king. We may however explain this by supposing that his heart was stirred by a divine impulse independently of the nature of the dream" [R].

Once again as the king lay upon his bed (see ii. 29) his "thoughts" (those fancies or *conceptions* of the mind which come, repeat themselves, and pass so quickly from one form to another) made him afraid (with a *shrinking* fear); in his broken slumber those thoughts took shape, and the "visions of the head troubled him" (with a feeling of *restlessness* and *insecurity*). The words of the original are very forcible and convey a great sense of disquietude, unlike to that "trembling" of the whole spirit which *smote* him or fell upon him in earlier days (ii. 2, 9). There it will be remembered the effect of the dream had been to leave him with a confused and blurred recollection of what he had dreamt: like a man *stunned* he cried, "The thing is gone from me" (ii. 5). Now the dream has left a vivid impression, if a disturbing one; and he tells it to the wise men and to Daniel (iv. 7, 10, &c.).

6. *made I a decree*, &c.] As in iii. 10, 29. "This is rather an order—it should rather be translated, 'A command was given by me.'" [R.]

The "wise men" came in, not now compelled to tell both dream and the interpretation thereof, but simply to unriddle its meaning. The king's request was a fair one when addressed to men whose elaborate system of augury contained tables of omens from dreams as well as the interpretation of every possible dream: and who professed themselves able by charms and exorcisms to prevent the evils which untoward events were continually bringing about (see Excursus on Chaldee Magic, end of ii.). The four classes summoned (see note to ii. 2) were unable to satisfy the king (*v.* 7.)

8. *at the last*] (*postremo* not *postremus*) "Daniel came in." Much and unnecessary discussion has been raised about Daniel's absence up to this moment. The LXX. cut the knot boldly by omitting *vv.* 8, 9 (or copying from a MS. which omitted the verses), and leaving it to be inferred that Daniel came with the other *khakamim*, but alone was able to interpret the dream. Perhaps it is as well to say with Michaelis that the Scripture narrative does not give sufficient details to admit of a positively satisfactory explanation. As "master of the magicians" (hardly the correct translation—see note to ii. 2—if the modern apprehension of "magician" be in the mind), as "chief of the governors over all the wise

shazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods: and before him I told the dream, *saying*,

[a] chap. 2. 48.

9 O Belteshazzar, [a] master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

10 Thus *were* the visions of mine head in my bed; [†] I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great.

[†] Chald. *I was seeing.*

11 The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto

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men of Babylon" (ii. 48), Daniel was sure to "go up" to the presence-chamber in obedience to the decree (*v.* 6). If he did not do so with the others, it is better to acquiesce in the silence of Scripture and leave the cause unexplained, than to seek for one in more or less forced conclusions.

Daniel...in whom is the spirit of the holy gods] "The language of the king constantly vacillates between polytheism and monotheism, but he never admits one god to the exclusion of all others: his monotheism only implies that one god is supreme among many" [R]. It is strange to find the Hebrew name "Daniel" occurring in the "decree;" and the supposition, that it was inserted because the decree was intended for Jews equally with other "people, nations and languages," hardly exhausts its significance. The occurrence of the name is either a recognition on Nebuchadnezzar's part, that he who bore at court the name Belteshazzar, bore also a name ("The God is my judge") which events had taught the king to be highly significant of a spirit above the spirit he recognized in his own gods: or it indicates the emendation of a reviser. These gods (not sing. as Theod. *πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἅγιον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει*—which destroys correctness, but plur. as Vulgate) he calls "holy:" not, that is, in the sense in which orthodox writers and speakers would to-day use the epithet, but from a Babylonian point of view.

The inscriptions are full of similar language and shew how correctly the religious opinions of the time are reproduced here. The Chaldæans supposed that each man had a tutelary genius, which took up his abode in him: indwelling spirits were assigned even to the gods themselves. When disease took hold of the body, this was considered due to some evil spirit tenanting it; and the recognized method of cure was to induce some good spirit to drive out the evil one and possess the man in its place. Hence in the magic formulæ the pious man is called "the man, son of his god" (Lenormant 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 166, n. 1), and the invocation runs as follows:

"May the evil spirits go out;—let them seize upon each other.
The favourable spirit, the favourable colossus—may these penetrate his (the sick man's) body."
(Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 10.)

9. *no secret troubleth thee*] It is thus that the king marks the difference between "the master" and the rest of the wise men. In language both courteous and appealing—when compared with that used on a former occasion, ii. 5, 26—he asks from that power in Daniel which revealed secrets (ii. 47) the solution of his dream. No "secret" (Theod. *μυστήριον*, which Vulg. here, as in ii. 47, renders "sacramentum") would "trouble" (harass or urge with *goad*-like trouble, Fürst) him in whom was that power of reading the future which Nebuchadnezzar could best—however imperfectly—attribute to the "spirit of the holy gods."

10—12. *The first part of the dream.* "The description of the Assyrian king in Ezek. xxxi. 3—18 ought to be compared with this passage" [R]. The central object in the dream was a tree. The sacred or symbolical tree of the Assyrian as pourtrayed on the sculptures (see the representations in Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 6—9) was certainly known to Nebuchadnezzar. Herodotus gives several instances—such as the dream of Xerxes (III. 19) and the dream of Astyages (I. 108) in which the growth and decay of prosperity is typified in the life of a tree. Therefore the symbolism is one which does not rest on Scriptural parallels only, but is one which may very naturally have occurred to Nebuchadnezzar. If, moreover, the sacred conifer furnished the groundwork and symbolism of the dream, the fate which befell it in the dream would strike home with terrible force. In the old Accadian belief that tree was invested with the power of destroying or curbing the *maskim* or evil spirits (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 27). Hence its being "cut down" would be tantamount to the virtual removal of a protecting and preserving influence.

The tree occupied a central position, "in the midst of the earth." In his dream Nebuchadnezzar seemed to see it growing both mightier and stronger, till its height "reached unto heaven" and its outermost branches extended to "the end of all the earth." Its leaves gave shelter, and its fruit meat to all flesh—"the beasts of the field" and "the fowls of the heaven." It is a picture, as explained in *v.* 22, of "greatness" and "dominion;" of a kingdom developing within itself the means

heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth:

12 The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.

13 I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven;

14 He cried † aloud, and said thus, † Chald. *with might.*

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for commerce and prosperity, and protecting as well as nourishing its subjects (cp. Ewald). The LXX. adds one curious point: *ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἦν, ἐν αὐτῷ (δένδρῳ) ᾠκουν καὶ ἐφώτιζον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.* Was this a reminiscence of some local astronomical legend?

13. *a watcher and an holy one*] *i.e.* one who was both a watcher and holy. "Angels are called watchers from their active and constant attendance on the will of God. The conjunction translated *and* may here be rendered *even—A watcher, even a holy one.* The character of watching belongs even to fallen angels. But it must be observed that *holy one* is itself a name for an angel. Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 2 with Ps. lxviii.; Dan. viii. 13; Zech. xiv. 5, and Jude. עִיר, "a strong angel—without a body, always watching and never sleeping," Aben Ezra. So also Saadia Gaon in his second explanation. Bishop Horsley maintains that by 'the holy ones and watchers' we are to understand the persons of the Divine Trinity" [R]. Theodotion reproduced the original of watcher under the form *εἶρ, Hir*, and Jerome caught at the sound and drew attention to the title *Iris* given by the Greeks and Romans to the deity who descended on the rainbow.

Ἶρον δὲ νέοι κέκλησκον ἅπαντες,
οὕνεκ' ἀπαγγέλλεσκε κιὼν, ὅτε κέν τις ἀνώγοι·
Hom. 'Odyss.' VI. 6, 7.

But a true apprehension of the phrase is to be deduced from local and mythological rather than Scriptural sources.

It is now well known that in the old Babylonian mythology there were not less than 600 spirits of earth and 300 spirits of heaven; that above these were the 50 great gods, and above these again the seven deities, at the head of whom were Bel, Anou and Hea. Among the lesser deities were seven guardian spirits, to whom popular belief assigned the planets, and who stood in the presence of 'Sin' (the moon); while seven warder spirits kept watch over the gates of Hades (see the 'Legend of the descent of Ishtar,' *e.g.*, in 'Records of the Past,' I. 141; 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 121). When the traveller Botta was engaged in excavating the palace of Khorsabad, he found, under the pavements at the threshold of the doors, the series of statuettes still to be seen in the Louvre at Paris. They are coarse and rough, but interesting, models of the *Dii Penates* of the Assyrian-Babylonian mythology:—Bel with his horned tiara, Nergal with his lion-head, Nebo with his sceptre. In an inscription erected by Neriglissar (one of Nebuchadnezzar's successors, see introd. n. to ch. v.), and preserved at Cambridge, the king—when speaking of the restoration of the doors of the sacred pyramid at Babylon executed by his orders—affirms that he had had made "eight talismanic figures of solid bronze," which, when placed as watchers or Penates, would have the effect of "keeping away the wicked and enemies by the fear of death." Every house and every part of a house had its protecting "genius;" and the instructions where they were to be placed are carefully given in the magic formula:

"Place the image of the god Nergal, who has no equal, at the enclosure of the house; place the image of the god, who manifests himself in might, who has no equal, and the image of the god Naroudi, lord of the great gods, in the ground near the bed. That no evil may seize (upon the house) place the god N— and the god Latarak at the door,.....and the soldier-hero (Nergal), who hews in pieces, within the door. Place the soldier-hero, who hews in pieces, who subdues rebels, under the threshold of the door, to the right and to the left. Place the guardian image of the god Hea and the god Silik-moulou-khi within the door, to the right and to the left.

"O you, begotten of the ocean, sublime, children of Hea, eat well and drink well that you may keep your guardian-watch!" &c. (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 45.)

It was one of these "holy watchers" or guardians or Penates which in the dream "came down from heaven to Nebuchadnezzar:" language which finds an interesting parallel in the description, "the great god to the city of Deri descended," recorded in the history of Samsi-vul's expedition against that city of Babylonia, B.C. 815 (Smith, 'Early Hist. of Babylonia' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 81).

Daniel in his recapitulation of the dream (*v.* 23) accepts the term without accepting the heathen apprehension of it. The very fact that Nebuchadnezzar himself—in repeating the language of the watcher—invests this "holy one" with the attributes of the servant of the "most High" (*v.* 17, A. V.), is of itself significant that the king saw in the messenger one whom he instinctively felt to be above the

Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches:

15 Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass of the earth:

16 Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him.

17 This matter *is* by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that

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"watchers" and spirits of the national pantheon. Daniel would take up the imperfect thought and raise it to the angelic being, the minister of God's behests to His people, in whose existence his forefathers had so long believed. Hence the LXX. ἄγγελος is a better exponent of the national thought of its day than the more cautious εἷρ (a lit. trans. of the orig.) of Theodotion.

The view once maintained, that the whole representation of the "watchers" is a reflection of the amesha-çpentas of Parsism, and therefore indicative of late composition, needs now no serious refutation; it is satisfactorily excluded by the results of cuneiform discovery (see Excursus on Angelology at end of ch. viii.).

14, 15. The decree was cried aloud—"with might" (as by a herald, iii. 4, cp. also Isai. lviii. 1)—and in terms, every one of which is significant. "Hew down"—cut into and so cut down—the tree; "cut off," hew off by cropping short, "the branches;" "shake off," cause to loosen and so fall off—"the leaves;" "scatter," throw about and disperse, "the fruit." As a consequence, "beasts" and "fowls" would "get away," flying from what afforded neither protection nor food. This was the picture of what would happen when the nation saw the fall of the dynasty. This punishment was not, however, in store for Nebuchadnezzar. The "branches" were to be lopped but not cut away; the "tree" was to be cut down but not uprooted. The "stump" of the tree's roots, that which "bound together" those roots and gave them life (as Theod. admirably paraphrases—ἡ φυὴ τῶν ῥιζῶν), was to be "left" (partly) in the sense of "forsaken" (see on ii. 44). During that period of isolation and deadness, the "stump" would be held to its place by the "band of iron and brass," ("typifying the fetters used to bind violent lunatics, as in St Mark v. 3" [R], or simply typical of the bands of darkness and madness, or again of the bands of mercy and restraint), "tender grass" growing up around it. The heart of that tree was a man's heart (*v.* 16). It and its many thoughts (hence the verb is in the plural) were to be "changed" (ii. 9), to cease to be what they were; and a "beast's heart was to be given."

16. *let seven times pass over him*] In Babylonia the number *seven* had a character quite "sacramental" (Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 54). The days of the week were named after the seven planets. In the "deluge-tablet" the rain lasts seven days, and seven days elapse between the resting of the ship on the mount Nizir and the sending out of the bird (do. II. 58; G. Smith, 'Assyr. Discov.' p. 216). In the legend of the descent of Ishtar to Hades there are seven gates to be passed (note to *v.* 13). The gods themselves were divided into classes of seven;—the gods of heaven, the gods of earth, good gods, evil gods, gods of fiery spheres, gods of the heavenly legions, &c. (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 17, 18). Evidently the language of the "watchers" is to be considered from a Babylonian rather than a Hebrew point of view, though the sense of completeness probably underlies both. The exact duration of the "times" is undefined (see on *v.* 34).

17, 18. *by the decree*] Not the same word as in iii. 10 or ii. 9; but rather "the sentence" which determines the fate of any person or thing as (often) pronounced by the "soothsayer" (see on iii. 16).

by the word] *i.e.* the edict—the "commandment"—Esther i. 15, ii. 20, &c. "It does not follow from this expression that the 'watchers,' &c., are the fountains from which the decree proceeds" [R]. The order as well as the language suggest something of a formula: and the astronomical tablets ('Records, &c.,' I. 153 sq.) furnish similar illustrations of divine interferences: but here a purer and more elevated perception of the divine purpose breaks through the gloom of the heathen king's mind.

Judged by the light of the inscriptions, Nebuchadnezzar—the "king who was born to govern," "the mighty lord, the chosen of Merodach," unto whom that god had given "kingdom over legions of men" (see Oppert's 'Inscr. de Nab.' passim)—must have had much to unlearn as well as to learn before he would admit the divine message now communicated to him. In the collection of liturgical and religious hymns addressed to the principal gods of Babylonia (now preserved in the

the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

18 This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen. Now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise *men* of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation: but thou *art* able; for the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee.

19 ¶ Then Daniel, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, was astonied for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king spake, and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream *be* to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies.

20 The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth;

21 Whose leaves *were* fair, and

British Museum), passages (see add. note) occur which attribute to the moon-god, to the sun-god, to Nebo (Mercury), to Merodach (Jupiter), to Nergal (Mars), powers and attributes as great as language could describe them; but "the living (were) to know that the Most High (iii. 26, iv. 2, *i.e.* One higher than Merodach and Nebo) ruleth (is the *shalit*) in the kingdom of men," that "He giveth it to whom He will." The king would have much also to teach himself as well as to be taught before he—"who never forgave impiety," "who punished the wicked" (Oppert) and those whose cultus was not that of his own gods (iii. 15)—could believe it possible that "the basest of men" (lit. the low and humble ones in rank and esteem) could be "set over" (established over) a kingdom.

Daniel, as will be seen (*vv.* 25—27), felt that this was the lesson and pressed it home.

18. *This dream I...have seen*, &c.] "*This* dream:" mark the emphasis, indicative of the agitation and trouble (*v.* 5) which Nebuchadnezzar did not care to disguise. The LXX. adds that the king saw in his dream the actual fulfilment of the doom pronounced—"the tree cut down in one day, its destruction completed in the first hour of the day, its branches scattered to the winds,...(its stump) bound with fetters and manacles of brass"—and while wondering, awoke: an interesting addition, like many more in this chapter; but, equally with them, departures from the simpler narrative of the original.

By the very act of asking Belteshazzar to interpret his dream, and for the reasons assigned in this verse, Nebuchadnezzar shewed that that dream was already directing him to the "humble" among men and yet one "able" to teach him the will of a greater God than his own.

19—27. The interpretation of the dream is preceded by a few words full of lifelike description of the scene which followed Nebuchadnezzar's account; and indicative of the deep affection which Daniel bore to his royal master. Belteshazzar stood before the king "astonied;" "his thoughts troubled him." "Tremour seized him," explains the LXX., "his countenance changed, his head was bowed," as he reflected upon the dream in rapt amazement.

19. *for one hour*] "The word here used is rather indefinite. Its original meaning is 'a moment,' but it is used also for a season of longer duration, as *e.g.* an hour" [R]: and in this sense the versions and the majority of commentators take the words, dwelling on the greatness of the dream and its consequences. Those who render it "for a moment," adopt the Targum use (see Buxtorf's 'Lex.' s.v.), and press rather the quickness with which such a man as Daniel would grasp the whole matter. The agitation of Daniel shewed itself in his face and in the impossibility he found of speaking out. Nebuchadnezzar saw in that very "trouble" that Daniel had solved the dream. He strove to reassure him with the friendly exhortation: "let not the dream nor the interpretation trouble thee." And then Belteshazzar spoke "with soft, gentle voice" (LXX.).

the dream be to them that hate thee, &c.] "The interpreters here find a difficulty in supposing that Daniel should have expressed any wish to reverse a judgment of God. This is pressing his language too far. Surely it was not presumptuous in a subject to say to his king, 'I could have wished that this dream should be to thy enemies, &c.' though the brevity of Scripture and the peculiarity of the Hebrew phraseology suppress the *conditional* nature of the wish. Saadia Gaon and Rashi suppose this address directed to God, and thus to wish the dream to Nebuchadnezzar, as the enemy of God. It is true that Daniel usually addresses the king as 'O king!' and not as 'My lord,' but this supposition is very harsh and unnecessary" [R].

Daniel's words are, in fact, alike the wish

and the formula of one bred in the school of the "wise men" of Babylonia, and who yet retained his distinctive Hebrew belief and kindness of heart.

As a formula it not only recalls the current phrase:—"from the noxious spirit may the King of heaven and the King of earth preserve" (thee) ('Records of the Past,' I. p. 133 sq.),—but also the protest not less common against all who should "criminally (and) adversely to the king explain the omen" ('Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 17). Among a people credulous of magic power, and nursed in the belief which was made subservient to that power, it was inevitable that each man should be considered as subject to the direct influence of a good spirit or of one who "hated" him, of a "friendly" genius or of an inimical demon. In the latter case, the victim was supposed affected by the "black" magic. Proofs are everywhere apparent that in primitive Chaldæa, not less than in Babylonia and in medieval Europe, the "witch" male or female found a counterpart. The malicious sorcerer was, to one like Nebuchadnezzar, "an evil-doing" man, "a bad man among bad men:" there was a mysterious character about his proceedings which spread terror. The incantations shrink from speaking in direct and positive terms of these men, who acted among men the part of evil spirits: as if the speakers were afraid of too close definition, and fearful of summoning against themselves the dreaded powers they wished to allay. There was no evil which the "bad man" could not do: with his "evil eye" and muttered imprecations—his charms (carmina)—he could fascinate his victim, and command the spirits of evil to execute his will; neither land nor individual could hope for exemption from the possession or the sickness which the irritated "bad man" denounced against those who offended him: even the "good" spirit which had made a man's body his temple (cp. *v.* 8) could be changed by the sorcerer's curses into an "enemy;" and the man thus cursed was considered powerless against that possession which "plunged him into water, engulphed him in the ground, cast him on the stones, burnt him with fire, or drove him an exile into desert places" (cp. Mark v. 3, 4 and parallels). Nothing but the intervention of the great gods Hea and the Sun was considered sufficient to release a man so stricken. The old Accadian hymns recount the mediation of Silik-moulou-khi the son of Hea to secure this; in touching terms they address the Sun—the great opponent of the "blackness" and darkness in which the evil sorcerer enwrapped himself—as one who "makes the lie to vanish and dissipates the evil influence, who frustrates the plots of the wicked and brings to destruction those bad men" who practise their "black' arts (cp. Lenormant's 'La Magie,' pp. 53—62). Daniel knew these hymns. He had not been "ten times better" than his fellows, better skilled in all that they deemed wisdom and books, had he not known them. He knew also how a devotee of the gods, like Nebuchadnezzar, would be affected by a religious system which inspired fear rather than love. Hence his wish—as expressed in the text—is both a pure and legitimate expression of his hope that they—and they only—who were evil-wishers to his master might find matter of rejoicing in the interpretation he was about to deliver.

Three special points—as Ewald has remarked—are dwelt upon by Daniel in this interpretation. In a description somewhat briefer than that used by the king he (1) repeats and then applies to king Nebuchadnezzar and his people (*vv.* 20—22) what is said about the tree and those who find food and a dwelling under it; "Thou art it (the tree), O king, that art grown and become strong" (with the growth and strength of a tree: the same words as in *v.* 11). "Thy dominion (better, rule; "thy power as a *shalit*") reacheth to the end of the earth." How had that greatness been used? how had those vast multitudes which dwelt under his protection and looked to him for food, been dealt with? of what sort had been his rule over them?

(2) The watcher's decree was the answer (*vv.* 23—25). It had "come upon" the king. It had "stepped forward into manifestation," from out of the counsels of the most High God, and this was its purport: that there reigned over all earthly kings One who ruled in the kingdom of men: that He it was who had raised Nebuchadnezzar to greatness above others, and that He it was who now commanded to drive him out from men to have his dwelling among the beasts of the field.

Was this punishment to last for ever? How would it affect his kingdom and his successors? The interpretation went on:

(3) As the stump was left, so to the king "his kingdom should be sure" (established, fast), "after that" (so soon as) he should know (through learning it) that "the heavens" did rule. The word "the heavens" (plur.) is used intentionally. There is no omission of the word "God" (supplied in ii. 18, 37, 44), "King" (iv. 37) or "Lord" (v. 23) before it. The thought and mode of expressing it is Babylonian, and would convey to the mind of Nebuchadnezzar an idea which the inscriptions have revealed to us. From the very earliest times, liturgical and devotional hymns addressed to the Moon-god (the Assyrian "Sin" and Accadian "Hour-Ki") spoke of him as "prince of the gods of heaven and earth" (see that quoted from the Brit. Mus. collection K. 2861, by Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 159): and this form of address was retained long after Nebuchadnezzar's day (see Nabonadius' Inscription at the temple of "Sin" at Mûgheir [Calneh], quoted in Ménant's 'Gram. Assyr.' p. 319): but in a hymn

the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation:

22 It *is* thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

23 And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him;

24 This *is* the interpretation, O king, and this *is* the decree of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king:

25 That they shall [c] drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. [c] chap. 5. 21, &c.

26 And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule.

27 Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if it may be [l] a lengthening of thy tranquillity. [l] Or, *an healing of thine error.*

(Brit. Mus. K. 4624, quoted in Lenormant, II. p. 173), addressed to Merodach—Nebuchadnezzar's own god—the supplication of "the great heavens, the father of the gods" exhibits a voluntary confusion between the material heaven and the heaven considered as a god which—intelligible in the case of a polytheistic and superstitious race—now supplied a stepping-stone to a belief above and beyond confusion. It was to the "heavens," and so, of course, to the Most High God as Daniel believed in and by faith reached Him, that the prophet now raised the heathen king's thoughts—as centuries later an Apostle strove to raise the thoughts of the men of Athens—to seek the Lord if haply he might feel after Him and find Him (Acts xvii. 27). On later misapprehensions of the worship of the "heavens," see "Cœlicolæ" in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' &c.

27. *break off thy sins by righteousness*, &c.] "Among the many accusations against the Book of Daniel, one of the most frivolous has been raised on this passage, as if Daniel taught the doctrine of human merit, and the atonement of our transgressions by virtuous actions. The word simply means 'break off'—make an end of thy sins by a change of life. It is almost equivalent to 'sin no more' and change thy ways" [R].

if it may be a lengthening, &c.] "It must be remembered that special blessings *in this world* were often bestowed as rewards for upright conduct, and special misfortunes, even where sin had been pardoned as to its eternal consequences, fell as chastisements on those who sinned. Thus, although David's sin was pardoned, the sword was never to depart from his house" [R]. The translation of the A.V. is preferable to another which has found supporters—"a healing of thine errors."

The true and first import of Daniel's counsel can, however, only be discovered by due attention to the Babylonian ring of every term used. "Let my counsel be acceptable ("good," *v.* 2)...thy sins break off (as a yoke from the neck) by righteousness (justice)...by shewing mercy," &c.

An inscription found in the north palace at Kouyunjik illustrates the care of the Babylonians for law and justice (G. Smith, 'Assyr. Discoveries,' p. 410): "When the king according to judgment does not speak; his people decay, his country is depressed. When according to the laws of his country he does not speak; the god Hea, the lord of destiny, his fate shall utter and he shall be set aside. When according to good government he does not speak; his days shall be shortened..... When according to the writings of the god Hea he speaks, the great gods in glory and just praise shall seat him. If, the son of the city of Sippara, he beats and turns aside justice; Shamas, the judge of heaven and earth, another judge in his country shall place, and a just prince and a just judge instead of unjust judges.....If silver the sons of Babylon bring and send presents, and the judge of the Babylonians listens and turns to injustice;

28 ¶ All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.

29 At the end of twelve months he walked [1] in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon.

30 The king spake, and said, Is

[1] Or, upon.

Merodach, lord of heaven and earth, his enemy over him shall establish, and his goods and furniture to his adversary shall give," &c., &c.

Nebuchadnezzar claimed it as his glory to have established "the worship of those deities and superior beings," whose will he recognized as more powerful than his own ('Stand. Insc.,' Oppert, p. 15); he was proud to call himself the priest-king or the king-vicar (of the gods), who "judged righteously or without injustice" (do.)—a title which the great Sargon I., "the king of justice, the framer of laws," had borne before him (circ. 2000 B.C., Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 105—107). "Mercy" had never yet been the attribute of the Babylonian (see i. 10, ii. 5—13); cruelty was a habit with king and people who valued the lives of captives only as they administered to the gratification of national and royal splendour. Therefore it was that Daniel bade Nebuchadnezzar (1) be true to what his own title and his creed enjoined upon him; and (2) to change that "iniquity" of cruelty for deeds of "mercy to the poor." Then there might be—through God's favour—a "lengthening (cp. Jer. xv. 15) of the tranquillity," the "rest, and flourishing" of his present state (*v.* 4).

The LXX., followed by Theodotion and the Vulgate, probably unacquainted with the original sense in which Daniel's advice was couched, imported into the words, "break off thy sins by righteousness," a secondary and much later meaning. From the primary sense of the words translated "break off" and "righteousness," they passed to the derivative meanings, "redeem" (so 2 S. vii. 23; Isai. xxxv. 9, 10) and "almsgiving;" and rendered the passage (Theod.) *τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι*, (Vulg.) peccata tua eleemosynis redime: a rendering perfectly legitimate if it be allowed to be a late one (see, for instance, the quotation from the ritual of the synagogue in Cahen, in loco, and the collection of passages on "tzedakah" in Buxtorf, 'Rabb. Lex.' and Levy, 'Chald. Wörterb.' s.v.), and not exclusive of the better—because original—meaning. Rabbinical commentators are about equally divided in the rendering of this passage, but modern translators may be said to have preferred this or that rendering according as they saw or did not see in it the "locus classicus" of the Roman Catholic doctrine of "good works" (see Harold Browne on Article XII.). The light now thrown on the passage by a better acquaintance with the religious belief current in Nebuchadnezzar's time, practically settles what is the original sense: and it certainly upholds the English translation of the latter part of this verse—"it may be...tranquillity"—against the "ignoscet delictis tuis" of the Vulgate. Into the religious belief of the Babylonian there entered no such modern distinction of rewards and punishments (see Excursus at end of ch. xii., and Lenormant's comment on the descent of Ishtar into Hades, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 83) as is implied in the Latin translation.

28, &c. Holy Scripture is silent upon the immediate effect of Daniel's words. The LXX. adds that—when Nebuchadnezzar heard the interpretation—"he kept the words in his heart:" but there are no outward tokens recorded of respect, reverence, and affection, such as followed the plain speech of the prophet on a previous occasion (ii. 46, &c.). Whatever the impression, it did not last long. "All"—in spite of the caution and the prayer—"came upon Nebuchadnezzar." Twelve months passed away—months of peace as regarded enemies without, and of work as regarded the embellishment of his capital.

Babylon "the great" is now but "a possession for the bittern and pools of water" (Isai. xiv. 23), for miles "an uninterrupted line of mounds, the ruins of vast edifices collected together as in the heart of a great city." But even as Herodotus saw it, after much suffering from the Persian conquest, there is evidence enough of what must have been its "glory" a century earlier in the days of its full splendour. Babylon was traversed in the middle by the Euphrates, surrounded by walls 300 feet in height, 75 feet in thickness, and composing a square, of which each side was nearly fifteen English miles in length. On one side of the river, in a circular place surrounded by a lofty wall, rose—a central and commanding object—the royal palace with its memorable hanging gardens or terraces; on the other the temple of Bel. Subsidiary to these, yet each of them great in their way, rose palaces and temples with their dependent buildings, courtyards, and gardens. Around and among all were the common dwellings of the people, with their palm-groves, their orchards, and their small plots of corn-land (see Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' ch. XI. ed. 1868; Rawlinson's 'A. M.' II. ch. iv. and III. ch. viii.; Grote's 'Hist. of Greece,' III. ch. xix.; G. Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 55, &c.).

The completion of many of the works begun by his father, Nabopolassar, the actual commencement and erection of others, occupied Nebuchadnezzar's attention during

not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?

31 While the word *was* in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, *saying*, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee.

32 And they shall drive thee from

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the "twelve months" which elapsed after the interpretation of the dream. In the "Standard Inscription" there is a detailed account of what he did for gods and men; how he restored the "Pyramid"—the sepulchre (or temple) of Belus (the modern "Babil"), and the tower of Borsippa (Birs-Nimroud)—the temple of the "seven spheres of heaven and earth;" how he built temples to Mylitta, to Nebo, to Sin, to Samas, to Nana, sometimes in Babylon, sometimes in Borsippa; how he completed the suburbs or quarters of Imgour-Bel and Nivit-Bel, supplying them with conduits, forts, and gates. Much of this work could only have been done in time of peace. Yet great as was the magnificence, satisfactory as was the result of the above works, there was one work, not yet mentioned, upon which Nebuchadnezzar (according to the Stand. Inscription) especially prided himself. It was that work to which the Book of Daniel refers in the text. "I have adorned no part of Babylon—that city which is the pupil of my eye—as I have the palace. That is the house which commands the admiration of men; it is the central spot of the country, high and elevated; it is the house of royalty in the country of Babylonia; it stretches from Imgour-Bel to the canal Libil-ouboul, from the Euphrates to Meboursapou." The inscription tells how Nebuchadnezzar—working upon Nabopolassar's foundations—reared the palace anew, building it of brick and bitumen, using cedar and iron, and decorating the brickwork with inscriptions and painting. "Silver, gold, metals, gems nameless and priceless, objects of rare value, immense treasures have I heaped together," to ornament "that tower, the abode of my majesty, which contained the treasures of my imperishable royalty." Tower and palace were connected. "In a month of happy significance and in an auspicious day" that work was begun. "In fifteen days I finished its magnificence; I embellished the seat of my royalty." Of this glorious building—known to modern travellers by the name *Kasr*, but called by the Arabs by the significant name Mujelibé, "the overturned"—nothing is now left but a ruin of loose bricks, tiles, and fragments of stone, from the centre of which rises a solid mass of masonry, still entire and retaining remains of architectural ornament. It was the terrace, perhaps the hanging gardens, of this royal palace which Alexander the Great sought when the hand of death was upon him: it was within its walls that he died; it was around that death-chamber that hundreds of Macedonians sought and found their graves. But a prouder—though not a greater—monarch than Alexander had lived and died there before him. As Nebuchadnezzar "walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon," as he paced these terraces and hanging gardens, and looked upon all that he had helped to complete, and all that he had begun and ended—that "fifteen days'" marvel above all—the proud thought within him found expression in proud words: "The king answered (his thought) and said, Is not this Babylon the Great which I have built for the house of the kingdom ("the house of royalty," Inscription), by the might of my power (cp. the original of *vv.* 11 and 12, ii. 37) and for the honour of my majesty?" ("the abode of my majesty," Inscription). The dream, the interpretation, the counsel were all forgotten in that moment of exaltation and self-glorification.

31. *there fell a voice from heaven*] The Talmud gives the name of *bath-qol* (daughter of the voice) to all such sudden manifestations of the divine will (cp. John xii. 28). So now; at the "falling" (cp. Isai. ix. 7) of that "voice" the punishment decreed began; madness struck down the proud man who gave not God the glory. What the "watcher who came down from heaven" had said in the vision, that did the king hear repeated by the "voice." The "thing was fulfilled," the prophecy ceased to be prophecy, and became a fact. "The same hour" Nebuchadnezzar "was driven from men," &c. His hair grew like "eagles'" feathers, &c., or, as LXX. and Theod. read the passage—with evident reference to vii. 4—his hair grew like "lions'" hair, &c.

Some questions here require an answer:—

(*a*) What was this illness? "There is now no question that the disease under which Nebuchadnezzar is said to have suffered, is one of a well-known class of diseases known by such names as lycanthropy, kynanthropy, &c., according to the animal, whose habits are simulated by the subject of this disease. Dr Pusey ('Daniel,' p. 425, &c.) has collected together many striking instances of similar diseases which illustrate this remarkable occurrence. The most remarkable are from a letter of Dr Browne, Commissioner of the Board of Lunacy for Scotland, who mentions several classes of patients whose mental alienation was very prominently exhibited in their diet—*fæcophagi*, eaters of ordure; *sarcophagi*, eaters

men, and thy dwelling *shall be* with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, un-

of flesh; *phytophagi*, eaters of grass, leaves, twigs, &c. The subject is fully treated there and leaves nothing unexplained, which relates to the nature of the malady" [R]. Under the influence of this malady Nebuchadnezzar was allowed to indulge in whatever his distempered fancy suggested; "he did eat grass as oxen," "his body was wet with the dew of heaven," "his hair grew long like eagles' feathers," and "his nails like birds' (lions'—Ewald) claws."

(*b*) What happened during this madness? "The counsellors" and "lords" (*v.* 36) nearest to his person took charge of his government, perhaps under the presidency of the well-loved Median wife, Amytis, to gratify whose tastes the king had built the "hanging gardens" (Berosus, 'Fr.' 14, quoted by Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 60); perhaps under that of the "chief of the Casdim," whose predecessor had kept the kingdom for him at his father's death (see ii. 1 n.; 'Journ. asiat.' 1870, pp. 340 seq.). His subjects would know that their lord was suffering from some terrible malady, even if they were told nothing of its intensity or nature. They waited till death should end the life of their great king, or till, in accordance with prophetic rumour (cf. *v.* 26), health should once more be his. His power was too assured, his conquests too thorough to be imperilled by the absence of his own personal supervision (see the historical remarks on iii. 1, iv. 1). As events proved, the duration of the illness caused no confusion, no alteration in the political and social unity of his empire (see note to *v.* 36). Lenormant ('Man. of Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. p. 486; 'Journ. asiat.' 1870, p. 340 sq.) asserts that during this madness one Bellabarisruk (or -iskun)—whose son Neriglissar (see ch. v., introd. note) was related by marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, and who was himself, perhaps, the chief of the Casdim, or *rab-emga* (chief of the learned ones),—made himself regent, and, according to an inscription, took the title of "king." After seven months (the limit 'L. allows to the "seven times") Nebuchadnezzar regained his own. But Lenormant's statement is not supported by other authorities. Rawlinson makes Neriglissar the son of Bel-sum-iskun "king of Babylon," who, he considers, "is probably to be identified with the chieftain who assumed the royal title in the troubles preceding the fall of the Assyr. Empire" ('A. M.' III. 63).

(*c*) An objection has however been raised to the history of this madness. No notice, it is urged, is found of it in contemporaneous and later Biblical writers, and the account must be set aside as "legendary."

To argue from the silence of canonical Scripture is in this case precipitate. The concluding years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are not noticed in any sacred writing. The Books of Kings and Chronicles extend their accounts of Nebuchadnezzar's life no farther than to the last deportation of captives in the nineteenth year of his reign; and that reign lasted 43 years (604—561 B.C.). Jeremiah and Ezekiel died in exile, the one in Egypt, and the other in Babylonia probably before the death of Nebuchadnezzar; and there is nothing in the nature of the subjects handled by the prophets, which either requires that they should have mentioned the king's malady, or makes it strange that they have not done so. Ezra and Nehemiah in their turn treat of a much later period, that of the Persian supremacy.

With regard to native historians it may be at once allowed that, with possibly one exception, they do not allude to the malady described by Daniel. The Chaldee historian (Berosus) describes the death of Nebuchadnezzar as following close upon his commencement of the wall of Babylon. "He fell sick," are his words, "and died:" (quoted in Josephus 'contr. Apion.' I. 20, Vol. II. p. 351, ed. Dindorf). This sickness has been explained to be one of a lingering character, but the words do not bear out that interpretation. Abydenus writes (see Eusebius, 'Præp. Evang.' IX. 41. The original is given entire by Hengstenberg and Zündel; and a portion of it by Rawlinson, 'Bampton Lectures,' Lect. v. note 16, p. 436 (1st ed.). See also Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 112): "It is said by the Chaldæans that Nebuchadnezzar ascended to the roof of his palace, and then, inspired by some god, spoke as follows: 'O Babylonians; I Nebuchadnezzar foretell to you an impending calamity, which neither my progenitor Bel nor queen Beltis can persuade the fates to avert. There shall come a Persian mule, allied with your own gods, to impose servitude upon you. A Mede, the boast of the Assyrians, shall be his associate, &c.' When he had thus prophesied, he immediately disappeared." The likening of Cyrus to a Persian mule is referred with some probability to the Pythian oracle in Herod. I. 55. (See Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Assurs,' p. 207, n. 2; Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.' I. p. 102, note (1847).) From this "rare legend," some have endeavoured to deduce a transference of the Scripture account to the pages of the historian. But the deduction is certainly unwarranted. Verses 34—36 of this chapter distinctly assert the recovery of the king. This at once defers the sickness noticed by Berosus to a later period than that recorded by Daniel, and opposes itself to the deduction that the concluding words of Abydenus, "that he immediately disappeared," are equivalent to "he died." All that can be

til thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

33 The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' *feathers*, and his nails like birds' *claws*.

34 And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes

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fairly maintained is that the latter passage embodies a tradition greatly resembling the account given by Daniel.

The silence of contemporaneous or historical documents is not, however, a disproof of the genuineness of Daniel's account. The Babylonian royal records were probably, like the Assyrian, carefully written in the form of regular annals, and dealt with military campaigns, spoliations and cruelties. They rarely, if ever, recorded episodes of private life, or conveyed moral lessons. Such records were reserved for private and separate tablets, such as the recovered library of Assurbanipal has furnished in illustration of Assyrian royal wills, contracts of barter and sale, proverbs, &c. A record of the madness of Babylon's greatest king would be in the highest degree improbable; though the memory of it survived for years (v. 22). The native historians would be the last to furnish it. Nebuchadnezzar was a Casdee, and in the hands of the more sacerdotal class of this body were placed the annals of the realm. Were they likely to tarnish the glory of their great king by placing upon record an affliction of so strange and debasing a character? Even had they done so, it was quite within the power and the character of an Asiatic despot, such as Nebuchadnezzar, to efface after his recovery all records of his illness. In so doing he would but have followed the precedent set by Nabonassar (B.C. 747), who "destroyed the acts of the kings who had preceded him" (Berosus; see Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civ.' II. 225). All mention of his illness would be omitted from the annals of his reign, just as all mention of the destruction by the angel of the Lord of the army of Sennacherib is absent from the numerous annals of that monarch.

34. *at the end of the days*] The "times" during which the madness lasted are taken by the majority of the versions and commentators (LXX., Syr., Josephus, Aben Ezra, Rashi, &c.) to be "years." Some translators have preferred to retain the studied indefiniteness of the original and without fixing upon any period—years, months, weeks, or days—have considered the question an open one. The "times" being described as "seven" (*v.* 16) would seem to imply that the sacred Babylonian idea of completeness was intended.

"The return of understanding to Nebuchadnezzar—due, according to the LXX., to his prayers and announced to him by an angel—is marked by a beautiful assertion of the supremacy of God in the whole universe. It is so grand in its conception, so simple and yet so emphatic in its language, that it may almost be considered as an inspired utterance, like those of the prophet Balaam. The influence of the Hebrew captives begins also to be felt in religion, and we see the first beginning of the fermentation of the leaven which was to leaven the world. The captivity, and the plantation of the colony of Jews in Alexandria, were preparations, in part, of the heathen mind for the reception of the gospel. They were the first foundation of missionary work, which began on a limited scale in the propagation of the faith of the Jews through their colonies. The foundation being thus laid in the days of the ancient faith, the missionary efforts of the apostolic age were rendered possible" [R].

One or two points should be noted in the doxology of verses 34, 35 and 37. (*a*) The stages of returning reason are carefully marked: there is the "lifting up" (lit. the raising up what was heavy) the eyes to heaven (*i.e.* to the God of heaven) "and" (as a consequence) the restoration of "understanding" (the "reason" of *v.* 36, and the "knowledge" of ii. 21). (*b*) He who is then "blessed" is called by the new titles—One who "liveth for ever," "Who doeth according to His will in the army of heaven," &c.—titles which are certainly not borrowed from Isai. xxiv. 21, xl. 15, 17 (Ewald), but have the true Babylonian ring about them (see n. *v.* 19), and are natural however imperfect expressions of a real reverence. Scriptural analogies to the language and thought of *v.* 35 (end) will be found in Job ix. 12, xxxiv. 29; Isai. xl. 17, xliii. 13, xlv. 9; Rom. ix. 20. (*c*) Note the thoroughness (*v.* 37) with which, for the time, Nebuchadnezzar seems to have understood the lesson of humility which his vision (*v.* 17) and Daniel (*v.* 25) had sought to enforce. He, whose pride had received such a fall, is found closing the edict which records that fall with words of praise to Him by whose will he had suffered. It would be inexplicable were not the reason added: "all His works are truth" (the original is a peculiar word, and lays stress on that which is just and true because "measured" or "weighed"), "and His ways judgment" (the result of that judicial sight and sense which makes choice of ways).

unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever,
[d] chap. 7. 14. Micah 4. 7. Luke 1. 33. whose dominion *is* [d]an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom *is* from generation to generation:

35 And all the inhabitants of the earth *are* reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and *among* the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him,
[e] Job 9. 12. Isai. 45. 9. [e] What doest thou?

36 At the same time my reason returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellers and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me.

37 Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works *are* truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

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36. *my counsellers and my lords sought unto me*] (See n. iii. 24.) Those who had had direct or indirect charge of his kingdom came once more to him, approaching him with that respectful gracious courtesy (so familiar still in the East) which the word "sought" implies. They saw him again in "honour," wearing that costume of elaborately fringed gown, close-fitting vest, tasselled girdle and peculiar tiara with which the monuments have made us acquainted; his face was lit up by that "brightness" (see ii. 31) which adorns earth's greatest monarchs. He "was established" once more "in his kingdom;" and "excellent majesty" (or as the versions and moderns prefer to understand it—"majesty more excellent than before") "was added unto" him.

Thus ends the Scripture record of Nebuchadnezzar's life, but his life did not end then. For some years he retained "the glory" of his kingdom; and when he died at Babylon in the 44th year of his reign (B.C. 561) he was still in peaceful possession of that kingdom which the agreement between Cyaxares and his father Nabopolassar had allotted to him (Niebuhr). It was, says Berosus (see *v.* 31 *c*), while engaged in rebuilding the great wall (of Babylon), occupied—that is—in works of peace, that his last illness occurred and he died. Scripture gives to its readers glimpses chiefly of the home and private life of this great monarch. The Books of Daniel, Jeremiah and the historical Books of Kings and Chronicles are replete with facts and incidents more or less bearing upon this side of his history, or upon his relations with the Hebrews. But for the history of that which made him so great among his own people—which carried the fame and terror of his name throughout the then civilized world—which attracted noble Greeks as well as mercenaries to his standard—which deified him when dead, and twice made the conspirators who assumed his name successful for a while against the great Darius—for all this, the reader must turn to the cuneiform writings, to the pages of Berosus, and to the historical deductions of Niebuhr, Rawlinson, Oppert, Smith and Lenormant.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAP. IV.

19. שׁעה, "hour." The same indefiniteness is found in the Assyrian use of the word: under the form *Sahat* or *Sat* (cp. שׁעתא) the word is frequent in the phrases *sat-musi*, "the hour of night" or "the night-time," and *sat-urri*, "the hour of day" or "the day-time" (see 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 14).

CHAPTER V.

1 Belshazzar's impious feast. 5 A handwriting, unknown to the magicians, troubleth the king. 10 At the commendation of the queen Daniel is brought. 17 He, reproving the king of pride and idolatry, 25 readeth and interpreteth the writing. 30 The monarchy is translated to the Medes.

CHAP. V. In this chapter Daniel confines himself to a small portion of the history of that descendant of the great Babylonian king, during whose reign "the kingdom inferior to" Nebuchadnezzar rose on the ruins of that which it displaced. A few words may not here be out of place illustrative of the events which preceded the reign of Belshazzar.

Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach. What little is known of him in connection with the history of Israel will be found summed up in the notes to 2 K. xxv. and Jer. lii. After a reign of two years—a reign marked by lawlessness and impiety (Berosus)—his brother-in-law Neriglissar dethroned and murdered him (B.C. 559). Neri-

BELSHAZZAR the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

glissar's reign was marked by no military exploits: he appears to have occupied himself chiefly with the building of the western palace at Babylon, a palace close to the Euphrates and opposite the ancient royal residence. He died in 556 and his son—Laborosoarchod—a mere child, succeeded: he was quickly deposed and "beaten to death." The conspirators—probably the Casdim—elected one of their body Nabonahid (or Nabonadius). For seventeen years he occupied the throne, cementing his connection with the still popular family of Nebuchadnezzar by a marriage which enabled his subjects to see in his eldest son Belshazzar a "son" or descendant of their famous king, and in his youngest one who bore the same beloved name ('Behist. Insc.': see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 64, n. 3). But very early in his reign the troubles began which speedily led to a dissolution of the Babylonian empire. The Persians, hitherto comparatively unknown, were coming to the front. They, under the leadership of Cyrus, had thrown aside their even nominal dependence on the Medes, and had established themselves as equals with if not lords over their former masters. Medes and Persians—the former still allowed the dignity of precedence—united their ranks, and commenced that career of conquest which was to make Cyrus lord over the tribes and nations dwelling between the Persian Gulf and the Euxine (Æschyl. 'Pers.' 758). First they attacked their neighbours in the north-west; and Crœsus, the wealthy and successful king of Lydia, was the first to feel the sword which policy as well as rivalry directed against him. The ambassadors of Crœsus pleaded successfully for their master at the courts of Babylon and Memphis. Nabonadius and Amasis united with Crœsus in an alliance offensive and defensive against Persia. For fourteen years the war raged at a distance from Babylon, and during that time Nabonadius was busy in repairing and completing the defences of his capital. One of these alone need be alluded to here, because it bore its part in the tragedy which ensued. The banks of the Euphrates had hitherto been undefended. The king now banked each side of the stream, raised upon the soil massive walls, and pierced them here and there with water-gates of bronze.

Events of great importance had happened in the meanwhile. Crœsus fought Cyrus single-handed, was defeated, and his capital, Sardis, taken. The Median generals extended westwards their master's power. Ionians, Carians, Caunians, Lycians, fought for liberty, but fought in vain. Eastwards, Cyrus himself penetrated Bactria, Sacia (the modern district of Kashgar and Yarkand), overrunning and reducing to subjection "the whole of that vast tract which lies between the Caspian on the west, the Indus valley and Tartary on the east, the Taxartes on the north, and towards the south the great deserts of Seistan and Khorassan" (Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 383; Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterthumskunde,' II. 284 sq.). But in B.C. 539, when he was nearly 60 years of age, the Persian king gave orders to advance from Ecbatana against Babylon and to punish the king who had leagued himself with Crœsus. Nabonadius heard the news with indifference. It was true that he stood alone: Egypt could not or would not help: but Babylon was "imperishable" ('Stand. Inscn.' Oppert, p. 23); its defences impregnable; the city amply provisioned; and gods and men would unite in defending its sacred precincts. Rumour had already reached Babylon that Cyrus had been stopped halfway. One of the sacred white horses which drew the chariot of Ormazd had been drowned! and Cyrus had paused: that pause meant irresolution, and the fear of Bel and Merodach would turn irresolution into panic. But the next year Cyrus crossed the Zagros range and rapidly passing over the plain of the Tigris appeared before Babylon. Nabonadius—for some unexplained reason—left his capital and the defence which it afforded him, and went out to meet his foe. He was completely defeated; his soldiers fled to the capital; and he himself found refuge at Borsippa—a town to the south-west of Babylon.

Cuneiform discovery now comes in to explain the existence of the "Belshazzar" of the Book of Daniel. It is unnecessary to review here the arguments supporting the identification of this prince with Evil-Merodach, or with Nabonadius himself: such arguments are considered elsewhere (see Excursus at the end of the Chapter). The inscription on the cylinders of Nabonadius found at the temple of Sin at Mugheir (Calneh), after alluding to his restoration of the grand temple begun by an early king of Babylon, Khammourabi (see 'Records of the Past,' I. 5; 'Early Hist. of Babylonia,' by G. Smith, in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. 56), prays the god in language which indicates some great and pressing danger (Lenormant, 'Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. 488), to preserve him and grant him a long life. The prayer continues in words full of affection: "And for Belshazzar, my eldest son, the offspring of my heart, open his heart to the worship of thy great divinity, and let him never admit evil there." The junction of the names Nabonadius and Belshazzar indicates association in the government (see add. N. i. 1); and it was this son Belshazzar whose "great feast" is described in this chapter.

2 Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had † taken out of the temple; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein.

† Chald. *brought forth.*

From viii. 1 it appears that Belshazzar had borne the title of "king" for 3 years, being associated with his father in the government. If this took place in Nabonadius' 15th year, Belshazzar was called to this high position when he was about 14 years old, a practice still not uncommon. Layard gives an account of a "boy about 12 years old," the youngest son of the governor of Hillah, with whom he and the inhabitants transacted business. "He received and paid visits with wonderful dignity and decorum. Every morning he crossed the river with a crowd of secretaries, slaves, and attendants...He gave me his usual report on the political state of the country...He issued orders for rations to be collected for the troops, dictated letters to be sent to the authorities, summoned levies from the tribes and settled disputes among the inhabitants of the town" ('Nin. and Bab.' p. 272). So also the great Shahpúr II. of Persia (A.D. 310—380), when a boy of 16, drove out of his country the Arabs who, presuming on his youth and inexperience, had invaded his empire (Vaux, 'Hist. of Persia,' p. 153).

Belshazzar, after the defeat of Nabonadius, was called upon to act as sole king; and for about a year the assaults of the Medes and Persians were completely foiled. However young and inexperienced he must have been, the queen-mother was still in Babylon and helped him with her counsel (v. 10); the "lords" attached to his father's court, who had not accompanied him to the field or had effected their return from it, were also at hand to advise and help. So effective was the defence and so confident the besieged that nothing but hunger—of which they had no fear—could subdue them, that Cyrus "despaired" and at last resorted to stratagem. If Nineveh had fallen by the diversion of the waters of the Tigris (see Ctesias in Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 233, n. 5)—if the ancient Kashgar succumbed at last through the breach in the walls effected by the turning against it a branch of the river Kizil—so the river of Babylon might be turned against its defenders. Canals were dug to draw off the greater portion of the Euphrates above the city, and permit the passage of soldiers along the river-bed. Everything was soon prepared; but Cyrus waited for some great festival when the attention of the Babylonian soldiers and citizens should be diverted from the works of his sappers. On the occasion of the "feast" described in this chapter, everything happened as the conqueror expected. Belshazzar forgot his enemies or left the care of them to others. He gave himself to the excesses of the banquet at which his "thousand lords" were gathered. The people imitated their betters: feasting and dancing, drunken riot and boastful security took possession of all. The very sentries forgot their duties and neglected to close the water-gates. "In that night" the dikes were cut, the canals carried off the water, and the Medes and Persians passed up to the river-walls. Without a struggle Babylon fell into the hands of her enemies. In the massacre which followed, "Belshazzar was slain," death following speedily on that news which runners brought: "shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, that the passages are stopped, the reeds burned with fire, and the men of war affrighted" (Jer. li. 31, 32).

Cyrus pressed on to Borsippa, but Nabonadius, broken-hearted and sensible of the folly of resistance, surrendered at once. The conqueror was merciful and not only spared his life but made him governor of Carmania. He extended his mercy to the city he had lately gained. It was not his policy to expose to any invader what could be easily kept as a support of his own power. He therefore contented himself with ordering the dismantling of parts of the wall. It was a more important point to determine whom he should set over it as a governor. He chose "Darius the Mede," a man of about "threescore and two years old."

Who was Darius the Mede? It is easier to say who he was not than who he was: and the question is discussed elsewhere (see Excursus at the end of the Chapter). He was either Astyages the Mede, or—with greater probability—the general, charged by Cyrus to lead the nocturnal expedition, who was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylon.

1. *made a great feast*, &c.] "The munificent hospitality of eastern monarchs often comes before us in Scripture. The feast of Ahasuerus is another instance. But it must be remembered that the feast of Belshazzar is an example of Babylonian luxury—that of Ahasuerus of Persian" [R]. The Babylonian banquets were magnificent, though they usually ended in drunkenness. Wine, imported from abroad, and luxuries of every kind loaded the table. Perfumes filled the hall; vocalists and instrumental performers entertained the assembled guests. The "thousand lords" who attended Belshazzar's feast—raised by an ancient copy of the LXX. into 2000—was not so large a number in oriental banquets as it may seem to us: 15,000 men fed daily at the king's cost in the Persian courts; Alexander the Great once invited 10,000 to a wedding feast; Ptolemy Dionysus undertook the daily nurture of 1000 soldiers of Pompey the Great (see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 19).

It was usually at the close of the banquet

the temple which *was* in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein.

3 Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which *was* at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them.

4 They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

5 ¶ In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

6 Then the king's † countenance

† Chald. *brightnesses.*

proper that the drinking began: and it was so here. Belshazzar under the influence of wine (see the orig. of *v.* 1, and Luther's rendering [er] "soff sich voll") became boastful and fool-hardy (cp. the N. T. parallel, Jude 18, 19).

2. *the golden and silver vessels*] "The ancient commentators, as Jerome and others, point out the crime of turning the sacred vessels to a profane use, as a great aggravation of the irreverence of the Babylonian monarchs. Whilst they were in the temples, they had the protection which was given to all things esteemed holy by them. The profaneness of Belshazzar was still further aggravated by the occasion on which it was shewn, being in the midst of a drunken revel" [R]. (See *v.* 23.)

his wives, and his concubines] The mention of the presence of women at this feast—once considered a sure proof of ignorance on the part of the writer—is singularly in accordance with the habits of the Babylonians. They—in marked distinction from the Persians and the majority of oriental nations—allowed to their women great freedom (see Herod. I. 191; Xenophon, 'Cyrop.' V. 2, 28; 'Curtius,' V. 1, 38; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 21); and their presence at banquets and festivals is especially noted. The LXX. translators omit altogether the notice of the women; and Theodotion records the presence at Belshazzar's feast of the "concubines" only: in this, following the customs common at the time of the composition of their translations. Daniel's account of what took place was to them inconsistent with what they knew of oriental habits; yet history has proved him correct.

4. *praised the gods of gold*, &c.] Their "praise" was one of song as well as instrumental. The bas-reliefs frequently give illustrations of musicians (male and female) accompanied by women, boys, and girls, singing and clapping their hands to the measure (Layard, 'N. and B.' 253). The polytheism of Babylon is well known; the images of the gods being usually made of the metals mentioned (see Baruch vi. 4 seq.)—either solid or coated with gold and silver, and the brass being rather bronze (for illustrations see the statue of Nebo in Layard, p. xxxii.; Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 567, 568, III. 28). The possession, by the temple of Bel, of the vessels "out of the temple of the house of God at Jerusalem" was counted a sign of the inferiority of the God to whom they were dedicated, and of the superior power of Bel and his "gods:" hence this "praise" was a poem or hymn of victory (see extracts from such a hymn in add. Note). The practice of praising a god at banquets was one very common among heathen nations (cp. 'Æneid,' I. 7—35, VIII. 273 seq.); and the Jews themselves long kept up a purified form of it in the *zemiroth* or songs of the sabbath (Cahen). Both the Greek versions add here a thought supplied from *v.* 23: "and praised not the eternal God (*τὸν θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος*), who had power over their spirits." In their view, this omission was an aggravation of the offence, especially if due to scorn and contempt of the God of "the temple at Jerusalem." "In the same hour" the act of profanation was avenged.

5. *fingers of a man's hand*] "R. Saadias Gaon says this was Gabriel, who is called a man in ch. viii. 16. This appears probable, but rests on no solid foundation" [R].

over against the candlestick] "Aben Ezra calls this the lamp; but Saadias Gaon, in his first explanation, makes *Nevrashta* to mean the window. He subjoins, however, other explanations agreeing with Aben Ezra. It seems most probable that the word means a *lamp* or *candlestick*, though the derivation which he gives for it is absurd." (See add. Note.) "Rashi observes that *Nevrashta* is equivalent to *Menourah*, which is the name for the candlestick with seven lights, and he believes it to be gold. He does not, however, distinctly say that it was the golden candlestick. There seems no authority for such a supposition. The plaister is expressed by a word which means, as Dr Pusey has remarked, 'plain stucco,' a mode of ornament found among the remains of the Assyrian palaces" [R]. (Cp. Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' p. 295.)

the part of the hand] "The exact translation would be, '*the extremity* of the hand.' The description of the king's terror at the sight is extremely graphic" [R].

6. *the king's countenance was changed*] "The original is rather more expressive—his

† was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the ‖ joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

† Chald. *changed it.*
‖ Or, *girdles.*
† Chald. *bindings, or, knots.*

7 The king cried † aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. *And* the king spake, and said to the wise *men* of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with ‡ scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.

† Chald. *with might.*
‡ Or, *purple.*

8 Then came in all the king's wise *men:* but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

9 Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his † countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonied.

† Chald. *brightnesses.*

10 ¶ *Now* the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords

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brightnesses [or the freshness of his countenance] *were changed.* His colour and the flush of wine left his cheek and a deadly paleness came over him" [R].

7. The robe of "scarlet," a robe, *i.e.* of the deeper, more crimson hue than the violet purple, was one of the "goodly Babylonish garments" (Josh. vii. 21) worn as the robe of honour by those singled out by the king for special excellence. Babylon was famous for "rich apparel" (Ezek. xxvii. 24). The Persian courts followed the same customs (Esther viii. 15) with the same distinction for merit between the few and the more ordinary "purpurati" (Xenophon, 'Cyrop.' I. 3. 2, II. 4. 6; Herod. III. 20, quoted in Zöckler, in loco).

The "chain" of gold was perhaps like that sometimes found on the representations of the gods or in use among the Median nobles (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 6, II. 317). It was evidently intended here—as in the case of Joseph (Gen. xli. 42)—as an emblem of office as well as of distinction; and though, so far as the monuments enable the student to discover, not common among the Babylonians, the selection of the distinction was natural to one who, like Belshazzar, was connected with Egypt by family ties, and therefore acquainted with and disposed to follow Egyptian modes of honour. The original of the word "chain" is reproduced in the μανάκης of the Greek versions; and, however obscure the etymology, is traced by the philologist in the Latin *monile* and the Celtic *muinæ* and *muintorc.*

"The discovery that Belshazzar was the eldest son of the king, and associated with him in the government, is in exact accordance with the declaration that Daniel should be the third ruler in the kingdom. Belshazzar was the second (Nabonadius being the first), and therefore the next to him would be third. Higher than third Daniel could not be" [R].

8. *they could not read the writing*] (See on v. 25.) Rawlinson states that the Chaldæans were in the habit of considering their art (as diviners, &c.) locally limited to the regions inhabited by themselves and their kinsmen. They would boldly predict storm, tempest, war, &c. for Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, and Susiana; but they would venture on no prophecies respecting other neighbouring lands like Persia, Media, and Armenia ('A. M.' II. 580).

This want of success visibly affected the "lords" as well as their "king." In the word describing the "astonishment" which ensued, there is involved, says Hitzig, the idea of thorough disturbance. No one remained in his place, everything was in a commotion. Groups were formed here and there, and debated the matter in agitation and restlessness.

10. *Now the queen,* &c.] "This was the queen-mother, who was probably the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. To her the former life of Daniel would be familiar" [R]. (See introductory note.) The respect entertained by the Babylonians for one who held this rank has its parallel in the similar respect already noted among the Jews (see notes on 1 K. xv. 10; 2 K. ix. 30, xxiv. 8, and reff.). The noise of the disturbance (see previous note) penetrated to her apartments, and she was informed of Belshazzar's proclamation (*v.* 7). "By reason of," in consequence of, these words she came down to the "banquet-house;" perhaps summoned by the king's command (LXX.). The queen recalls Daniel's Babylonian name—Belteshazzar (see i. 7, iv. 9, 19, A.V.). The LXX., Theod., Syr., and Vulg. versions have but one spelling for the names Belshazzar and Belteshazzar. By the time that the Greek version was written, all knowledge of the real difference of the origin of the names—one from the god Bel, the other from the goddess Beltis—was lost.

The description here given of Daniel should be compared with iv. 8, ii. 48, i. 17. But it has also its special points, which have gained fresh interest through modern discovery. The attribute, "in thee is the spirit of the holy gods" (see iv. 8, A.V.):—the terms used to describe the "light (see ii. 22), understanding and wisdom (a *khochmah,* not like that of the

came into the banquet house: *and* the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed:

11 [a] There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy ‖father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy ‖father, the king, *I say*, thy father, made [b] master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, *and* soothsayers;

12 Forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, ‖interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and ‖dissolving of †doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king. *And* the king spake and said unto Daniel, *Art* thou that Daniel, which *art* of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my ‖father brought out of Jewry?

14 I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods *is* in thee, and *that* light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.

15 And now the wise *men*, the astrologers, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing:

16 And I have heard of thee, that thou canst †make interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.

17 ¶ Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy ‖rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.

18 O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour:

a chap. 2. 48.

‖ Or, *grandfather.*

‖ Or, *grandfather.*

b chap. 4. 9.

‖ Or, *of an interpreter, &c.*

‖ Or, *of a dissolver.*

† Chald. *knots.*

† Chald. *interpret.*

‖ Or, *fee*, as chap. 2. 6.

‖ Or, *grandfather.*

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class *khakamim*, but) like the wisdom of the gods" (*v.* 11) attributed to Daniel: the expression defining his capabilities as one able "to interpret dreams, shew hard sentences, and dissolve doubts" (lit. "loose knots")—are strictly Babylonian, and are illustrated by the "magical" books of the Chaldees (see add. Note to i. 4).

On the question, How far was Belshazzar acquainted with Daniel?—he had "heard of" him (*v.* 14), Archdeacon Rose says, "We have, from the brevity of the Scripture account, no means of knowing what acquaintance Belshazzar had with Daniel. We do not know where or how he was educated before his association with his father in the kingdom. It seems probable that Daniel should have been known to him, but suffered to fall into neglect. The history of Nebuchadnezzar must have been well known in Babylon, and Belshazzar must have known the facts, whether he knew Daniel personally or not" [R]. The notification that Daniel was employed "on the king's business" in Belshazzar's reign (viii. 27) is in favour of the supposition that while Daniel had not ceased to hold some political or official post, his peculiar gift (i. 17) had either been forgotten or suffered to remain in abeyance.

17. Nebuchadnezzar was a prince whose character commanded respect; from him Daniel could and did receive "rewards" (cp. ii. 48); Belshazzar was not. Daniel therefore declined his offers (the order of the words in the original is very striking),—with the protest of one grown grey in the service of his adopted country against the pride and sacrilege he was compelled to witness. There is more of respectful than of indignant pity in the words of his protest. The LXX. prefaces them with the following lifelike sentence: "Then Daniel stood before the writing and read it: and thus he answered the king," &c. The reader should remember that the remarkable visions, vouchsafed to Daniel during the three years of Belshazzar's reign (chs. vii. and viii.), had already taken place. It was no egotism but actual knowledge—granted to him by God—which would enable him to answer so fearlessly "I will make known the interpretation."

18, &c. *O thou king, the most high God,*

19 And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down.

20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened [1] in pride, he was [†] deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him:

21 And he was [c] driven from the sons of men; and [‡] his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling *was* with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and *that* he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this;

23 But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath *is*, and whose *are* all thy ways, hast thou not glorified:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from him; and this writing was written.

25 ¶ And this *is* the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

26 This *is* the interpretation of

[1] Or, *to deal proudly.* [†] Chald. *made to come down.* [c] chap. 4. 32. [‡] Or, *he made his heart equal, &c.*

&c.] Lit. (as in ii. 31, 37) "Thou, O king," the formula used in addressing royalty. Daniel saw around him the "gods of silver, gold, &c.," "which see not, nor hear, nor know" (*v.* 23); he knew Belshazzar's acquaintance with what had happened to his great ancestor—Nebuchadnezzar (*v.* 22): hence his use of the term "the most high God" (lit. the God, the most high) to describe Him whose hand had been felt by Nebuchadnezzar and was to be felt by Belshazzar, and before whom those "gods" were nothing.

19—21 is an interesting summary of the life and character of Nebuchadnezzar by one who knew him and appreciated him. Words could not have described more graphically than is done in *v.* 19 the mightiness of the great king of Babylon and the power he was allowed to have possessed.

whom he would he kept alive] This—accepted by the Syriac version and most modern commentators—is undoubtedly the right translation. Theod., the Vulg. and Luther, carry on the idea of the previous clause, and deriving the word translated "kept alive" from a different root render it ἔτυπτεν, "percutiebat," "schlug."

21. *his dwelling was with the wild asses*] This is more definite than the "beasts" (iv. 15) or "the beasts of the field" (iv. 23); and may perhaps indicate the locality to which it was found necessary to remove the afflicted king during some part of his illness. The "wild ass" was met with only in the dry of parts Mesopotamia (Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 490).

23. *the vessels of his house*] "The language of Daniel here evidently implies that Belshazzar's use of these holy vessels in unholy revels was in the highest degree sacrilegious" [R].

24. *sent from him; and this writing was written*] The angel was "sent" with the commission from God to write this writing (Hitzig): lit. to engrave it (see x. 21, note) as in a book with indelible writing. The expression (peculiar to Daniel) is the more interesting if it be associated with the mode of writing—stamping in—cuneiform characters.

25, &c. "The doubling of the first word appears to be a token of the certainty and nearness of the judgment thus declared" [R] (cp. Gen. xiv. 10, xli. 32; Deut. ii. 27, xiv. 22; and the expression "Verily, verily," so frequently used by Jesus Christ). "*Mene* signifies 'numbered' ('and'—in this case, as the interpretation adds—'finished'): *Tekel* signifies 'weighed' (and—as the result here—'found wanting'): *U-pharsin* signifies 'and breakings'; in this word there is an allusion to the 'Persians' (an allusion perhaps more evident to an English reader in the word 'Peres,' *v.* 28), as well as to the empire of Babylonia being 'broken up' 'divided and given.' It is an instance of that paronomasia or play on words which is so common in Scripture" [R]. "Numbering," "weighing," and "breaking" are scriptural tropes expressive of penal and judicial punishment (cp. Pss. lvi. 9, lxii. 10; Job xxxi. 4, 6).

The whole passage (25—28) is, as Ewald has pointed out, an instance of the early mode

the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.

27 TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

28 PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

29 Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and *put* a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

30 ¶ In that night was Belshaz-

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of exegesis. The reader or explainer took each word, and added to it his comment without the introduction of such words as "that is to say." He would point to it, as he would to a pictorial design graven next to it, and with which it had had originally so close an affinity. The listener would thus find no difficulty in following him.

History (see introductory note) prepares us to understand the word "kingdom" (*v.* 26), not in a geographical or dynastic sense but (see de Wette's and von Eck's 'Translations') as expressing the time or duration of Belshazzar's own reign; ἠρίθμηται ὁ χρόνος σου τῆς βασιλείας (LXX.). That life was "finished:" "verily it had its reward" (cp. this use of the orig. in 2 S. iii. 39; Jer. xxv. 14; Ps. lxii. 12): weighed in the scales it was found "wanting" in moral and royal worth (cp. Job xxxi. 6).

The order "Medes and Persians" (*v.* 28), and not vice versâ, should be noted. Daniel at Shushan (viii. 2) was nearer the starting-point of the invading host than at Babylon. In that host the Persians would be theoretically the leaders, but practically, and as the result of sound policy, the Medes were admitted to an equal if not the first rank. The army would thus be known by the name of the army of the Medes and Persians, the older people taking precedence. In the Achæmenian period —for example, under Darius the Great—such a precedence would have been both impossible and anachronistic. The Persians were then supreme, and all other "nations" under their standard were merged into that common name. Daniel's language is therefore strictly in accordance with what would be used at the time of the fall of the Babylonian empire.

The words "Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" are Aramaic; and to the majority of those Babylonian courtiers would hardly have been intelligible even if Assyrian forms had been given to them; *e.g. sakalu* (cp. Hebr. *sakal*) for "Tekel." The "wise men," who would undoubtedly have been familiar with Aramaic and its alphabet, would also have been able to read them had they been written in the hieratic character; that they did not read them, rather tends to prove either that the writing was of a character familiar to the eye of the Hebrew Daniel, but one with which they were quite unacquainted; or, that not being sufficiently acquainted with the foreign language to explain the prophetic and mystic allusions in it—a view almost implied in *v.* 15—they declined or were afraid to make the attempt before the panic-stricken yet despotic Belshazzar (see add. Note).

29. *Then commanded Belshazzar*, &c.] "Ephrem Syrus observes that it was not out of reverence for Daniel, but in order to propitiate him, as one whose prayers might probably be very efficacious. This was his hope —but a vain hope!" [R].

The reward once promised (*v.* 7) was irrevocable (Ewald); hence the "scarlet" robe and "chain of gold" were placed upon Daniel, who, having already protested against the morality of the offering and the offerer (*v.* 17), did not now think it necessary to resist the court custom: the proclamation (iii. 4) of his new rank "third in the kingdom" was at once made in that banquet-hall, to be repeated on the morrow in the streets of the city. That "morrow" never came to Belshazzar. No opportunity for repentance was offered to him as was offered to Nebuchadnezzar (iv. 27): why, we are not told. "In that night" (a detail omitted by LXX.) Belshazzar was slain (see introd. note). He met his death, not by the hands of some conspiring nobles emboldened by the language of Daniel—a conjecture for which there is no sort of authority—but, as history declares, by the weapons of his conqueror: (cp. for the homiletical instruction of the history of Belshazzar such passages as Prov. xix. 29, xxix. 8; Wisdom i. 6; Jer. xv. 17; Pss. i. 1, lxii. 4; 1 Cor. vi. 10; and of the fall of Babylon, Isai. xiii., xiv.; and Jer. l., li.).

31. This verse is the first verse of the next chapter in the Chaldee text, Theod. and Vulg., &c., and is taken as such by Zunz and Benisch among translators, and by many modern commentators (see Zöckler and Keil on the one side, Ewald and Davidson on the other). It is to be regretted that the A. V. has not retained here the division current in the old versions.

And Darius...took the kingdom] "And" is a note of time and indicates the sequence of events; but it is not to be pressed into asserting that that very night Darius became king (see introductory note). On the name Darius see App. to Ezra, p. 422.

The appellative "the Median" marks him off from the king of "the Chaldæans" (*v.* 30), and from "the Persian" (vi. 28). "He 'took'

zar the king of the Chaldeans slain.
31 And Darius the Median took the kingdom, [1] *being* [1] about threescore and two years old.

[1] Chald. he as *the son of, &c.*
[1] Or, *now.*

the kingdom, in the sense of 'receiving' it from the hands of another" [R] (cp. ix. 1), at an age when many men would have shrunk from the responsibility: but he had been trained in a school in which successful generals obtained such rewards; and just as his fellow-countrymen Mazares and Harpagus successively wielded supreme power over the Lydian capital, Sardis, so the Mede Darius took up the reins of the government of Babylonia which his master and his equal in age handed over to him.

being about threescore and two years old] "Rashi says that this computation is given to shew that Darius was born at the very season at which Nebuchadnezzar carried away Jeconiah to Babylon—so that at the very time at which he was triumphing over Judah, the man was born who should take his kingdom from his successor" [R].

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. V.

4. Hymn of Victory. (Parts of.)[1]

In the presence of that immense terror which
I spread, like to that of the god Anou, who
holds his head so high,
I am master. The scarped mountains of earth
tremble violently from summit to base.
The mountain of alabaster and of marble, I
hold in my hand.
The divine spirit,...like the bird of prey who
sweeps down on the sparrows:—
In the mountain by my heroic valour, I decide
the quarrel.
In my right hand, I hold my disc of fire;
In my left hand, I hold my murderous disc.
The sun with fifty faces, the uplifted arm of
my divinity, I hold it.
The great arm which, like the sword, devours
with its circling sweep the bodies of combatants, I hold it.
That which shatters mountains, the murderous
arm of Anou, I hold it.
The flaming sword of battle, which wastes the
rebellious country, I hold it.
The great sword which overturns the ranks of
the valiant, the sword of my divinity, I hold
it.
The joy of heroes, the lance which brings
strength (or, is so strong) in battle, I hold it.
The thunderbolt of battle, the arm with 50
points, I hold it.
Like the enormous serpent with seven heads,
I hold it.
Like to the serpent who beats down the sea,
the weapon with seven heads which attacks
the enemy in front, devastates in the shock
of battles, and extends its power over heaven
and earth, I hold it.
Making its renown brilliant as the day, the
burning god of the east, I hold it.
Creator of heaven and earth, the god of fire,
whose hand has no equal, I hold it.
The arm which spreads its terrors over the
country, in my right hand, the projectile of
gold and marble, which supplies strength
for the miracles of the god, the minister of
life—I hold it.
The arm which fights the rebellious country,
the arm with 50 points, I hold it.

[1] Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. 194—196.

Lenormant[2] has further pointed out that this hymn is probably addressed to the god Hea (the Nouah of the Chaldæan-Babylonians), who is—in it—depicted as the warrior armed and victorious against demoniacal powers. The singular weapon with its 50 points and concentric rays has an interesting analogy with the "flaming sword" of the Cherubim and the *tchakra* of the Indian.

5. נברשתא, "candlestick." The etymology of this word is obscure. It occurs in Syriac, and Bernstein ('Lex.' s. v.) connects it with נבר, to shine, and אשתא (אֶשְׁתָּא), fire. The Jerusalem Gemara uses the Greek למפדם (λάμπαδος) to express what Daniel saw[3]. Another derivation given by Saadias Gaon, that it is formed from נר בר שתא, "the light which burns all the year," is too fanciful to be discussed. The word is in all probability Babylonian and connected as a Niphal substantive with root *bars*, an altar. It may be that the term "candlestick" hardly represents what was actually seen by Daniel; though by the time the Greek translation was current that sense had become common.

7. The transcription of some of the words used in this verse leaves a strong impression that the scribe had before him the original document. The cuneiform texts have but one and the same representation for ו (vau) and מ (mem). Hence, in transferring the cuneiform characters into the square Hebrew, the scribe was as likely as not to write (as here: cp. also 2 Chro. ii. 6) ארנונא ("scarlet") instead of the Hebrew ארנמן (-נא) ("do").

In transferring the original of "chain," he appears to have given the one representative sign of מ and ו its double equivalent; hence the anomalous form המונכא (*vv.* 7, 16, 29), an anomaly which the Masoretic note seeks to rectify by suggesting as the *kethib* המנוכא and the *keri* המניכא; but which is in reality a

[2] 'La Magie,' p. 148 seq.
[3] Levy, 'Chald. Wörterb.' s. v.

silent testimony to the antiquity of the present text.

תלתי, "the third," in the form תְּלָתַי (*v.* 7), is either an assimilation to the Hebrew ordinal (cp. sheni, &c.); or a variant reading of תלתא (cp. *vv.* 16 and 29), due either to the scribe or to the weakening of *a* into *i*, and indicative of degeneration in language. That תלתא was the original form in all cases may be conjectured from the analogy of the Assyrian ordinal *salsa*, "the third[1]."

25. It is curious that the LXX. makes no mention of the detail that the wise men could not "read" the writing (*v.* 8), but dwells only on the fact that they could not interpret it. It is possible to take the word "read" (קרא) in the sense of reading so as to understand, and the omission on the part of the LXX. may be due to such apprehension of the original word (cp. also the Talm. tradition below). It is however a very different thing to assert—as a reason for not reading the writing—that the mysterious hieroglyphics were visible to the king and Daniel alone; or that the Babylonian subjects of Belshazzar made a conspiracy with his enemies without, and hit upon the expedient of writing upon the wall; or that the whole was a mere phantasy of the king, and cleverly turned to account against the sacrilegious and boastful Babylonians. Such conjectures may be safely left to refute themselves. The Talmudical explanation, given in Cahen's Bible, is of a different kind, and is both ingenious and quaint. It is as follows: The writing appeared thus—

ממתום
נ נ קפי
אא לרן

The wise men of Babylon read each line separately and could not understand it; but Daniel read the lines from top to bottom. Hence the first line was מנא; the second, the same; the third, תקל; and by combining the fourth and fifth, the word ופרסין was formed. This, however ingenious, was not likely to be the case. If the writing were cuneiform, it would be read from left to right, not in any other way.

[1] Cp. Oppert, 'Gr. Assyr.' p. 40; Sayce, ditto p. 138.

The form פַּרְסִין is now generally preferred to פְּרֻסִין, and the signification of intensity applied to the plural; *i.e.* "fully broken into pieces[2]."

Excursus on Belshazzar and Darius the Mede.

Belshazzar.

Belshazzar has been identified with Evil-Merodach by Niebuhr, Wolff, Westcott, Zündel, Kranichfeld, Zöckler, and Keil[3]. Evil-Merodach was the "son" and immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar: and the first is the title given to Belshazzar in the Books of Daniel (v. 2, 11, 18, 22), and Baruch (i. 11, 12).

But the objections[4] to this identification are pertinent and convincing. Evil-Merodach was the name by which the Jews already knew the son of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31), and there is no just reason why a work written by a Jew should designate him by a new and unfamiliar title. From verses 10—12 of this chapter, it seems certain that Belshazzar was not acquainted with the person, perhaps not with the fame, of Daniel; and yet he is not ignorant of the terrible mental alienation of his father, or of the great events of that reign with which the prophet had been so closely connected. This combination of ignorance and familiarity would be impossible in the case of Evil-Merodach,—the immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar. Further, it is difficult to understand how Daniel could have declared to Evil-Merodach that his kingdom was about to pass

[2] See Ewald in loco, and Geiger, 'Eine aramäische Inschrift auf einem babylonisch-assyrischen Gewichte' in 'Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.' XXI. p. 467.

[3] *e.g.* Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Assurs,' p. 91 sq.; Wolff, 'Stud. u. Krit.' p. 684, 1858; Zündel, p. 26 sq.; Westcott (Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.'), Art. *Darius* (the Mede); Zöckler, p. 32; Keil, p. 146. The identification of Evil-Merodach with the Illoarudamus of the Astronomical canon is not disputed. (Rawl. 'Herod.' I. Essay, VIII. p. 517, note 6; Niebuhr, op. cit. p. 42.) The names of the kings of this period may be tabulated as follows:

Ptolemy's Canon.	N.E.	Years of reign.	*Berosus.*	Years of reign.	*Scripture.*	B.C.
Nabokolassar,	144	43	Nabuchodonosor,	43	Nebuchadnezzar,	604
Illoarudamus,	187	2	Evil-marudach,	2	Evil-Merodach,	561
Nerikasolassar,	189	4	Neriglissor,	4		559
			(Laborosoarchod),	9 m.	(Belshazzar),	
Nabonadius,	193	17	Nabonned,	17	(Darius the Mede),	555
Cyrus.	210	9	Cyrus.	9	Cyrus.	538

[4] Quatremère ('Mél. Hist.'), 'Mémoire sur Darius le Mède et Balthasar,' p. 384.

away to the Medes and Persians. That prince was not slain by a foreigner, but by his own brother-in-law, the Chaldæan Neriglissar.

Again, Belshazzar has been identified with Nabonadius[1]. This has been the more general opinion of the two. It was that of St Jerome, and is that adopted by Ewald, Winer, Herzfeld, Browne, Martin, Auberlen, and others[2]. It is founded chiefly upon the statements of Herodotus and Xenophon[3]. But their narratives, though agreeing with Scripture in some points, differ from it in many and important particulars. And it is perfectly impossible to reconcile them with the statements of Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus. The objections to this identification are, in fact, too numerous to be lightly set aside. The Babylonian historians unanimously exclude Nabonadius from any birth-relationship with the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar. He was simply a native of Babylon, possibly of noble family[4], who had raised himself to the position he occupied in the household of Neriglissar. Again, the characters of Belshazzar and Nabonadius are very dissimilar. It seems hardly probable that the man, selected for the vacant throne by the conspirators against Laborosoarchod, should have closed a soldier's reign of seventeen years in the midst of orgies and debauchery such as Daniel describes. Nabonadius was a prince who had at heart the welfare of his country and his city; witness the massive works and stupendous wall forming the frontage of Babylon towards the river[5]. Further, the Chaldæan historians assert the death of Nabonadius to have been very different from that of the Belshazzar of Daniel. When Nabonadius found resistance in the battle-field useless, he retreated to Babylon, and, far from perishing at its capture, escaped to Borsippa. After an honourable capitulation, he was sent from thence to Carmania, where he died. Evidently this bears no resemblance to the statement of Daniel, that "that same night was Belshazzar slain." The identification seems to be in fact impossible: it leaves the difficulties connected with the whole question altogether unsolved.

The truth appears to be that no identification can be made, and that none is required. Belshazzar is the name given by Daniel to the last king of Babylon; Nabonadius, that by the historians best entitled to attention. The difference of name forms, of itself, no barrier to their being both borne by one and the same king; but there is so essentially different an account attached by Scripture to the name of Belshazzar, and by native historians to that of Nabonadius, that the identification of the two can only be admitted on the failure of every other method of explanation. Such explanation has been offered, and there seems no reason for questioning the broad historical outlines, facts, and illustrations upon which it rests. Two modes, ingenious, satisfactory, and supported by names of the highest distinction, have now been before critics for some years. The one emanates from M. Quatremère, the other from Sir H. Rawlinson. The former was published and defended many years ago[6], before cuneiform discovery had attained its present growth; and though acquainted with the results of such discovery as far as his own life extended, the French scholar did not withdraw his published views upon Belshazzar.

Holy Scripture, says M. Quatremère[7], distinctly declares that Nebuchadnezzar was to be succeeded by his son and his son's son (Jer. xxvii. 7). Profane history no less distinctly asserts that Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon according to its testimony, was not a member of the royal family. Now Nabonadius, though ambitious, was evidently a very skilful acute man: keenly alive to his own interests, yet perfectly sensible of his perilous position. He was an usurper, and exposed at any moment to an usurper's fate. There seemed to him one, and that a no unusual means of consolidating his power; and he adopted that means. He associated with himself a scion of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. This was Belshazzar, the son of Evil-Merodach. By this step Nabonadius secured for the throne

[1] There are two distinct forms of this name; that of the classical writers, and that of the inscriptions. The former write it Nabonidus, Nabonadius, Nabonnedus, Labynetus (Herod.), Nabannidochus (Abydenus), Naboandelus (Joseph. 'Antiq.' x. §§ 11, 2). The latter write it Nabu-nit, Nabu-nahit (Rawl.), Nabi'hu-na'hid (Hincks), the Persic and Scythic forms, and Nabu-imduk (Rawl.), Nabou-imtouk (Hincks), the Accadian or Babylonian form. The meaning of the name appears to be "Nebo blesses," or "makes prosperous" (Rawl.), or "Nebo is glorious." (Vid. Rawl. works quoted ll. cc. Hincks, 'Arioch and Belshazzar,' pp. 399—404, in 'Journ. Sacr. Lit.' Jan. 1862.)

[2] Ewald, 'Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.' IV. p. 85, n.; Winer, 'R. W. B.' s. v. *Belsazzar*; Herzfeld, 'Gesch.' I. 154 (1847); Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' 1714 Martin, 'Les Civil. prim.' p. 363.

[3] Herod. I. 191; Xenophon, 'Cyrop.' VII. 5, 15, &c.

[4] In the inscriptions Nabonadius only claims for his father the title of Rab-mag. This title is given in Jer. xxxix. 3 to a second Nergal-sharezer, to distinguish him from the prince of the same name. The Biblical form Rab-mag is written on the cylinders Rabu-emga, and probably means "chief-priest" (see Lenormant, in 'Journ. asiatique,' 1870, p. 340).

[5] Berosus (in Josephus, l. c.); Duncker, 'Gesch. d. Alterthums,' Vol. II. p. 503, Berl. 1855.

[6] In the 'Annales de Philosophie chrétienne,' 1838. It appeared, in substance, in Migne's 'Dict. de la Bible,' Vol. II. p. 30, note (1845).

[7] Mém. cit. p. 388 sq.

the respect naturally felt by the Babylonians toward the blood-royal. Whether he assumed from the first the title of King, or wished to have it thought that he was contented with the second place, cannot be determined. Supreme kings and vassal-kings, so contrary to the modern conception of monarchy, was a frequent combination among Eastern potentates[1]. On this hypothesis, the prophecy of Jeremiah is fulfilled:—and the title of "Son of Nebuchadnezzar," given to Belshazzar by the queen-mother, contains nothing strange. The child was not born at the death of his great ancestor; and the perilous times encompassing his early years, making it almost treason to speak of his branch of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, fully explain his non-acquaintance with Daniel. Belshazzar left to his martial colleague every form of public administration. Hence it was Nabonadius, not Belshazzar, who determined to try the fortunes of war with Cyrus, and went to meet him in open field. It was he who for eighteen months defended his city against the armies of the Medes and Persians; baffling the progress of the siege by his courage and talent; and it was he who escaped from that city when a masterly stratagem on the part of Cyrus convinced the valiant defender that further resistance was useless. Belshazzar in the meanwhile had given himself up to abandoned habits. The terror at first imparted to him by the sight of his enemies vanished. Day after day passed over, and the city was still safe. The walls of Babylon were impregnable, and the stores of his capital inexhaustible. He soon learned to forget his enemy, and only awoke to his danger when the "finger of God" proclaimed his doom. In that hour of careless security and reckless debauchery he met his death by the swords of those Medes he despised[2].

This hypothesis certainly explains the assertion of Herodotus, that Labynetus (Nabonadius) was the son of a prince of the same name and Nitocris. The historian gleaned his account of the destruction of the city at some distance from the scene of the actual events; and the name of Labynetus being furnished to him as that of the most famous and most glorious actor in those events, he applied to the warrior that title of king which properly speaking was confined to his effeminate colleague.

Further, the simultaneous reign of Nabonadius and Belshazzar is supported by the undesigned attestation of a few incidental words. Belshazzar, when he saw the mysterious words upon the wall, declared that the man who should read and interpret them should be clothed with scarlet, be decorated with a chain of gold, and be made the *third* ruler in the kingdom. But why was this the *third* place, and not the second? What was there to prevent Daniel receiving the dignity conferred upon Joseph? Simply this; that with Nabonadius and Belshazzar as joint-kings, or as supreme king and vassal-king, the third place was the most exalted position Daniel could take. To have named him second would have betrayed a sad want of accuracy. It is in fact due to Daniel alone that the name of Belshazzar has been known to the world for so many centuries; the prophet, as an eye-witness of the events of that day, has only to speak of Belshazzar, not of Nabonadius; and he recounts that scene only in which the former bore the prominent part. In this there is an exceedingly strong proof of the authenticity of the work which bears the prophet's name.

By Quatremère's hypothesis, then, this step is gained. The narratives of Daniel and the historians are proved not contradictory. They are complementary the one to the other. The sacred writer mentions that prince whose death was so evident an instance of divine punishment; the others, that prince whose name alone they counted illustrious and worthy of a place in the annals of their country. And this silence on their part will possibly explain the confused version of the history found in the pages of Herodotus. The annalists communicated to him a portion only of the life of the last native Chaldæan king of Babylon: they omitted all mention of his ignominious death. Moreover, the account of Xenophon is now seen to agree with that of Daniel. While no one claims for the 'Cyropædia' the dignity of history, yet it may be fairly conceded that historical facts form the basis of the narrative. Xenophon's romance, when stripped of its embellishments, may be assumed to contain a solid kernel of truth. And in the case of the capture of Babylon, the history of an event of world-wide interest would certainly be transmitted to and by him in a form containing the real facts, however much those facts were distorted and magnified by extraneous additions. Xenophon, when travelling in those distant countries, learnt from the lips of the descendants of the besiegers the facts he has introduced into his

[1] Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Assurs,' p. 93. The phantom-sovereign retained the name of prince, while the usurper, under the name of atabek or regent, retained absolute power. Thus the first Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, though permitted to assume the supreme authority, was compelled to associate with himself a young child of the family of Saladin. (Quatrem. p. 390.)

[2] It is a fact recorded by Arist., 'Pol.' III. 1. 12, that three days after Babylon was taken some of the inhabitants were still unaware of it. This illustrates both the vast size of Babylon and also the degree of security into which the inhabitants had fallen. Babylon included, as Arist. tersely expressed it, not a city but a nation. Comp. Duncker, op. cit. p. 506.

pages. When sifted of their chaff, the grain left behind is pure and true. The historian and the eye-witness are then agreed.

This view of the French Professor was put forth many years before Rawlinson's discovery. It will now be seen to correspond in many points with the facts established by later cuneiform research. Of itself it is especially interesting as exhibiting the result attained by a mind anxious only for the discovery of truth, and bringing profound familiarity with oriental usages and peculiarities to assist the clear intuition of a devout spirit.

In 1854, Sir H. Rawlinson deciphered certain clay cylinders containing memorials of Nabonadius[1]. From these it appears that the eldest son of Nabonadius was called Bil-shar-uzur, the identity of which name with Belshazzar is self-evident. He was the heir-apparent, and admitted to a share in the government, much in the same manner as Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar were connected[2]. This discovery proves what M. Quatremère had suspected, that no identification of Belshazzar with any of the kings in the historical lists is at all necessary. And it decides the relationship, left an open question by the French savant. As father and son, Nabonadius and Belshazzar are both real distinct beings, co-eval with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. And again, it tacitly supports the reconciliation of sacred and profane accounts, proposed by the French scholar, that the one, dissipated and abandoned, perished in the midnight debauch, while the other escaped to Borsippa. The cuneiform inscriptions have in fact established three things[3]. (1) That Nabonadius was king of Babylon at the time of the capture of the city. (2) That his eldest son was named Belshazzar. (3) That some impostors in the time of Darius Hystaspis, when heading the Babylonian revolts, styled themselves one after the other Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonadius. And this last fact is very important, for it leads by fair inference to two deductions: first, that Belshazzar the eldest son of Nabonadius died in so open and notorious a manner, that no impostor could pretend to be he: secondly, that Nabonadius, not being himself a member of the royal family, had married one of Nebuchadnezzar's daughters, and had called his younger son Nebuchadnezzar[4]. An usurper, for the reasons given by Quatremère, would probably seek to strengthen his position by marriage into the royal family, whether the wife he took was the widow of Neriglissar or some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Such marriages formed part of the state policy of the time[5]. If the narrative of Herodotus can be trusted here, the name of the mother of Belshazzar was Nitocris: and if she had been the widow of Neriglissar, Belshazzar was not more than sixteen years of age when Babylon was taken. Of itself, that early age was not too tender to permit the supposition that Belshazzar was actually king, as described by Daniel. Undoubtedly oriental usage does not make such a fact impossible[6]. There is nothing unusual in an Asiatic prince being surrounded by "princes, wives and concubines" at that early age. Still it is considered by some more natural to believe that Nitocris was not the widow of Neriglissar[7]. The stern laws of a conqueror might compel such an alliance; but, far from supporting the position of the usurper, her presence would have been a continual bar to his progress with the people. The citizens of Babylon would see in her, not the wife of the usurper, but the widow of Neriglissar and the mother of that son to whom Neriglissar had left his crown and whom Nabonadius had murdered. There is more probability in the belief that Nitocris was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, married to Nabonadius before the death of Neriglissar. At the death of that prince, his son was left to the guardianship of his more immediate attendants; and by his friends (ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, Berosus) that son was murdered. What more probable than that these included some of his relatives, and amongst them Nabonadius? The conspirator, ambitious and crafty, had already secured by his marriage the possible succession to the throne. And with an assumption of retributive motives, he expelled the usurping family of Neriglissar by murdering Laboro-

[1] These cylinders were taken from the corner of the Temple of the Moon. They are printed in fac-simile in Sir H. Rawlinson's 'Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' Vol. I. Pl. 68, Col. I. This cylinder is in the British Museum. Vid. 'Athenæum,' March, 1854; and 'Journ. Sacr. Lit.' p. 483 sq., 1855.

[2] Hincks reads it Binhlu-sar-yuzhur ('Journ. Sacr. Lit.' pp. 405—407, Jan. 1862). Bil or Binhlu = Bel (Jupiter); -sar = a king; -uzur, the same termination as in Nergal-shar-ezer (Jer. xxxix. 3), Nebuchadn-ezzar. It can only be inferred from the cylinders that Belshazzar was heir-apparent to the crown. Then comes in the later and additional information of Daniel, that the young prince was actually king, *i.e.* joint-king with his father. (Hincks, pp. 409, 417.) This identification is supported by Oppert, 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' VIII. p. 598; G. Smith, 'On the chronology of the reign of Sennacherib,' p. 15; Lenormant, 'Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East,' I. p. 489; and Schrader, 'Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.' p. 279.

[3] Hincks, p. 409.

[4] Rawl. 'Herod.' V. p. 525, n. 8.

[5] Rawl. 'B. L.' V. n. 41. Thus Amasis married a daughter of Psammetik III. (Wilkinson in Rawl. 'Herod.' II. 387); Atossa was married to Pseudo-Smerdis and Darius the son of Hystaspes successively (Herod. III. 68, 88).

[6] See introd. note to this chapter.

[7] Rawl. p. 488 (2nd ed.), addit. note.

soarchod, and brought in another branch of the royal family by that daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Nitocris) whom he had married. Belshazzar, the issue of this marriage, was therefore born some time before the accession of his father to the throne. And when that event took place, Nabonadius raised his son to the successive dignities of crown-prince and joint-king, as proved by the inscriptions and the indirect testimony of Daniel. His own position, he knew, would be materially strengthened by joining to himself that son whose blood was more royal than his own.

As will be perceived, the cuneiform cylinder corroborates the reason so happily suggested by Quatremère for the title given to Daniel by Belshazzar. Higher than "third" ruler the prophet could not be. And the title of "son of Nebuchadnezzar" given to Belshazzar by the queen is also satisfactorily explained. Son he was not in the strictest sense of the term, but grandson[1] he was, and in this way again the prophecy of Jeremiah was accomplished. By these means the difficulties connected with the name of Belshazzar are altogether removed. The narrative of Daniel is shewn to be independent and more purely personal than that of the historians; and yet it by no means contradicts them. The one wrote as an eye-witness, the others as they were informed. It was natural that the prophet should preserve facts more directly relating to that one of the two chief actors with whom he was brought into contact: it was to be expected that the Chaldee archives would record the name, not of the voluptuous, but of the more princely sovereign.

Thus it is that after more than 2000 years the name of the one, Belshazzar, known only through the pages of Daniel, is discovered upon contemporary monuments, and the name of the other, Nabonadius, is equally recovered. Does it seem extravagant to ask that the justice, so willingly granted to Berosus, should be accorded to Daniel? The correctness of the Chaldee historian is illustrated by these discoveries, and his authority proportionately increased. It surely is time that the same measure of fairness should be meted out to Daniel[2].

Darius the Mede.

The Scriptural description of this prince is brief but very distinct. He was the son of Ahasuerus, and of the seed of the Medes. He succeeded Belshazzar at the age of sixty-two years (v. 31, ix. 1, xi. 1). If, as is most natural, that succession was immediate, a Babylonian was replaced by a Median dynasty. And this fact is attested by Josephus ('Antiq.' x. § 11. 4) and Xenophon ('Cyrop.' i. § 5. 2). According to these historians Cyrus conquered Babylon for his father-in-law Cyaxares II., the son of Astyages, and did not come to the throne of Babylon as an independent prince till after his death. Josephus mentions that Darius was known to the Greeks by another name; and this, it has been concluded, was "Cyaxares," the name given to him by Xenophon. This identification is apparently supported by the indication in Daniel (v. 31, vi. 28), that first of all a Median and then a Persian dynasty succeeded the Babylonian. And it agrees with the age attributed to Darius by the prophet. From Xenophon it appears that he was an old man at the time of the capture of the city, too old to have an heir. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Cyrus, and with her Media as a dowry, he observed that he had no son born in marriage.

But, on the other hand, it is remarkable that Herodotus (i. 130), Ctesias, and Isaiah (xliv.—v.), know nothing of a *second* Cyaxares between Astyages and Cyrus[3]. In the tradition followed by Herodotus, who adds parenthetically that he was acquainted with two other versions of the story, the Persian tribes are represented as subject to the Medes, till Cyrus, a bold Achæmenian adventurer, threw off the yoke, and deposed the Median king Astyages, his grandfather on his mother's side. Astyages died childless, and with him ended the Median dynasty. Cyrus is, therefore, according to Herodotus, the sole and unassisted conqueror of Babylon, and the first

[1] The word "son" is used in Scripture in a very wide sense. Laban is called the "son of Nahor" (Gen. xxix. 5): in reality he was his grandson (xxviii. 2—5; comp. xxii. 20—23). Jehu is the "son of Nimshi" (1 K. xix. 16), and "the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi" (2 K. ix. 2, 14). In statements of a genealogical character the following forms might be multiplied indefinitely. "Shebuel (a contemporary of David) the son of Gershom, the son of Moses" (1 Chro. xxvi. 24). "Jesus Christ the son of David the son of Abraham" (Matt. i. 1). (Rawl. 'B. L.' n. 40, p. 443.) The "Merodach-Baladan" of Scripture (Isai. xxxix. 1), described as "son of Baladan," is entitled in the inscriptions "son of Yagina," Baladan being the name of an ancestor. And in the East, the term "son of" continues to denote connection generally either by descent or succession. (Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' i. p. 613.)

[2] Davidson, 'Introd. to O. T.' iii. 190, 191 (1863), classes under seven different heads his objections to the cuneiform deductions of Canon Rawlinson and Hincks. He objects that they "always proceed on the assumption of Daniel's unquestionable correctness." Since 1863, cuneiform discovery has both supported that correctness and the deductions.

[3] The succession of kings as given by Herodotus and the canon is, for the times in question,

Cyaxares reigned	40	years,
Astyages	35	.....
Cyrus	29	..... (Nieb. p. 66).

king of the Medo-Persian dynasty. An appeal in support of this view is generally made to the opening verse of the Apocryphal writing 'Bel and the Dragon:' "After the death of King Astyages, the kingdom came to Cyrus the Persian."

These contradictions, real or apparent, have tested the ingenuity and scholarship of critics as fully as the sister question concerning Belshazzar. The literature of the whole subject is so immense that, as before, those views which are now either entirely surrendered or but feebly supported must be passed over with a mere allusion. In addition to the identification with Cyaxares II., Darius the Mede has been supposed the same as Neriglissar, Darius son of Hystaspes, Nabonadius[1], Astyages, or some Median prince otherwise almost unknown to history. Of all these identifications, the first and the last two alone retain any hold upon modern opinion.

a. *The identification of Darius the Mede with Cyaxares II.*

This opinion is accepted by some of the first critics of the past and present day. After being combated and refuted with more or less success, it has been fully adopted by Vitringa, Dom Clement, Bertholdt, Gesenius, Winer, Keil, Hengstenberg, Rosenmüller, Hävernick, and Browne[2], under one form: and by Delitzsch, Schulze, Vaihinger, Auberlen, Zündel and Zöckler[3] under another. It rests mainly upon the narratives of Josephus, Xenophon, the Armenian Eusebius, and a few lines from the 'Persæ' of Æschylus. The difference of names is certainly no valid objection to this opinion: both "Darius" and "Cyaxares" are appellatives and titles of sovereignty. Darius corresponds to the Greek ἑρξείης, "co-ercer:" it was a name probably assumed by monarchs at the time of their accession to the throne[4]. Again, Cyaxares and Ahasuerus are identical. Scaliger[5] first noticed this. From the more simple form Xerxes arose the forms of Ar-xerxes, Kyar-xerxes, Cyaxares. In Hebrew characters the name was written אחשורוש, Akhasverosh (Ahasuerus), or without the prosthetic א, Khashverosh, Khshversh. The cuneiform discoveries of Champollion and Grotefend have confirmed this identification. The forms Khshvershe or Khshersh are found upon the inscriptions, and the resemblance to the Greek Ξερξ is at once self-evident. The appended letters and diacritical points lead in the one case to Cyaxares, in the other to Ahasuerus[6].

The Armenian chronicle of Eusebius supports the main fact of Josephus and Xenophon, that a Mede occupied the throne of Babylon before Cyrus, and appends to their account the name Darius, in itself an important addition. Eusebius is quoting a passage from Abydenus, relative to the capture of Nabonadius, and his translation to Carmania by Cyrus. And to this statement the Armenian chronicle adds a clause that Darius the king drove him out of the same region[7]. What Darius, it is asked, can this be, but Darius the Mede, that prince whom the Medes and Persians raised to the throne of Babylon with the consent of Cyrus their commander? And the fact thus vaguely noticed is said to be accordant with the oracular declaration placed in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar by Abydenus. The ally of Cyrus, said the king, shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians. The lines of Æschylus are in one sense valuable, because illustrating the current opinion of the well-informed Athenians of his age:

> Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ·
> ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε,
> φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν οἰακοστρόφουν·
> τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, κ.τ.λ.
>
> 'Persæ,' 771—773, ed. Blomf.

But there appear to be insuperable objections to that form at least of this identification which makes Cyaxares *son* of Astyages. The table of kings required to suit such identification must enumerate in chronological succession Cyaxares I., Astyages, Cyaxares II., and Cyrus. And this succession depends too entirely upon the narrative of Xenophon to be trustworthy[8]. In this particular point the

[1] Rawl. 'B. L.' p. 171, and notes. Quatremère disposes effectively of these three identifications, pp. 368—373, 399 sq. In England the latest advocate of the identification of Darius with Darius Hyst. is Mr Bosanquet. The arguments are drawn out in a series of papers in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' from Jan. 1856 and onwards; and in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' Vols. I. and II.

[2] 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 175.

[3] Schulze, 'Cyrus der Grosse' ('Stud. u. Krit.' 1853), p. 685 sq.; Zündel, p. 37; Vaihinger, Herzog 'R. E.' s. v. *Darius* (the Mede); Delitzsch, id. s. v. *Daniel;* Zöckler, p. 34.

[4] Vaihinger, l. c., adduces the instance of Darius Ochus.

[5] 'De Emend. Temporum,' VI. 587; Vitringa, 'Observ.' Vol. I. p. 103.

[6] Von Lengerke, p. 232; Nieb. 'Gesch. Ass.' p. 44; Browne, p. 175; 'Bible Commentary,' App. to Esther.

[7] This passage is given in Browne, l. c., and in Zündel, p. 29.

[8] Quatremère, p. 364; Nieb. p. 61. "Wenn man die Kyropädie als Geschichtsquelle benutzen will, so muss man auch aus Télémaque Heroengeschichte, aus Rasselas und Usong abyssinische und persische Geschichte schreiben, oder nach Thiers die Geschichte Bonaparte's. Die deutsche Geschichtsforschung wäre der unglückseligste Sisyphus, wenn ich hier die Beweise für die historische Werthlosigkeit der Kyropädie erst

light and pleasant historian appears to have taken the trouble to prove himself wrong[1]. In two passages of the 'Return of the 10,000,' he mentions that two cities, situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, were completely ruined when the Persians dispossessed the Medes of the empire of Asia. This happened but once, when Astyages succumbed to the victorious arms of Cyrus. Consequently, the 'Cyropædia,' when representing the empire of the East passing calmly and peaceably from Astyages to his son Cyaxares, and from Cyaxares to Cyrus, can only be reproducing a fictitious and romantic embellishment. Stronger still is the next objection to this identification. Daniel distinctly calls Darius the son of Ahasuerus; consequently he was not the son of Astyages. The names are too dissimilar[2] to be confounded by a contemporary and an eye-witness of the events narrated.

M. Quatremère founds a further objection to this identification upon grounds deduced from the moral aspect of those early times. Centuries have rolled by: revolutions have overthrown dynasty after dynasty: hosts of marauders have depopulated and left their tracks of blood upon the plains of Asia, but throughout every change one name has preserved its hateful reputation; and that name is Astyages. Under its Armenian form Adjiahak[3], or its Arabic form Dah-hak, it is the prototype of despotism and savage cruelty. The poets and chroniclers of the East have reserved for the "Biting Snake[4]" the same niche in the Temple of Blood that the West has assigned to the Emperor Nero. The pages of the Eastern writers illustrate the life of a tyrant such as Herodotus has painted. The stern facts stand out from the midst of their romance or poetry as beacons of history. The historian of the East points to the mythological Feridoun[5]; at one moment crushed and submissive under the iron heel of Dah-hak, at another welcomed in triumph as the deliverer of his country from a hated yoke. A cry of joy goes up from the whole land when the tyrant is banished to the caves of Demavend. And who is this Feridoun but Cyrus, victorious over Astyages, as Herodotus has described him? What is this narrative of expulsion, but the oriental dress of the subsequent act of Cyrus in sparing Astyages and removing him to the government of Hyrcania, as asserted by Ctesias?—If then the poetry and the testimony of the historians of the East tend to confirm the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias, how can that of Xenophon be admitted? What becomes of the gentleness he attributes to Astyages? What is to be said of his mythical son? What of many little romantic addenda of a similar character?

With reference also to the passage of Æschylus, it must be confessed that the words are hardly applicable to the supposed character of Cyaxares II. The language of the Greek poet is little applicable to a man of weakly mind and declining health. Of itself, it is far too indefinite to permit any certain application to any particular hero. So also with the passages in the Armenian chronicle of Eusebius. The translation given above of the appended words is perhaps the most favourable that can be advanced in support of the present opinion; but the passage from its brevity is confessedly obscure; and it cannot be said to be made less so by the subsequent admission that "Abydenus is a confused writer[6]." In the opinion of Quatremère, the reference there to Darius is not to Darius the Mede, but to Darius Hystaspis[7].

zusammenstellen müsste. Es ist genug Cicero's Worte (ad Q. fr. I. 1. 8) anzuführen: 'Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.'" Cp. Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 268.

[1] Quatremère, l. c.

[2] Id. p. 365. Browne allows that the identity of Astyages and Ahasuerus is doubtful (p. 175).

[3] In the 'Zend-Avesta' this name is read Ajidahak, the Zohak of the 'Shah-Nameh,' Ferdusi's great epic poem (Burnouf, 'Journ. Asiat.' p. 496 sq. (1844). Max Müller, in Bunsen's 'Outlines of Univ. Hist.' I. pp. 123, 124).

[4] This is Rawlinson's translation of the name. He considers it a title borne by all the old Scythic kings of the country, and adopted from them by the Median monarchs. The Armenian Moses of Chorene expressly identifies Astyages with that prince of the mythological traditions of Persia who received the name of Dah-hak and the surname of Biourasp (Quatr. p. 367; Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 280). Compare Ferdusi's description of Zohak: "Ce monstre a tête de serpent. Il ne pouvait enseigner que l'amour du mal, que la dévastation, le meurtre et l'incendie.....Il n'avait aucune vertu de roi, aucune loi, aucune foi." ('S. N.' ed. and transl. by Mohl, I. pp. 69—71. Par. 1836.)

[5] This—d'Anquétil's rendering of the Phredoun of Neriosengh's Sanscr. Vers. of the 'Zend-Av.'—is the Aryo-Persian Thraêtana, identified by Burnouf (op. cit. p. 497) with the Trita of the Vedas. Scheuchzer ('Ethnogr. Hist. d. Ass. u. Babels,' in 'Zeitschr. der D. M. G.' XVI. p. 488), finds a form of the name in the Tartan of Scripture (*e. g.* Isai. xx. 1). The different traditions concerning Feridoun and Zohak are collected by Görres, 'Das Heldenbuch d. Iran.' I. p. 16 sq., Berl. 1820; Duncker, 'Gesch. d. Alterth.' II. p. 446 sq.; and with special reference to the Zendic and Vedic accounts, by Roth, 'Zeitschr.' d. D. M. G.' II. p. 216 sq. Ferdusi's version of the history is given in Mohl, I. pp. 77 sq., 115 sq.; and, in a shorter form, in Atkinson's edition of the 'S. N.' Lond. 1832. (Orient. Transl. Fund.)

[6] Browne, 176.

[7] Op. cit. p. 382.

b. *The identification of Darius the Mede with Astyages.*

This is the opinion of Niebuhr, Westcott and Vaux[1]. As in the former view, Darius is the personal name of the king; so that the formula "Darius the Mede the son of Ahasuerus" is read, Astyages the Mede the son of Cyaxares I. To this there is no objection as regards the use of the names. The Greeks seem to have lost the name of Darius altogether. It is found upon the Persian monuments in the form Darayawush, and upon the Tataric as Tariyavaus; and traces of an earlier Darius than Darius Hystaspis are with justice discovered in a passage of the scholiast on Aristophanes[2]. If it is not found in Herodotus, its absence is no disproof of the real existence of princes so called. But if "Darius the Mede" was Astyages king of Media, his reign over Babylon could only have lasted *one* year; chronological facts demand his expulsion by Cyrus a year after the death of Evil-Merodach[3]. This limited reign is thought to be supported by the mention in Daniel of the first year only of Darius (ix. 1). Cyrus when he conquered Astyages deprived him of regal power, either permitting him to retain the title from his relationship to him[4], or removing him to Hyrcania (Ctesias). It has been usually supposed, adds Niebuhr, that Cyrus succeeded Darius at Babylon immediately, but this is not stated by Daniel in so many words. And of course to allow this would be fatal to his theory.

This view rests, with Niebuhr and Westcott, upon the identification of Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach. The grounds upon which it is supported by these writers are mainly conjectural: and they are now rendered unnecessary by the abandonment of that identification.

Vaux treats the question differently, not being fettered by the identification of Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach. It was the custom of Cyrus to treat the monarchs he vanquished with unusual magnanimity. There is therefore no *a priori* reason why Astyages may not have survived the loss of his kingdom, just as was the case with Crœsus and Nabonadius. It would, further, have been good policy in Cyrus to gratify his Median subjects by making a descendant of Cyaxares (Akhasverosh) viceroy of Babylon[5]. On this supposition Darius would, naturally, have reigned there during the two years B.C. 538—536, during which Cyrus was completing his conquest; and these two years would naturally have been included in the nine assigned to Cyrus in the Babylonian annals. Again, if this were so, we can easily understand that he would have been, more than Cyrus, in constant intercourse with the Jews of the Captivity, who would naturally give him the title of king, and reckon the year of his death, B.C. 536, which was that of their own restoration, as the *first* year of Cyrus.

The great objection to this is the age which must be assigned to Astyages, an age far greater than that given by Daniel. It cannot be said that the answer to this objection is satisfactory[6].

If then it be said that these explanations fail, the question naturally arises, What explanation can be offered? There is manliness as well as wisdom in the opinion of Quatremère and Rawlinson, that Darius the Mede is an historic character of whose existence no other record has as yet been found except that contained in Scripture.

Another theory expounded by M. Quatremère remains to be noticed[7]. A few years ago M. des Vignoles[8] advanced the opinion that Darius the Mede was a Median prince to whom Cyrus had given Babylon in reward for his services. But to reduce Darius to the rank of a satrap was felt to be inconsistent with the dignity accorded to him by Daniel. There can be no doubt that Darius was a king in the usual sense of the term. A satrap would not have possessed

[1] Niebuhr, 'Gesch. Ass.' pp. 91 sq.; Westcott, Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.' Art. *Darius* (the Mede); Vaux, 'Hist. of Persia,' p. 74.

[2] Niebuhr, p. 45. Vid. Suidas, s. v. Δαρειαῖος (ed. Gaisf. Vol. I. p. 867), οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν. The scholium referred to is that on Arist. 'Eccles.' 589. This was also the opinion of Harpocration, Vol. I. p. 45. Wesseling, 'Observatt.' Vol. II. ch. xxii. p. 177, is opposed to this opinion, but his arguments are not convincing to himself.

[3] These are supplied by Niebuhr himself, p. 92.

[4] Mandané the daughter of Astyages married Cambyses, and Cyrus was the issue of the marriage. (Herod. I. 107—110.)

[5] Thus in the Behistán inscription we find Frawartis, a Median, and Sitratachmes from Sagartia, claiming the throne as descendants of Cyaxares. "I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares." "I am king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares." 'Beh. Inscr.' Col. II. pp. 5, 14.

[6] "It is quite possible that he may have been ten years older than Daniel makes him ("about" 62 years), and Cyrus more than ten years younger when he defeated Astyages than his usually *assumed* age of 40. There is, indeed, no direct evidence of the age of Cyrus; Dinon, it is true, makes him 70 years old at his death, but Herodotus implies he was younger at his overthrow of the Medes than is generally supposed." Vaux, p. 76, n. 1.

[7] Quatrem. pp. 372 sq.

[8] 'Œuvres,' II. pp. 510 sq. It has since been adopted by Lenormant, 'Man. of the A. Hist. of the East,' I. p. 490.

the power of dividing the empire into 120 provinces (vi. 1); and the request made to Darius by the Chaldæans (vi. 8), while fully consonant to custom if Darius were king, is impossible if he were only an officer of state.

The primary fact upon which the historical question turns—the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus—is undisputed. But Cyrus was a liberator rather than a conqueror. He took up arms at the invitation of an irritated aristocracy; and assumed the character of the champion of liberty against a tyrannical despot. This policy divided the Median nation, and left to Astyages those only who were bound to him by personal and interested motives; and thus it was that in two battles the whole of Media surrendered to Cyrus. He was regarded as a deliverer, not as an invader; and the soldiers that would not fight for him refused to fight against him. With the defeat of Astyages commenced the real difficulties of his new position. Cyrus had proved himself a warrior, he had now to achieve a triumph as a diplomatist. He placed in the hands of the Medes, at least in appearance, the supreme conduct of national affairs[1]. His Persians adopted their costume. Diplomatic acts, decrees and ordinances, were couched in the peculiar formula, "the laws of the Medes and Persians," the place of honour being assigned to the former. And by the time of Esther the names had become inseparable. The formula was regarded as significant of the dominant power of the East. Greek and Latin writers adopted the terminology; and later still the expression "Iranian," analogous to Medo-Persian, established itself in the East in the reign of the Sassanides, and was adopted by the historians of Armenia[2]. This priority of rank was in fact to be expected, when the immense extent of the Median empire is considered in comparison with the little province of Persia, the hereditary kingdom of Cyrus. In any coalition formed between the two nations, the Mede would of necessity occupy the first place, though the Persian was actually the dominant and directing power. And this the prophets illustrate when alluding to that "spirit of the kings of the Medes" (Jer. li. 11; Isai. xiii. 17), which should be stirred against Babylon. The united army, though headed by the Persian hero, was designated by its larger and more comprehensive title.

With the conquest of Babylon arose a fresh difficulty. The Persian aspired to the throne of Asia, but the time was not yet ripe for the accomplishment of his wish. With a disinterestedness assumed or real he turned to the Medes and selected from them a prince fitted to be saluted as sovereign of this the mightiest conquest of their combined forces. It can easily be conceived that Cyrus decided the selection of a king; or, by a slight manipulation of those reins of government he in reality grasped, directed the popular vote as he himself wished. At any rate the suffrages of the electors were given in favour either of a prince of illustrious, perhaps of royal[3], origin, or of some veteran officer of high rank[4]. In either case he was advanced in years and perhaps childless. This king of Babylon was "Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus;" a prince whose name Daniel has preserved, and whose character—good, humane, though easily corrupted by superstitious flattery and still darker insinuations,—was precisely of that malleable description required by the king-maker Cyrus. Darius established himself in Babylon; and the warlike Persian again went forth on his career of victory, keeping himself before the world by a succession of conquests indicative of his own generalship, and flattering to the national vanity. After two years Darius died childless. Any further objection to the Persian origin[5] of Cyrus would have been impossible. Cyrus became the legitimate successor to the empire of the East, and counted the years of his reign from the time of his accession.

In what has been here advanced there is nothing to contradict the further assumption that Cyrus bore the title of king of Persia during the reign of Darius[6]. Each town of Babylonia had its "patesi" or viceroy[7] as each province of the great central government had its petty king. If he was endued with absolute power over his own subjects, he was yet bound to recognize the suzerainty of the supreme lord, to contribute to his coffers, and fight, if required, under his standard. The feudal tenures of the Middle Ages recur naturally to the memory as a Western adaptation of the Eastern practice; and in Persia such kings as the kings of Atropatenè, Bactria and Elymais, acknowledged without dispute the supremacy of their liege lord the Suzerain of Asia.

That such was actually the case in the days of Darius and Cyrus is perhaps supported

[1] Cp. Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. 268, 289.

[2] Quatrem. p. 375. He refers for proof of this to a Mémoire read before l'Académie des Belles-lettres.

[3] "Rien n'empêcherait de croire que Darius fut, en effet, non pas le fils du roi Astyage, car il est appelé par Daniel fils d'Assuérus, mais neveu d'Astyage." Quatrem. p. 371. He does not himself adopt this suggestion.

[4] See note to v. 31.

[5] It was contrary to Median custom that an heir to the throne through the female line should succeed while a descendant through the male branch could be found (Spiegel, 'Erân,' p. 56). If Darius the Mede was connected with the royal family of Astyages by the male branch, he would necessarily be preferred before Cyrus.

[6] Quatrem. p. 378.

[7] See note to vi. 1.

by a few casual words in Daniel. "Darius took the kingdom," says the prophet (v. 31 קבל מלכותא); and the word in the original, פ, supports the opinion that he received it from another[1]. The use of the word in vii. 18 is the best illustration of it here. There the Saints of the Most High take the kingdom either through the power of God, or directly from His hands (ויקבלון מ); it was by no act of their own. So Darius received his throne from Cyrus, the real holder of the gift. Again in ix. 1 Darius is described as "made king (המלך) over the realm of the Chaldæans;" and the somewhat parallel usage of the causative conjugation in 1 K. i. 43 would seem to refer the act of king-making to the agency of another in both cases.

Naturally the great objection to this view of Darius the Mede is the silence of the historians. But this objection is very much removed by a recollection of Eastern practices[2].

It appears certain that Darius was king only in name. All the real power belonged to Cyrus. Herodotus in all probability never went as far as Babylon, but gathered from the Persians the facts he relates[3]. He would not hear from them the name of "Darius the Mede." Neither Chaldæan nor Persian would hesitate to exaggerate or suppress facts as they affected their distinctive nationalities. Xenophon most probably did come into contact with facts of a more authentic character. In the course of his journey along the Tigris he must have met with many Medes capable of giving to him historical information. But, for some unexplained reason, his acquisitions proved worse than useless. He has substituted for Darius the Mede a Cyaxares unknown to history; and he has woven around that king nothing more substantial than the web of a light and interesting romance.

But is it quite so certain that Darius the Mede is unknown to the ancient writers? The scholium to Aristophanes clearly contains a notice of no small value[4]. The Darics, the current coin of the Persian empire, did not derive their name from Darius Hystaspis, but from a prince of the same name of more ancient date. Was this Darius the Mede? So thought Quatremère[5]; so think Niebuhr and Westcott. And it would seem a very probable supposition that Cyrus had his coinage for his particular states. The master of the empire, the lord of all Asia, was not likely to content himself with that of the states he had subdued. May it not be presumed that, after his conquest of Babylon, he employed one of the most speedy means of familiarising the inhabitants of the East with the new dynasty, by an issue of money figured, in deference to Darius, with the effigy of that prince, and bearing his name and superscription? In course of time the original identification of the Daric was forgotten. The name of Darius the Mede was little known in his own neighbourhood, and still less in foreign parts, and the Daric was attributed to the more famous Darius Hystaspis, a prince whose exploits shed a lustre of glory upon the Persian arms.

Cuneiform inscriptions have solved the difficulty about Belshazzar. Their confirmation is all that is still required to transform into fact the view of M. Quatremère upon Darius the Mede, or one founded upon his principles of interpretation. Let it be but remembered that the prophet Daniel was not writing a chronicle of his times;—that he passes from the reign of one king to another without mentioning intermediate events;—and that of those reigns he selects only facts here and there;—and there will no longer be an outcry against this or that omission. A juster spirit will refuse to brand with fraud a writer who makes no claim to the consecutiveness and precision of a professed historian. Had this chapter proceeded from a Maccabæan forger, he would not have left its concluding verses in their present terse and condensed form. Posterity would have received the record with every obscure allusion removed, every blank filled up, even if the aim of the romancer had been of an essentially parabolic character.

[1] Auberlen, 'Der Prophet Daniel,' p. 218 (2te Aufl.); Rawl. 'B. L.' n. 46, p. 445. Bleek's objections to this are not convincing ('Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie,' Vol. v. p. 65, n. 1, 1860).

[2] It is worthy also of notice that the whole Achæmenian period, replete with its heroes and glorious events, passed so completely out of the thoughts of the Persian people, that not one name remained to them. The very name of the great Darius (Hystaspis) came back to the Persians through the Greek traditions concerning Alexander (Spiegel, 'Erân,' p. 88). Can it be a matter of wonder that the short reign of Darius the Mede should have perished in this general oblivion?

[3] This was also the opinion of Des Vignoles. Quatrem. p. 379.

[4] See note 2, p. 312.

[5] p. 381.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Daniel is made chief of the presidents.* 4 *They conspiring against him obtain an idolatrous decree.* 10 *Daniel, accused of the breach thereof, is cast into the lions' den.* 18 *Daniel is saved.* 24 *His adversaries devoured,* 25 *and God magnified by a decree.*

IT pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom;

2 And over these three presidents; of whom Daniel *was* first: that the

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CHAP. VI. 1. *It pleased Darius*, &c.] Or, as in iv. 2, "thought it good," a kind of official formula introductory of a decree or inscription.

What is novel in this arrangement of the kingdom by Darius is not the number of princes but the office of the three presidents (Ewald). The number 120, though large, is magnified by the LXX. into 127 (perhaps suggested by Esther i. 1), and by Josephus ('Ant.' x. 13) into 360 (evidently with the intention of approximating the number of princes to the number of the days of the Persian year, minus the intercalary days). According to Herodotus (III. 89) and the Behistán rock inscription, Darius Hystaspis divided his empire into different governments the number of which varied at different times, but was never less than 20 (see note to Esther i. 1; Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 418, n. 3). The division favoured by the great Darius does not exclude nor render fictitious the earlier independent division employed in the reign of "the Mede." As time went on, and the Persian system of centralization proved itself the more advisable, the larger number of divisions and subdivisions was merged into a smaller. A change took place similar to that which in modern times has been adopted in Germany.

A decimal scale seems to have prevailed in the appointments held directly from the crown; and if there were in the army which captured Babylon six ranks of officers exclusive of the commander-in-chief, the suggestions of policy and favouritism would apportion equally the conquered province ("every dominion of my kingdom," *v.* 26) among 120 "Mede and Persian" princes and sub-princes.

The word translated "princes" is by most of the versions rendered "satraps" (see iii. 2, and add. Note), but if the term "satraps" be retained, it must not be taken in the far wider sense in which it was afterwards used. These "princes" were in reality only governors of petty districts (Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 429), and resembled the "patesi" so common as viceroys or governors of the kings in early Babylonian records (cp. G. Smith, 'Early Hist. of Babylonia,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 31). Their duties — both civil and military—consisted, broadly speaking, in the supervision of the whole kingdom. Through their hands passed the revenue. The assessment of taxation and tribute, the administration of justice, the overawing of the fractious and rebellious cities, occupied the great officers and their subordinates. There was no effort made to reduce the country governed to one stereotyped form political or religious; local laws and local customs were allowed to continue undisturbed, save on occasions like to those of which this chapter and the book of Esther present instances.

At the head of these "princes" in the time of Darius the Mede were "three presidents." The selection of this number may have been suggested by the analogy of the ancient division of the whole Iranian community into three classes (see add. N. *v.* 2), or by the "third ruler"-ship to which Daniel had just been appointed (v. 29): such a proceeding would have judiciously combined the ratification of a recent Babylonian appointment and the preservation—in the person of three high officers under fealty to himself—of a distinctly Babylonian division of power. But however that may have been, this act of "Darius the Mede" may be claimed as the germ or first instance of the practice afterwards—under the great Darius—raised into the rule: viz. the establishment in every province of three principal officers who, owing their appointment to the crown, were responsible only to it (see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 424). These, the king's "eyes" and "ears," kept him informed of all that went on: the "princes gave accounts," *i.e.* not only in the narrower and pecuniary sense of the word, but also—as expressed better by the more general λόγον (Theod.) or "rationem" (Vulg.)—"decrees" (see iii. 29): these together with matters of every kind were submitted to them as "presidents." The kingdom by this kind of check "suffered no damage" (cp. Ezra iv. 13, 15, and Esther vii. 4).

These "presidents" bore the title of "Sar-(e)kin," a title new to Scripture, and which is probably of Assyrian derivation (see ch. i. add. Note, 'Exc. on Pers. words'). Of these presidents Daniel was—not "first" (as A.V.) but—one (so all versions and commentators). If his office among the three may be at all conjectured, it was probably not that connected with political or religious or military matters, but with the more purely civil and financial business of the secretariat (see *v.* 7).

princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage.

3 Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit *was* in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm.

4 ¶ Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he *was* faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

5 Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find *it* against him concerning the law of his God.

6 Then these presidents and princes [1] assembled together to the king, and

[1] Or, *came tumultuously.*

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3. *this Daniel was preferred*, &c.] *i.e.* "This (emphat.) Daniel signalized himself (as a light shining before men: see the root). He made himself famous, and so 'was preferred.'" His conduct in office—perhaps the most difficult position ever filled by a courtier—was marked by that same "excellent spirit" which had attracted the notice of Nebuchadnezzar and had not been forgotten by the queen-mother of Belshazzar's time (see v. 12).

4. *sought to find occasion*, &c.] Daniel, says the LXX., "was clad in purple;" he was great and highly honoured by the king. This honour was natural. Daniel's age—he was not much less than 90—and abilities only received the respect due to them. But his colleagues were young—younger than himself—and corrupt: and the favour with which he was regarded excited a jealousy which reached its climax when the king's purpose to "set him over the whole realm" became evident. "Occasion" (which the *turn* of circumstances should afford) was sought by the "presidents and princes," after a plan perhaps suggested, as the LXX. narrates the course of the conspiracy, by the "two young men," Daniel's coadjutors in power.

No "occasion," no "error" (such as might be due to *wavering* or *stumbling*), no "fault" (indicative of *corruption* in Daniel and pregnant with "damage," *v.* 2, or *ruin* to the kingdom) was to be found in him in his political and official life. "Faithfulness" was then and ever will be "required" in the "stewards" (1 Cor. iv. 2) or officers of a kingdom. It is their first political virtue, as "righteousness" and "mercy" are the first of royal virtues (iv. 27).

The enemies of Daniel had either seen him at his devotions, or heard of his "prayer and supplication with fasting and sackcloth and ashes" (ix. 3). They knew probably nothing of Daniel's reasons for so doing (ix. 2, 17); but they saw in his practice their wished-for opportunity. They therefore attacked him through his religious convictions. "We shall find 'occasion' against him concerning the law (Thorah) of his God if we can obtain from the king a decree which will make him transgress that law: he will not obey the king's command; and that will be our 'occasion'" (Rashi).

The word rendered "law" (of God) is the same as the "decree" of ii. 9 (cp. Ezra vii. 6, 14, 21), and expresses the Babylonian conception of the highest established power.

6. *assembled together*] The marginal reading "came tumultuously" (Luther and Vulg.) expresses correctly the character of the "assembly" here and in verses 11 and 15. It would seem that, in their haste, these men ignored the strict and exclusive etiquette which fenced in the person of the king (see Rawl. 'A. M.' II. 318). Perhaps they remembered him, at the time, as an old companion in arms (see v. 31), not as one raised above them; and they "rushed" into his presence much as they presently invaded the privacy of Daniel's own chamber (*v.* 11).

The whole of the after events in this chapter are, by the LXX., considered due to the action of the "two men" above mentioned (*v.* 4), just as—when the day of punishment came—they and their wives, &c., are they upon whom alone the royal vengeance fell. But according to the present Chaldee text and the other versions, the conspiracy—if it began at the instigation of Daniel's co-presidents—had become general. All the prominent court-officers—the "presidents" (not only Daniel's colleagues but all the "governors," &c.; the term "president" being here used like "minister" to include those "not in the cabinet:" on the names see add. Note to iii. 2)—had united and "consulted together." The officers immediately in attendance on the king—if they included "peace"-officials with duties similar to those common in the time of the great Darius, the parasol-bearer, the fan-bearer, &c.—were probably not included. The designations point to military and civil rank rather than to appointments in the household; and the officers named are probably those "ministers" (as we call them) whose advice, experience and authority, would be recognized at once by the king of the hardly-established empire (cp. the "counsellors" of Ezra vii. 14, a form of the same word as they who had "consulted" together used here).

said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever.

7 All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellers, and the captains, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm ‖ decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.

‖ Or, *interdict.*

8 Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the [a] law of the Medes and Persians, which † altereth not.

[a] Esther 2. 1. & 8. 8.

† Chald. *passeth not.*

9 Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the decree.

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7. *to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree*] This might be translated according to the accentuation: "that the king should establish a statute," &c., or "to establish a statute, O king," &c. The "statute" (lit. the established thing) and the "decree" (the *binding* thing) are not pleonastic, but in strict parallelism.

for thirty days] *i.e.* in round numbers, a month: three times the "ten days" of i. 12 (see note); a mode of expression natural enough among a people fond of decimal notation, and accustomed to that archaic representation in which the numeral 30 is placed within the circle of the sun to express the 30 days of the month.

7—9. The insight into Median customs given here and throughout the chapter is valuable as well as interesting.

(*a*) The king lived a comparatively secluded life, conducting business by writing ("statute and decree"), stamping it with his seal, and thereby rendering his edicts practically irreversible. Very rarely did he leave his palace. If he did, it would perhaps be to indulge in or witness the Median passion for the chase of lions, bears, &c. In his own country, the lion was rare; in Babylonia this animal was and is still common (Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' pp. 136, 271, 288); probably many were kept (as in Assyria, do. xxiv.) in dens in the parks or preserves attached to the royal palaces. A similar custom prevailed in Asia and Africa (Ewald).

(*b*) It was to one of the dens of these wild animals that the unhappy transgressor of the king's edict was on this occasion to be condemned. Such a punishment, however inhuman to us, may almost be considered humane in comparison with some of the usual modes of torture. According to the annals of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the followers of Saul-mugina, the rebellious king of Babylon (see on iii. 6), were thrown alive among stone lions and bulls, and their limbs cut off were eaten by dogs. It was "by these things that (I) Assurbanipal satisfied the heart of the great gods" (Smith's 'Hist. of Assurbanipal,' p. 166, and cp. other instances pp. 260—262, 281). In the case of Daniel, death would at any rate have been speedy (cp. *v.* 24).

(*c*) The cry "ad leones," so often raised in the days of the early Christian Church against those who would not sacrifice to the deified Cæsar, was first raised against the Jew who would not recognize the apotheosis of the Median king. The statements in this chapter of the Book of Daniel represent royal deification at a stage at which no forger could have conceived it. The sculptures of Persepolis, and the coronation scenes figured by Sir R. Ker Porter, have long made Englishmen familiar with Darius Hystaspis either as the direct representative of the great Zendic deity Ormazd, or—as his "servant"—the recipient of the mystic circle of time from the god. But long before the famous Persian wrote the history of his exploits on the rock of Behistán, Ormazd was—among the Persians—reverenced in the person of the reigning prince, who was himself considered ἔκγονος θεῶν. The 'Visparad,' or collection of prayers (B.C. 800—700), bids the worshipper invoke among others "Anahîta, the Angels, Mithra, *the ruler of the country*, and the Zarathastrôtema (or high priest)" (Haug, 'Essays,' &c., p. 173). It is known that the ceremonial of the Medes grew out of a combination of Assyro-Babylonian ideas and ancient Iranian customs. Once taught to pray for the welfare of the king, no feeling was shocked when the Mede was now required to elevate the monarch to a superhuman rank (cp. the case of Deioces, Herod. I. 199). Such an apotheosis was not idolatry. He, with his simpler notions, would find no difficulty in regarding the sovereign in the same exalted light as did his Persian ally; while his national pride would be flattered by his own countryman—Darius the Mede—being selected as the object of veneration.

But how would the Babylonian receive such an order? Scripture and modern research have furnished the answer. The worship of Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 14) was the worship of a deified prophet of ancient Babylonia. Babylonian kings from the remote days of Khammurabi ('Records of the Past,' I. 8) to the days of Nebuchadnezzar (Oppert, 'Inscriptions,' &c. p. 16) called themselves divine and god-born. In an inscription (stated to be as early as 2,000 B.C.) in the palace of Assurbanipal at Kouyunjik the king counts as his ancestor one Sugamunu; and

10 ¶ Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being
[b] 1 Kin. 8. 48. open in his chamber [b] toward Jerusa-
[c] Psal. 55. 17. lem, he kneeled upon his knees [c] three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

11 Then these men assembled, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God.

12 Then they came near, and spake

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this ancestor was afterwards worshipped by the Babylonians as a god. Amar-agu is the name of another king similarly deified. Izdubar, the hero of the "deluge" tablets, and identified by some with the Biblical Nimrod, received like honours, and a tablet with a prayer addressed to him has been discovered at Nineveh (G. Smith, 'Assyr. Discov.' pp. 305, 394, 395). Hero-worship and king-worship made no strange demands upon the most idolatrous of nations; and therefore the Babylonian when called upon to pay to the conqueror—Darius the Mede—the homage due to a god, readily acceded to the demand.

It was the Jew alone who resented such a demand; and before Darius knew the real purpose of his courtiers, he found that he had signed the death-warrant of his chief officer.

8. *sign the writing*] See v. 24, lit. "seal." Such stamping or sealing was considered "according to the law of the Medes and Persians" irrevocable (Esther iii. 10, viii. 8); it was the signature of one deified (see preceding paragraph *c*).

10. *his windows being open*, &c.] Daniel had no god-image, no man—hero or king, before whom, like his fellow-courtiers, he was used to worship. On the roof of his house there was a "chamber" [lit. an "upper chamber," the ὑπερῷον (here and in Acts i. 13) which the custom of his fathers (cp. 2 S. xviii. 33, A.V.; 1 K. xvii. 19, and see note) had suggested; Luther, characteristically, "Sommerhaus"], with "windows open" (*i.e.* with windows whose cross-bars or lattices could be shut or opened at pleasure, in contradistinction to the "narrow," Ezek. xl. 16, or closed and immovable bars) "towards Jerusalem." It looked in the direction of that temple which attracted towards itself the religious enthusiasm and the patriotic feelings of every Jew who had received from his ancestors the account of its dedication to the God of Israel (cp. 1 K. viii. 33, &c.; 2 Chro. vi. 29, &c.; Ps. v. 8).

Perhaps this is the first recorded instance of a habit still preserved among the Jews, and which, under various forms originating in one and the same mode of expressing veneration (Tylor, 'Prim. Culture,' II. p. 422), has led the Christian to the question of due orientation as regards chancel and worshipper, and the Mohammedan to his reverence for the shrine of Mecca.

he kneeled...three times...and prayed, and gave thanks] In that "upper chamber" as in Apostolic days (Acts i. 13, x. 9) the servant of God knelt (for the posture, cp. 1 K. viii. 54; 2 Chro. vi. 13; Ezra ix. 5), "regis jussa contemnens et in Deo habens fiduciam" (Jerome). The language of this verse would seem to intimate that Daniel did not neglect ordinary measures of prudence. He did not pray "upon the house top," but he "went into his house," into his chamber. That chamber was probably open to the sky. There was nothing between him and the God of heaven to Whom he prayed. The modern traveller, who has looked up from earth to heaven when standing under the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, will best understand the sense of trustfulness, if also of awe, which possesses the spirit at such a moment.

three times a day] "At evening and morning and at noon" (Ps. lv. 17), *i.e.* at the ninth hour or the hour of the evening sacrifice, at the third hour or the hour of morning sacrifice, and at the sixth hour or noon-day—times suggested by no servile imitation of Mazdean notions (see add. Note), but by the temple services (Rashi, Aben Ezra). Daniel "prayed" (lit. inclined the knee) and "gave thanks" (lit. "named" and so "celebrated with praises" his God) "as" (or—as some prefer—"because") "he did aforetime" (cp. ix. 21). In the present day these "hours of prayer" vary, with the Jews, according to the seasons. It is one of the duties of the rabbis to declare these changes.

11. *assembled, and found...praying*, &c.] The spy-system, and the encouragement to denouncing persons which such a system furnishes, was well organized among the Medo-Persians (Duncker, 'Gesch. d. Alterthums,' II. 648). The courtiers who were jealous of Daniel had, however, no necessity for employing it. It was not difficult to watch one whose windows were open; and after a lapse of time, sufficient (two days, Ewald) to have ocular and perhaps audible proof of the worship "three times a day," the watchers "assembled" (lit. "rushed tumultuously," see *v.* 6). They found Daniel "praying" (better—in order to repeat the words of *v.* 7—"asking a petition") "before his God."

The words used in *vv.* 10 and 11 are sufficiently distinct to invite notice. In *v.* 10, "prayer" (in the sense of worship generally) and "giving thanks" were the ordinary devo-

before the king concerning the king's decree; Hast thou not signed a decree, that every man that shall ask *a petition* of any God or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing *is* true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

13 Then answered they and said before the king, That Daniel, which *is* of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.

14 Then the king, when he heard *these* words, was sore displeased with himself, and set *his* heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him.

15 Then these men assembled unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians *is*, That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.

16 Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast *him* into the den of lions. *Now* the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.

17 And a stone was brought, and

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tional exercises of that well-regulated life. In *v.* 11, the prayer which Daniel was praying when seized was intercessional and full of "supplication" or "entreaty for mercy." Do the words of *v.* 10 reflect the mixed humility and happiness evoked by the thought of the speedy restoration of Israel? Does the language of *v.* 11 depict the sense of peril by which he felt himself to be surrounded?

12, 13. The expressions *The thing is true*, He *regardeth not thee*, are forms of expression apparently as stereotyped among the Medo-Persian courtiers as among the Babylonians (see iii. 8, 24). Daniel is described in the usual way (see ii. 25 and v. 13); a mode of description introductory or contemptuous according to circumstances and intonation. Here his official position is studiously ignored, his foreign origin (and all that that implied) carefully brought forward. The LXX. omits all notice of Daniel's extraction, and by its definition of him as "the friend" of the king indicates the strong personal affection between them, and the equally strong jealousy which that affection had excited.

14. *sore displeased with himself*] Most of the Rabb. authorities paraphrase the original of this expression "the evil was great in his eyes;" many modern commentators follow the lead of Theod. and render it "was very grieved" either "at the matter" or "for Daniel" (see *v.* 23). In any case, the "displeasure" is expressed by a word which implies also a strong feeling of "shame" for an act which would make the king "to stink" and bring him into bad repute.

set his heart (on the word see add. Note) *on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured*, &c.] The really strenuous efforts made by Darius are to be noticed here. Theod. has well caught the "wrestling" with self and immutable laws, and the "striving" implied in the "labour;" cp. his rendering ἀγωνιζόμενος (cp. Luke xiii. 24). But court etiquette required that a quasi-divine king should be infallible, unchangeable, and above the weakness of repentance (cp. Herod. IX. 109). That debate with self "till the sun went down" was a mark of unpardonable humanity. "These men assembled" (again, "came tumultuously," see *v.* 6), insisted that according to custom (cp. iii. 19, v. 29) punishment or reward should follow at once; and Darius —with a few words of touching, despairing hope (*e.g. shall deliver thee;* most moderns "may He deliver thee," to which the LXX. makes the curious addition—ἕως πρωὶ θάῤῥει) —handed over his servant to the executioners. It was an act which for weakness has been aptly compared (Zöckler) with the act of Herod to the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 9) and of Pilate to our Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. xxvii. 24); but it was also an act which must ever be measured by its connection with the cruel law which robbed this heathen king of the royal prerogative of mercy. The immutability of the laws of the Medes and Persians was in after days a fact or not as it suited the caprice of the monarch. Cambyses wished to marry his sister. The law forbad him. The jurisconsults of the day produced a law which permitted the king to do as he pleased; and Cambyses married his sister. Whether or not such facility of action was open to the Darius of the text is uncertain; he would seem to have had to submit to it in its early and sternest form; but if he had the power he certainly lacked the courage to enforce it, or to revive that Babylonian decree which might have saved Daniel (iii. 29).

laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

18 ¶ Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were [1]instruments of musick brought before him: and his sleep went from him.

19 Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.

20 And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: *and* the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?

21 Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.

22 My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in

[1] Or, *table*.

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17. *a stone was...laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed*, &c.] Questions about the supposed cistern-shape of this den, its narrowness, the impossibility of admitting light or air, are superfluous in the face of the fact that lions' dens existed and that offenders were thrown into them (see note to *vv.* 7—9, and add. Note on *v.* 16). The "seals" or signets of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia have become familiar to Englishmen through the researches of Mr Layard; and it is not without much interest as regards the present passage that among the devices most common to Persian and Babylonian alike, is that which represents the king slaying a lion with his sword or dagger (see Layard's 'Nin. and Bab.' pp. 171 sq., 343 sq.; Rawl.'s 'A. M.' III. 340 sq.). If such was the device now stamped upon the stone which barred one entrance to the den, what a comment it furnished upon the death to which Darius believed himself to have consigned his officer (note to *v.* 22).

The LXX. gives as the reason for the "double-sealing" that neither king nor courtier should rescue Daniel, the one seal being a check upon the other; and this is probably the correct explanation of the national custom. It was done "that the purpose (Theod. πρᾶγμα) might not be changed," *i.e.* that the decree should have full force.

18. *passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick*, &c.] The shame in his heart (*v.* 14) and his sorrow kept him from food and sleep: ἐκοιμήθη ἄδειπνος (Theod.).

The phrase "instruments of music" is disputed. The LXX. have omitted it altogether. The A.V. takes the rendering accepted by Aben Ezra and Benisch. The older versions, Theod., Syriac and Vulg., render it "food," with which Luther, Rashi, Kimchi and Zunz agree. Modern translators seem to prefer the meaning "concubines," with such variations as "dancing women," or "singing and playing women" (see add. N.). But whatever rendering be accepted, the intention of the verse is clear;—to describe the distracted state of the king: nothing could divert his thoughts from the prisoner in the lions' den.

19. *very early in the morning...in haste*] He rose literally "in the dawning, in the glimmer of morning"—τὸ πρωῒ ἐν τῷ φωτί, Theod., and went "in haste" (see ii. 25), full of an agitation and excitement akin to that which actuated Arioch. He took with him (says the LXX.) the "satraps."

20. *servant of the living God*] A noteworthy confession on the part of Darius. The phrase must probably be qualified by the still halting and imperfect conceptions of the Median theology (as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, see iv. 34); but it may nevertheless be accepted as a higher expression than that of *v.* 16, and won for him by the prayers and hopes of the past sleepless night. It cannot be too carefully remembered that the Median (and Persian) entertained far more spiritual notions of the Deity than the Assyrian and Babylonian. Haug's belief ('Essays,' 257) that the Medo-Persian conception of Ormazd was "perfectly identical with the notion of Elohim or Jehovah" requires qualification; but it is unquestionable that the Jews and Aryans soon recognized the fact that they were worshippers of one and the same great Being. Whether Sir H. Rawlinson's derivation of Ormazd—"the great giver of life," or Haug's—"the living creator of all," be preferred; it is easy to see that a king like Darius who honoured Ormazd under such titles as "good, holy, pure, the holy god, the holiest" (titles given to him in the 'Yaçna') would not consider himself using "strange" words when he used those in the text.

22. *God hath sent his angel*, &c.] This was Daniel's conviction (see xi. 1), as it was that of St Peter in the day of his deliverance from Herod (Acts xii. 11). The angelology of the Book of Daniel is discussed elsewhere (Excurs. to ch. viii.). Here it is sufficient to note how Darius' belief in the personal Sraosha or Serosh—Ormazd's messenger (or

me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.

23 Then was the king exceeding glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

24 ¶ And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast *them* into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

25 ¶ Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

26 I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he *is* the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be [d] destroyed, and his dominion *shall be even* unto the end.

[d] chap. 2. 44. & 4. 3. & 7. 14, 27. Luke 1. 33.

27 He delivereth and rescueth, and

"angel") and the "protector of the true faith"—would make such language perfectly intelligible to him: and when Daniel went on to assert that God "had shut the lions' mouths" he was rebuking his king in terms of respectful significance. The most common representatives of the evil powers in which the Medo-Persian believed were lions winged or unwinged. The walls of Persepolis and coins pictured the king—Ormazd's representative on earth—as the recognized opponent and destroyer of the lions and so of the evil which they symbolized. What king Darius had failed to do, what Ormazd—according to the Median creed—would have had Darius do, that "God's angel" had done, "because innocency" (Theod. εὐθύτης better than the LXX. δικαιοσύνη: the word lays stress on that "purity," "cleanness," or "straightforwardness" pleasing to God and—according to the Serosh Yasht or hymn in praise of Serosh, 'Yaçna,' LVII. 2—attributes of Ormazd's "angel," "the sincere," "the true," "the master of truth") "was found in him, and no hurt" (etymologically, faults due to *tortuous* perverse conduct, probably with distinct allusion to the uncorruptedness of his official life, cp. *vv.* 2, 3. The form of the word is different from that in *v.* 23, which is the same—as is also the expression—as in iii. 25).

23. *exceeding glad*] In the original the words are evidently intended to mark the contrast here with the "sore" (exceeding) displeasure of *v.* 15. The tears and the joy are alike marks of a character akin to that of the other Darius (Cyaxares) who wept with jealousy at the achievements of Cyrus.

24. *they brought those...which had accused*, &c.] On the phrase see iii. 8. This was not intended as a sacrifice to the insulted Ormazd. Human sacrifices among the Persians—if they ever became common—were certainly of a date posterior to the time of Darius Hystaspis and therefore later than the events recorded here (see Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 350, 359). The severity and cruelty of the recognized legal punishments—some of them too atrocious to be named (see do. 245—247)—and the absolute power which the king possessed over the lives, liberties, and property of his subjects, furnish ample explanation of a vengeance so savage. The leading informers against Daniel—perhaps only his co-"presidents" (LXX.); it is not necessary to include in "those men" the 120 princes, &c., nor was such wholesale extermination probable—were punished, in accordance with the national custom, as they had punished (see Ewald); and their "children and wives" were, by the same barbaric laws, involved in the punishment of their husbands and fathers (see the instance of Haman and his family, Esther ix. 13, 14).

25—27. The decree of Darius should be compared with those of Nebuchadnezzar in iii. 29 and iv. 1, &c. The points of resemblance are, as might be expected, chiefly verbal; and the points of difference those which are natural to the different circumstances and men.

(*a*) The same broad spirit of toleration is observable. Darius (like Nebuchadnezzar) does not substitute the worship of the God of Daniel for the national cultus. He bids his subjects "in every dominion" (lit. sultanate, iv. 34) "of his kingdom" accord to Him such reverence at least as they—especially the Babylonians—had been wont to pay to their great king Nebuchadnezzar ("tremble and fear," in v. 19 and vi. 26).

(*b*) Darius shews the same instinctive recognition of the great power of the God of Daniel which Nebuchadnezzar had shewn (cp. *v.* 27 and iv. 3), and gives to Him titles which find their parallels in the titles used by the king of Babylon (cp. *v.* 26 with iv. 34,

he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the † power of the lions.

† Heb. hand.

28 So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of [e] Cyrus the Persian.

[e] chap. i. 21.

37); but the conception of Darius is Median and therefore purer (see *v.* 20). There is a Mazdean colouring in the language and in the allusion to that event—the deliverance from the "power" (lit. hand) of the lions—which recalled to him his own duty as Ormazd's earthly representative.

28. *prospered*] The word intimates that Daniel was restored to rank and honour (cp. iii. 30 with ii. 49). The verse is a note of time probably added—whether by Daniel himself or not is immaterial—to close the historical section of the book and forming a natural conclusion to the events narrated in the chapter (cp. similar conclusions i. 21, iii. 30).

The reign of "Darius the Mede" was confessedly a short one (cp. the notices in v. 31 and ix. 1); he died in battle, says Rashi—a statement unsupported by the text or by other writers; it was followed by the reign, so pregnant with glory to his own name and so eventful in the history of God's chosen people, —of Cyrus the Great. That reign, so far as it is connected with Bible history, is discussed elsewhere.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. VI.

2. In the note it is suggested that the selection of the number "three" may have been suggested by the ancient division of the Iranian population. Such a division is of great antiquity. In the Gâthâs (B.C. 1200), the oldest books of the Zend-Avesta, the accredited names of the divisions are the "lord," the "yeoman," and the "bondman[1]." Spiegel[2] translates this passage differently from Haug. But he also gives instances[3] of that early division into three classes certainly found in the 'Visparad' (B.C. 800—700), "priests, warriors, and cultivators[4]." By the time of the 'Fravardin Yasht' (c. B.C. 450—350), Zoroaster centres in himself the attributes of the several classes. He is "the first priest, the first warrior, the first cultivator of the soil[5]."

8. לקימה קים. The phrase is illustrated by the following passage of the annals of Sardanapalus: "Sardanapalus the king, who his laws (*dananu:* cp. דת *vv.* 6, 9) and statutes (*kayamanu,* קים) hath enforced," &c. (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 551).

10. *three times a day*] It has been too frequently asserted that this practice was a reproduction of a Mazdean habit. This was not the case. The ancient Persians divided the 24 hours into four or five parts according to the season of the year. Corresponding to these parts were the *gâhs* or prayers said to the gods or angelic beings presiding over each division[6]. The first mention of worship (that of the god of fire) three times a day among the Parsees occurs in the Minôkhired, a work written after the revival of Magism by the Sassanidæ, and therefore long after the time of our Lord[7]. Under any circumstances it was one thing to worship the portions of the day, as the Parsees did; it was quite another to worship at certain specified times in the day, as was Daniel's practice. Very probably the frequency and regularity of the habit assigned to Daniel may be dated—as regards his countrymen generally—from the time of the Babylonian captivity: but the original of the practice is to be referred—as stated in the note under the text—to Ps. lv. 17. There is no necessity, critical or otherwise, to trace the practice to Egyptian sources; or to attribute this division of hours to Ezra and the Great Synagogue. There is no "exaggerated notion of the value of prayer betraying a later Judaism." Such hypercriticism may be safely dismissed with the remark: "these particularities are not valid arguments in favour of a very recent date[8]."

14. בל (שם), "set his heart." The usual word in Hebrew and Assyrian for "heart" is these consonants reversed, לב. Either therefore the copyist put down the word in the Assyrian mode of reading (from left to right), or the prophet reversed an Assyrian mode of thought. The Assyrians, by a natural transition used *lab* (לב) to express not only "heart," but "son" or "daughter" (with the usual determinative of male or female). The

[1] Haug, 'Essays on the sacred language, writings, and religion of the Parsees,' p. 145.

[2] 'Avesta,' II. p. 129, cp. p. 125, n. 7.

[3] II. p. v.; 'Yaçna,' XIV. 5; 'Vendidad,' XIV. 26.

[4] Haug, p. 174; Spiegel, II. p. 11.

[5] Haug, p. 191. On these dates see Haug, pp. 218—224, who is more decided than Spiegel, I. p. 13 seq.

[6] Gâtha Ustavaiti, 'Yaç.' LXIX. 8. Haug, pp. 151 and n., 199; Spiegel, 'Avesta,' II. p. xlix. seq., III. pp. xl,, 21 seq.

[7] Spiegel, 'Av.' III. p. li.; Pusey, 'Lectures,' &c. p. 557.

[8] Davidson, 'Introd.' &c. III. p. 179.

consonants of the usual Assyrian word for "son" (*ablu*, *abul*) are בל: from the idea of "son" the transition was made back to "heart" and the word בל retained in this latter sense, Levy gives no instance of it in later Chaldee.

16. *den of lions*] The original of the גֻּב or גֻּבָּא in the text is either the Assyrian *kubbu*, a vault, arch, or dome[1], or *gabi*[2]. In Sargon's cylinder *gabi* and *bubari* are joined together: *bubur*, *buhri*, *bahri* is the Hebrew בּוֹר, a pit, snare: and is the usual word for the snares or pits prepared for the wild game. The junction of the two words justifies the supposition that by *gabi* is intended something similar.

18. רַחְמִין. If the word may be traced to an Assyrian root, it finds perhaps a parallel in *duhdu*, "gladness," "rejoicing," though the Hebrew form חדוה is usually approximated to the Assyrian word. The right explanation of the word must be still considered undetermined.

[1] Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 518.
[2] Ib. I. 78.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Daniel's vision of four beasts.* 9 *Of God's kingdom.* 15 *The interpretation thereof.*

IN the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel †had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, *and* told the sum of the ‖ matters.

† Chald. *saw.*

‖ Or, *words.*

2 Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea.

CHAP. VII. Introductory Note. In point of chronology this chapter comes between chh. iv. and v. Years had elapsed between the death of Nebuchadnezzar and "the first year of Belshazzar:" years pregnant with those political convulsions which broke forth —so far as Babylonia was concerned—during the joint reign of Nabonadius and his son (see introd. note to ch. v.); years of silence and patient waiting on the part of the ageing prophet. Daniel, in the comparative obscurity and retirement which was probably his lot, had not been a politician, a courtier, a man, had he not been keenly alive to the stirring events around him; he had not been the God-fearing, prayerful, trustful Israelite, had he not seen in them the probable results which should bring in "the kingdom of the saints of the Most High" (vii. 18). The prophetic visions which commence with this chapter, reflect both this natural and spiritual colouring. Full of remembrances of the dreams recorded in chh. ii. and iv., they shew the marked impression those dreams had made upon him, both as a young and middle-aged man. If they are marked by a symbolism and imagery —more striking than that of Ezekiel—it is one which modern research (*e.g.* note to *v.* 2) has shewn to be probable, in accordance with the teaching and training of the "schools," and impossible to a writer unfamiliar with what is here described.

1. *In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon*, &c.] This is the reading followed by the Syriac, Vulgate, and modern versions. The LXX. reads ἔτους πρώτου βασιλεύοντος Βαλτάσαρ χώρας Βαβυλωνίας, perhaps a more exact statement (see ch. v. introd. note). Theodotion has the questionable support of the Arabic version for the reading B. βασιλέως Χαλδαίων, perhaps an attempt to define by a special title the unknown Belshazzar. The verse has been thought to be a historical addition, added at a very early date (*e.g.* it occurs in LXX.) by the unknown reviser of Daniel's MSS. The reference to "beasts" in viii. 4 leaves, however, no doubt as to the priority of the events of this chapter.

The expressions "had (lit. *saw*) a dream," "the visions of the head upon the bed," are the same as those which occur in iv. 5 (A. V.), ii. 28, &c.: the telling "the sum of the matters" (lit. "words") is a Scriptural—cp. Lev. v. 24 (Heb.); Ps. cxix. 160—and also a Babylonian form, and is rightly understood by the Rabbinical commentators to imply that a summary is given, and a summary only, of all that Daniel had to "tell" of the visions.

2. *the four winds...strove*, &c.] The very abruptness of the commencement of this verse is of itself an indication that with it the narrative of the vision began.

The "four winds of heaven striving (lit. *bursting forth*) upon the great sea" has—as a symbolical account intended to describe great and tumultuous confusion—received an interesting parallel in the lately discovered Chaldæan account of the Deluge. The original text of this account belonged to the Chaldæan and Sacerdotal school of Erech, and the existing copies belong to the time of Assurbanipal, or about 660 B.C. When Sisit had entered the ship, the account continues:—

"The raging of a storm in the morning arose from the horizon of heaven extending and wide. Vul (the god of the air and tempest) in the midst of it thundered, and Nebo (god of the planet Mercury) and Saru went in front; the throne-bearers (Lenormant, *Guzalu* = spirits of the demon-class) went over moun-

3 And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.
4 The first *was* like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was [1] lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.

[1] Or, *wherewith*

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tains and plains; the destroyer Nergal (god of the planet Mars) overturned; Ninip (? the Chaldæan-Assyrian Hercules) went in front and cast down; the spirits (*Anunaki* = secondary genii) carried destruction; in their glory they swept the earth; of Vul the flood reached to heaven" (G. Smith in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. pt. i. p. 221; and 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 188; Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.' II. p. 37, 38).

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Daniel, trained in the "learning of the Chaldeans" (i. 4), would be familiar with the ancient records of the people among whom his lot was cast. Those records brought under the notice of a devotional mind (vi. 10) would be compared with the writings (ix. 2) of his own people, and they would affect without injury the conceptions and "visions of his head upon his bed." So here: like Vul, Nebo, Nergal, and Ninip, the "four winds" ("angelicæ potestates," Jerome) burst forth like soldiers rushing to battle (Ezek. xxxii. 2) and with the like result (see also add. Note). A great tempest, a great fear, ensued from the meeting and clashing of north and south, east and west. That "great sea," thus disturbed, from which presently (*v.* 3) sprang "four beasts," was, in the explanation, "the earth" (*v.* 17)—imagery thoroughly in accordance with previous prophetic description (Isai. viii. 7, xvii. 12; Jer. xlvi. 7)—but having also a significance thoroughly Babylonian. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar the god Ilou (cp. the Hebrew *El*) was worshipped by that king under the name (among others) of the Being Who exists (*Auv Kinuv*). In the beginning the god was supposed to have sprung from the primordial "sea" (*Tamti*). In the course of time, *e.g.* in the days of Sargon II. king of Assyria, Beltis—the goddess whose name enters into the composition of Belteshazzar—came to be considered the feminine principle of nature, that humid matter, passive and fruitful, in whose bosom were generated gods and men. Beltis and Tamti were henceforth one—that "sea," that humidity from which all "came up" (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 106).

3. *four great beasts came up*] Another description, alike Scriptural and Babylonian. Isaiah and Ezekiel depict kingdoms and people under similar animal and monstrous forms (Isai. xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2). The walls of the palaces and of the apartments of Babylon, the amulets and signets of her nobles and princes, reproduce still to the modern discoverer types such as those which "troubled" Daniel's dreams. The symbolization of kings and kingdoms under the form of "beasts" was, in truth, a most ancient practice (Ewald); and in Egypt and Assyria the practice was prevalent. In his vision Daniel saw the four "come up" one after the other (*vv.* 6 and 7)—ascending out of the "great" cloud-covered "sea," and assuming proportion and distinctness. They were "different" in appearance and character—marked by distinctions as apparent as those political and national distinctions which appear in kings and nations of the N., S., E. and W.—This general statement is followed by a more particular description of each beast.

4. *The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings*] Mythic animals with the bodies and forefeet of lions, the head and hind legs those of an eagle or bird of prey, are drawn on the remarkable rock sculptures of Bavian, not far from Mosul; the deity with the lion's head and eagle's feet, side by side with the fish-god, flanks the portals of a deep doorway discovered at Kouyunjik; colossal winged lions formed the portal to the great hall in the north-west palace of Nimroud (Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' pp. 67, 73, 257). The imagery here and in the following verses is therefore naturally—if, in the process of the dream, phantastically—conceived, and such as was easily suggested by the pictured and sculptured emblems with which the prophet's daily life was familiar. But there was also a deep significance in the selection of "beasts" here described. Nebuchadnezzar was the "lion" (Jer. iv. 7, l. 17, 44, xlix. 19) for strength, and the "eagle" (Jer. xlix. 22; Ezek. xvii. 3, 12; Hab. i. 8; Lam. iv. 19) for swiftness, in prophetic description. The selection of the "lion," the king of beasts, and of the "eagle," the king of birds, was therefore peculiarly appropriate in the description of that kingdom which ranked as "golden" or chief among metals (ii. 32, 37, 38).

the wings thereof were plucked, &c.] Two different interpretations of the remainder of this verse are current. The preferable one is that commended by a general application here of the events recorded in iv. 28, &c. (A. V.). The might and swiftness of Nebuchadnezzar were checked by his illness—"the wings were plucked" (cp. Neh. xiii. 25; Ezra ix. 3); that illness ended, "it" (Nebuchadnezzar and so his kingdom) "was lifted up from the earth," to which, as a wingless bird, it had fallen (not "was taken away" altogether, a sense

5 And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and [1]it raised up itself on one side, and *it had* three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.

6 After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had

[1] Or, *it raised up one dominion.*

adopted by those who see in the words a description of the destruction of the Chaldee kingdom, but a sense excluded by the words which follow); it was "made to stand upon the feet as a man," and with "a man's heart;" the more animal nature (that of the lion and the eagle) was subdued and the powers—physical and intellectual—of a man were restored to the "lion"-king. He and his kingdom first learnt true greatness when the lesson was learnt "to honour the King of heaven, who is able to abase those" (whether kings or kingdoms) "who walk in pride" (iv. 37, A.V.).

5. *another beast...like to a bear*, &c.] Dr Pusey ('Daniel,' pp. 68, 69), after noting how very distinctly the intervals in the vision are marked by certain words (vii. 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13), observes that once only in the course of the vision is this mark of distinction absent, viz. here. Daniel saw this vision "in the first year of Belshazzar (*v.* 1)": after describing the Babylonian kingdom he proceeds, "And behold another beast," &c., as describing an event which was *immediately* to follow.

The bear, so common in Palestine (1 S. xvii. 34; 2 K. ii. 24) was—together with the lion, the leopard, the stag, and the wolf—one of the principal wild animals found in the old Babylonian empire. It is still found in the wooded parts of Mesopotamia.

What kingdom is alluded to? If ii. 32, 38 gives the clue, it was a kingdom "inferior" to the former; it was "the breast and arms of silver." The "bear" was an animal inferior in strength to the "lion," and known for its heavy ponderous movements in contrast to the eagle-swiftness of the king of beasts. The two arms which supported the one breast (kingdom) were thus the Medes and Persians who consolidated that one kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which in the history of the world's empires was "inferior" to the Babylonian. The explanation of the separate clauses of this verse is attended with much difficulty.

it raised up itself on one side] The Greek, Latin, and German versions give the same diacritic points to the word rendered, "it was lifted up" (*v.* 4), and (here) "it raised up itself:" and their retention of one idea in the two verses simplifies the explanation: but the more difficult reading—that of the A. V.—is preferred by the majority of the modern commentators. The word rendered "side" has had meanings assigned to it in accordance with the rendering of the verb coupled with it (cp. A.V. marg. "or, dominion"). Briefly, the idea is apparently this: the bear (a Medo-Persian kingdom) having two sides, the one side by which it raised itself into greater power (not—by which it tottered to its fall) is that which attracts greater notice.

it had three ribs in the mouth, &c.] This was its booty or prey (cp. Num. xi. 33; Zech. ix. 7; Jer. li. 44). Of the many interpretations which have been given, the most satisfactory are those which understand by these "three ribs" either a round number (see note to *v.* 7) or the chief conquests of Cyrus—Lydia (and the kingdoms of Asia Minor), Bactria (and the vast tract between the Caspian and the Indus), and Babylonia. These kingdoms were grasped with a grasp as tenacious as that with which the bear would hold its prey between its fangs. Yet were these not to be the only conquests of the Medo-Persian power: "Arise, devour," &c. was at once a charge and a prophecy which reached its climax in the mighty victories of the great Darius. He in his cruel greatness was like the ζῶον παμφάγον—the bear, whose nature Aristotle thus happily described.

"They" who "said thus unto" the beast are not described: the analogy of iv. 23 and 25 (A.V.) suggests the "watchers" and "holy ones" of heaven.

6. *I beheld...another, like a leopard*, &c.] Better—for the sake of uniformity—"I saw" (as in *v.* 2). Not so strong as the lion or the bear, the leopard was yet the type of crouching, swift, fierce, and powerful "beasts" (cp. Jer. v. 6; Hab. i. 8; Hos. xiii. 7). In the vision it assumed something of the fanciful yet hideous form still to be seen at the entrance to the small temple at Nimroud (Layard, p. 177). It had peculiarities which distinguished it from the other "beasts;"—"four wings of a fowl...and four heads:" four wings "upon the back" wherewith easily and freely to pass through the four quarters of the earth, and so possess them. "In the full sense of the word is this a world-kingdom" (Ewald). It was "that kingdom of brass which should bear rule over all the earth" (ii. 39). The "four heads"—like the four-headed creatures of Ezekiel's vision (i. 10)—looking towards the four quarters of the earth, symbolically asserted that that same universal rule was guided by human intelligence.

What was the kingdom here intended? Not the Persian—"the characteristic of whose wars was, after Cyrus, heaviness" (Pusey, p. 70: he quotes many passages to prove this)—but that kingdom, the Græco-Macedonian,

upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it *was* diverse from all the beasts that *were* before it; and it had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn *were* eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

9 ¶ I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment *was* white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne *was like*

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which, with the swiftness of a leopard, extended its power over those four mighty districts—Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Persia, or under such generals as Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, and Antigonus, ruled "over the whole earth."

7, 8. *I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast*, &c.] The same night, not another (Rashi)—a view which would necessitate a further vision on a third night (*v.* 13). The description here of the "fourth beast" should be compared with that of the fourth kingdom (ii. 33, 40, &c.). "It was diverse from all before it," not as uniting in itself the special attributes and features of the other "beasts;" but as endowed with characteristics more monster-like than those which either the animal world or Babylonian wall-painting had ever produced. "For the living creature which represents this, there is no name. No one creature can express its terribleness, not even if the attributes of different creatures (as in the symbol of the lion with eagle's wings) were combined to picture it. Only words expressive of terror and might are heaped the one upon the other to characterize it" (Pusey, p. 76, see add. N.). *v.* 19 adds that the "nails were of brass." As the monster-feature of the "leopard" was "four heads," so one of the monster-features of this "beast" was the having not two but "ten horns," explained in *v.* 24 to be "ten kings" (cp. also Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 S. ii. 1, 10; Ps. xviii. 2; Micah iv. 13; Rev. xvii. 12). There is evident analogy with the ten "toes of the feet" (of the great image) "part of iron and part of clay," "partly strong and partly broken" (ii. 42), and so the LXX. explains *βουλαὶ πολλαὶ ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῦ*.

The number "ten" may or may not be symbolical: it is probably a number suggested naturally, like the number "three" (*v.* 8), to the mind of Daniel by the current and double system of Babylonian notation—decimal and sexagintal (Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 31). It is to be inferred from the analogy of the "feet" (ii. 42) that these "ten kings" and kingdoms were in the "vision" contemporaneous (Saadias Gaon), or practically so. "Among them" (*v.* 8) yet "after them" (*v.* 24) Daniel saw—as he "considered" them (the orig. word implies *thoughtful, intelligent* consideration)—"another horn, a little one" (LXX., Theod., not as in A.V. "another little horn") "rise, diverse from the first" (*v.* 24): "little" in its beginning but soon increasing in power (cp. viii. 9) till "three horns were plucked up by the roots" before it. As if to fix the attention on marks which—terrible in themselves—yet distinguished this horn of the "beast," Daniel states that it had "eyes like the eyes of a man" (cp. the use of this symbol of intelligence in Ezek. i. 18, x. 12), and "a mouth speaking great things," *i.e.* blasphemies (*v.* 25, cp. xi. 36; Rev. xiii. 5). *vv.* 20, 21 add that "his look was more stout than his fellows" and his war a successful war with the "saints" (see *v.* 18) till the coming of the Ancient of days. "Three horns" (*v.* 8; *i.e.* "three kings," *v.* 24) are plucked up "from before the little horn." The number is a general one (see *v.* 22).

9. *I beheld*, &c.] Better here and in *v.* 11 "I saw" (see *v.* 6, n.). "Thrones were cast down:" this is the explanation of the original, adopted by A. Ezra, Saadias Gaon, De Wette, and Ewald. It is not that of the old versions (LXX., Theod., Vulg., Syr., Arab.) nor of Luther, Rashi and many moderns (Zunz, Cahen, Benisch, Keil, Zöckler). These read, "the thrones were set," referring the thrones, not to the world-powers of the previous verses but to the heavenly powers: "one was for judgment, the other for righteousness," says Rashi, in explanation of the plural: and this older and latter translation and application seem far preferable.

the Ancient of days] Daniel saw Him in the visions of prophecy, that He was old (A. Ezra). His age, His "days," implied experience (Cahen). He was one, Saadias Gaon says beautifully, with the appearance of an old man, and like an old man full of mercies. His white hair, His white garments, indicated the pure kind intentions He had to

the fiery flame, *and* his wheels *as* burning fire.

10 A fiery stream issued and came
[a] Rev. 5. 11. forth from before him: [a]thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set,
[b] Rev. 20. 12. and the [b]books were opened.

11 I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld *even* till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

12 As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet [†]their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

[†] Chald. *a prolonging in life was given them.*

13 I saw in the night visions, and,

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purify His people from their sins. Daniel, like Ezekiel (i. 26), purified the conception he found in Chaldee sources (see note on 9—14) by that learnt from the lips of his forefathers (*e.g.* Deut. xxxiii. 27; Ps. xc. 2; Isai. vi. 2, xliv. 6).

Calvin's remark removes what is a difficulty to some minds: We know that "when we shall be like 'God,' we shall see Him as He is." God, we may be certain, sits on no throne, neither is He borne along on wheels. In His essence God is not to be conceived as He appeared to His prophet and holy men of old. By them He is described under various forms, in order that men, to whom He willed to give some sign of His presence, should be drawn to Him.

It is to be regretted that the present Masoretic punctuation has been followed by the A. V. The order of the original is far better preserved in the LXX., Theod., and Vulg. (int. al.), though the "like" in the last clause of the verse has been adopted by the A. V. from the LXX. A more literal—and more weighty—translation would be:—

"His garment as snow, white; the hair of His head like wool, pure; His throne, the fiery flame; His wheels, burning fire."

Passages like Isai. i. 16; Pss. xviii. 9, cxlvii. 16; Rev. i. 14; Gen. xv. 17; Exod. iii. 2, xix. 16, suggest some interesting parallels to the former part of this clause; Ezek. i. 13 seq.; x. passim, to the latter.

The word expressing the "ten thousands" who "stood before him" (*v.* 10) is a word frequent in inscriptions and expressive of repetition (Oppert, 'Gr. Ass.' p. 41). It is used generally, and is indicative of the innumerable multitude according to the Babylonian mode (*v.* 7). To the mind of Daniel it was an apt mode of expressing that numberless "host of God" (A. Ezra) in which his fathers had taught him to believe (Gen. xxxii. 3; Deut. xxxiii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 19; 2 K. vi. 17; Neh. ix. 6; Pss. lxviii. 17, ciii. 20; and marg. references).

10. *the judgment was set, and the books were opened*] The word "judgment" (in the original) is an abstract word, used here in a concrete sense: hence the κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν of the LXX. and Theod.—rendered in strict Latinity by the Vulg. "judicium sedit" (cp. Cicero 'Verr.' II. 18)—is taken by the Syriac as a personality, "the judge sits." Luther, Zunz and Benisch support the impersonal form adopted by the A.V.

The "book of life," the "book of remembrance," are titles familiar to the reader of Holy Scripture (Exod. xxxii. 32; Pss. lvi. 9, lxix. 29; Isai. iv. 3; Mal. iii. 16; Rev. iii. 5, xx. 15), and xii. 1 sq. throws further light upon the sense in which Daniel understood what he saw in his dream. The books, says Rashi—summing up the whole—contained the transgressions and wickednesses which men had done. They were "books," not one book. No single book would have sufficed.

11. The punishment on the fourth "beast" was the Babylonian punishment upon blasphemers and traitors—death by fire (see iii. 6). "His body was given to the burning flame," "slain," it may be, by that "burning fire" which enwrapped the "wheels" (*v.* 10, cp. Isai. x. 17, xxx. 27). Whether or not the torments of the wicked after death underlie Daniel's words here, cannot be determined (cp. Rev. xix. 20, xx. 1).

12. *the rest* ("residue" in *v.* 7) *of the beasts*, &c.] The phrase brings into prominence a fact hitherto latent, that the overthrow of the first three "beasts" had not been so entire as to leave the kingdoms they represented without "residue." Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, had each in their turn handed over to the power which conquered them those "remains" which war and subjection spared, and which tended to secure "dominion." Now the time had come when the fourth beast which had enslaved the "residue" was "slain;" and the "dominion" which was peculiar to each nationality was "taken away" (better, "caused to pass away," as in *v.* 14) by the powers of heaven ("they," *v.* 5), to be purified and incorporated in the Messianic kingdom. The belief that this clause of the verse referred to the "rest" of the ten horns seems to have been derived from a mistaken restriction of the LXX. τοὺς κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ.

yet their lives were prolonged, &c.] More literally rendered in margin. On the phrase "a season and a time," see ii. 21. Many

behold, *one* like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

14 And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, [c] that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion *is* [c] an

[c] chap. 2. 44. Micah 4. 7. Luke 1. 33.

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critics refer this "time" to that in *v.* 22, but it is more prudent to rest content with the general idea expressed by Luther in his paraphrase (rather than translation) of this clause: "as long as each should last" by the permission of the Most High.

13. *one like the Son of man*, &c.] This important part of the "night-visions" is introduced by the formula "I saw, &c." (as in *vv.* 2, 7), as if to draw attention to the new and wondrous scenes described. Nebuchadnezzar could only conceive such a deliverer as a "son of the *gods*" (iii. 25): Daniel, taught of God, sees Him to be a "son of *man*." The A. V. "*the* Son of man," however accurate as a mode of expressing a Christian truth, must—if literally rendered—be altered into "*a* son of man" (see the versions, &c., and compare iii. 25). He who now "came" (better, "was coming," Theod.) "with the clouds of heaven," riding upon them as a chariot (Pss. xviii. 10, &c., civ. 3; Jer. iv. 13; Isai. xix. 1; Matt. xxiv. 30; Rev. xiv. 14) or "in" and among them, the clouds enwrapping him, is "a Son of man" and the head of a kingdom, different both from the "beasts" and the kingdoms, which had preceded. He is a "man" made "in the image of God;" yet a man such as no man had been before him—the Messiah. He "came" (cp. the original, as in iv. 11, A.V.) "unto the Ancient of days and they" (the heavenly powers, *v.* 5) "brought him," &c. Personality and separate existence are here distinctly attributed to the Messiah. "One like a Son of man" is not (as by LXX.) to be identified with the Ancient of days Himself:—*ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦρχετο, καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν, καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες παρῆσαν αὐτῷ*:—nor considered as a personification of the people of Israel, a supposition which necessitates the exclusive identification of that people with the "people of the saints of the most High" (*v.* 27). Verses 18 and 21 suppose a distinction between "a son of man" and "the saints;" while the *usus verborum* of our Lord (Matt. viii. 20; John xii. 34), the Semitic and figurative meaning of the phrase, coupled with its general import as used in the Apocalyptic passages of the Sibylline books and 'Enoch,' forbid any such confusion of ideas as that identification would imply.

Saadias Gaon, commenting on "He was brought," aptly refers to Ps. cx. 1, "The LORD said unto my Lord," &c., as identifying the "Son of man" of Daniel with the Messiah—an opinion shared by the majority of the Rabbinic authorities.

9—14. The reflection in this passage of Babylonian "knowledge, science, and learning" (i. 4) remains to be noticed. The word translated "serve" (*v.* 14: better, "worship," ii. 46) attests a religious honour and cultus of the king only allotted to the gods. The title "Ancient of days" is a reflection of a title of a venerable Babylonian god spiritualized by Daniel, and applied to Him whom men "ignorantly worshipped" (Acts xvii. 23). In the ancient Babylonian system the god Ilou was hardly conceived as a personal being: he was infinite, without body, parts and passions. But, in process of time, a triad was formed, composed of three personal and visible emanations of Ilou, equal in power and consubstantial, yet also issuing the one from the other. This triad was Anou, Nouah, and Bel. Anou, the Oannes of the Greeks, the Chronos and Kosmos at once, bore the title of "the Ancient of the gods." He realized that conception of the god, which the Greek and the Roman, when speaking of the cultus of the East, rendered Æon and Sæculum. He was the "ancient of days" (days conceived as deities), the divine personification whose nature, at once so comprehensive and so vague, finds a parallel in the Ouranos of the ancient Greek, and in the Zervan Akarana of the Iranian (cp. Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 104, 122; Rawlinson, 'Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc.' 1864, p. 216; Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 9).

Daniel's conception of the "judgment" (*v.* 10, &c.) is another instance of his appropriation to the "Most High" of titles and attributes dimly discerned in the Babylonian belief, and applied to lesser divinities. In the astronomy and astrology of the Babylonians the rank next to the planets was occupied by the Pole-star. He bore the title of *Dayan-same* or "Judge of Heaven;" and a special treatise on this god once existed in Sargon's library. He had with him and around him other judges or ministers of justice. "The divine days or lights of Assur" bear also the name of "Judges" (*Dayani*), and the names of the "divine Judges of the temple of Assur" are known. (Cp. Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 206.)

This ministering hierarchy, standing round the Judge of Heaven, as the lesser stars cluster round the Pole-star, was seen by Daniel in the vision, and described in language, if anthropomorphic, yet Babylonian and natural. A

everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be destroyed.

15 ¶ I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of *my* †body, and the visions of my head troubled me.

† Chald. *sheath.*

16 I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

17 These great beasts, which are four, *are* four kings, *which* shall arise out of the earth.

18 But the saints of the †most High shall take the kingdom, and possess

† Chald. *high ones,* that is, *things,* or, *places.*

"son of man," a Bar-Enosh (a compound like *Bal-adan*), — whether like Silik-moulou-khi (see add. Note, end of ii.), at once a protecting genius, a mediator, and a conqueror, or a recollection of *the* protecting genius Oustour, whose representation is that of a man and not (as in the case of others) half-man half-beast,—is brought to the presence of the "Ancient of days" by the *Igili* or spirits of heaven and the *Announaki* or spirits of earth (Lenormant, p. 112); but as Daniel sees those spirits they are not limited to 300 or 600, but are countless as "ten thousand times ten thousand." Before this vast assembly the "books"—like, perhaps, to those in which *khakamim* and *assaphim* read the "fate" and decree of those who consulted them—were opened: and the sentence of life or death (*vv.* 11, 12) declared with no uncertain sound. As he who obliterated the work of the king—the chosen of the gods—was popularly believed to have his name and his race cut off by the angry deities (see exx. in Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. p. 826), so did this judgment await the blasphemer of the saints of the Most High (cp. *vv.* 25, 26).

14. *there was given him*, &c.] The phrases in this verse should be compared with iii. 4, iv. 3, 34 (A. V.), vi. 27. The opening sentence compared with ii. 37 discloses how in the "vision" is assigned to a "Son of man" what had been granted to and abused by the earthly "king of kings." When that "Son of man" was on earth, He taught His disciples to assign it to the Father in heaven (Matt. vi. 9, 11): the Apostles (1 Tim. i. 17; Rev. v. 1, 3) did not hesitate to express that teaching in words which distinctly recall the Messianic honour as witnessed by Daniel.

15. *I Daniel was grieved*, &c.] The words of the original are very remarkable. The spirit is described as in a "sheath" (see marginal translation), and the meaning of the metaphor has been thus paraphrased by Ewald: Just as a sword rests quietly in its sheath so long as it is in it, so man feels his spirit usually quiet within him so long as he feels it incorporated (included) in the coarse covering of the body: but there are moments when the spirit becomes unquiet in this corporeal covering, and impatiently springs upwards. So it was with the prophet.

The verse introduces a new stage in the history of the "vision." The "grief" and "trouble" which fell upon Daniel were due not to any special detail in the previous scenes, but (as the etymology of the word translated "grieved" points out) to the agitation and confused impressions remaining in his spirit. He asked for the "truth" (*v.* 16, better, the "certainty," ii. 8, 45) from one of those who stood before the Ancient of days (cp. *vv.* 16 and 10). Daniel's "amazement" and Daniel's question have received their most poetical reflection in the pages of Dante.

17. *These great beasts*, &c.] The explanation to Daniel is first general (*vv.* 17, 18), then particular, with reference to the fourth beast (*v.* 19, &c.). The significance of the other animals was probably clear to Daniel, and would be so to his contemporaries.

The phrase "*shall* arise" has been felt to be difficult, because the "first beast" (or kingdom), if the Chaldæan, was actually existing at the time of the vision (see *v.* 1) and could hardly be spoken of as future. The ordinary solution—that the use of the future is *prophetically* inclusive of the past—is both confirmatory of the date assigned to this chapter (*v.* 1) and is more satisfactory than the expedients which suggest as a translation "may or must arise," or limit the "first beast" to Belshazzar personally and not to the kingdom. The vision represents the development of the world-power generally in four successive phases, and the angel gives a summary explanation: in so doing he includes the first appearance of the "first" kingdom, though actually the last period of its power had already commenced.

The LXX. and Theod. add at the end of *v.* 17 that these kingdoms shall perish or be taken away, a point not expressed in the present original, but implied here and in ch. ii. The addition is not without importance as indicating the state of opinion at the time the LXX. and Theod.'s version were current. Saadias Gaon expresses a later and more polemical view when he alters the idea of these verses into a support of the theory that the four kingdoms (the world-powers) take the kingdom of Israel as a punishment for their rebellion against it, and hold it (and will hold it) till the future "world to come," when the Messiah shall reign.

18. *the saints of the most High*] (*v.* 21,

the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.

19 Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse † from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth *were of* iron, and his nails *of* brass; *which* devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet;

† Chald. *from all those.*

20 And of the ten horns that *were* in his head, and *of* the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even *of* that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look *was* more stout than his fellows.

21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

22 Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

24 And the ten horns out of this kingdom *are* ten kings *that* shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

25 And he shall speak *great* words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and

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"the saints.") See note to *v.* 13. ¶ "The Most High" is in the original (and in *vv.* 22, 25, 27) plural; and is philologically analogous to the more common plural form Eloh*im*, or the plural expression of majesty and honour. As Daniel uses it, there is an indication of a Babylonian influence, theological as well as philological, which is of value as an evidence of date of composition. The saints are not they alone who "stand before Him" (*v.* 10), nor the Jews simply who counted themselves holy unto the Lord (cp. Exod. xvi. 6) in comparison with the heathen around them, but "the genuine members of the congregation who hold the true and perfect religion" (Ewald), the "Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16), a congregation collected from Israel and all nations, and called to be saints (Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; Isai. iv. 3, vi. 13; Rom. ix. 6). These "take" the kingdom, or, rather, they "receive" it (cp. v. 31) from Him who can alone give kingdoms, and "possess" it with "power" (ii. 37, iv. 30, A. V.) "for ever," &c. (cp. the idiom of Isai. xlv. 17 and Eph. iii. 21).

19—22 present some interesting additions to *vv.* 7—14 (see note to *v.* 7). When it is stated (*v.* 22) that "judgment was given to the saints," this is not to be taken as contradictory to *v.* 10, where judgment is in the hands of the "Ancient of days:" neither is the sense of *v.* 22 that "right was done to the saints" (cp. Luther, "der Alte kam und Gericht hielt für die Heiligen") an explanation whose only merit is that it obviates the necessity of Ewald's reading from *v.* 10, "judgment was set and full power was given," &c. The language of the verse is to be understood by the old rule: "quod facit per alterum, facit per se."

24 seq. A more detailed account of the "fourth beast." That it "devours the whole earth," is to be understood hyperbolically (cp. iv. 22, A. V.); the expression should not be pressed to mean more than the nations with which the fourth kingdom came in contact. The "ten kings" are not ten kingdoms in the same extensive sense as the "beast" symbolizes a "kingdom." They are "kings out of the (fourth) kingdom," endued with personality as marked as that of the "little horn." Just as the "fourth beast" is diverse from all kingdoms," so is the king symbolized in this horn "diverse from the first:" he is so in the points enumerated in *vv.* 8, 11, 19—21, and repeated with slight differences in *vv.* 24, 25. The history of Antiochus Epiphanes and of his plucking up two or three members of the Seleucid dynasty, furnishes *one* illustration and fulfilment of the vision; but if the idealistic and vision-character of the whole, as well as the date (*v.* 1), be borne in mind, that history can never be said to exhaust the significance or the occasion of the acts described (cp. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Rev. xiii. 5).

Points to be noticed are:—

(*a*) "Speak against the Most High" (*sing.*, not *plur.* as in *v.* 18) is, literally, "speak against the side of the Most High" (cp. the use of the word translated "concerning" in vi. 4, A. V.). The phrase expresses the intention wherewith the "(great) words" were spoken, viz. the setting God on one side, and the exaltation of himself.

(*b*) "*Wear out* the saints," &c. is a translation adopted from Theod. παλαιώσει (Saadias refers to Job xxxvi. 11). Another idea, connected with it, but suggested by the Aramaic rather than the Hebrew root, is contained in the LXX. καταρίψει, and suggests the afflic-

they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

26 But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy *it* unto the end.

[d] Luke i. 33. 27 And the [d] kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and all ‖dominions shall serve and obey him.

‖ Or, *rulers.*

28 Hitherto *is* the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

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tion and the grinding down which the saints would have to undergo.

(*c*) *think to change times and laws*] The word correctly translated "think" (after the LXX., Theod., &c.) is an *ἅπ. λεγ.*, and involves a confident expectation or hope that that thought would be realized. The next words have been usually (as by the Rabbinical authorities) referred to the great festivals of the Jewish year and sabbaths, and to the laws regulating the due observance of such festivals. The reference is defensible by the help of such passages as Lev. xxiii. 4; Isai. xxxiii. 20. But it is better to consider them by the light of other passages in Daniel in which the words occur (cp. for "time" or "times," ii. 16, 21, iii. 7, 8, vi. 10, vii. 12; for "law," ii. 9, 13, 15, vi. 7, 16); and—without excluding the explanation above—allow to them a Babylonian colouring. The words would then mean that the king would set himself above all such restrictions, whether divine or human, as are implied in the definite words, "times and laws" or decrees.

(*d*) *until a time and times*, &c.] An expression which has a closer definition in viii. 14, "two thousand and three hundred days," and is again typified in the "time, times, and a half" of xii. 7; but of which it is best to say plainly with Saadias, "no one knows its meaning but God alone." What is thought and said about it is simply conjectural. That the "time" is a year, an explanation supposed to find support in iv. 16 (A. V.), is tenable only on the supposition that the space of time there alluded to is that of a year, a supposition not capable of absolute proof (see note on iv. 34). The plural "times" is generally supposed to express—in accordance with Chaldee idiom—a couple or pair of "times." The whole expression, therefore, is equivalent to three and a half "times." This is the half of seven, a fractional form of that complete "sacramental" number in which the Babylonian delighted so much. This at once suggests that the expression is symbolical rather than chronological; and the most satisfactory explanation of this very difficult phrase is that no full and complete period of power shall be given to the "little horn," but that "the days shall be shortened" (Matt. xxiv. 22; Mark xiii. 20), and some saved. The history of Antiochus Epiphanes furnished one fulfilment of this symbolical prophecy; the highest and fullest has yet to come, xii. 7.

(*e*) The mode of destruction of the "little horn" is not repeated in *v.* 26 (see *v.* 11); while the coming of a Son of man and the assignment to Him of dominion (*vv.* 13, 14) is re-asserted in a higher and more complete form (*v.* 27). Then, as Christians believe, the Father and the Son will be One (cp. John xvii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 28), and "all dominions" (see marg., LXX. *ἐξουσίαι*; Theod. *ἀρχαί*; Vulg. reges) "shall serve Him" (see *v.* 14).

The LXX. has here an interesting variation. It couples the opening words of *v.* 28 (A. V.) with the conclusion of *v.* 27, and reads, *πειθαρχήσουσι αὐτῷ ἕως καταστροφῆς τοῦ λόγου.* The more generally accepted division of the verses—as in A. V.—is preferable.

"The matter"—the vision and its interpretation, the history and its symbolism—was ended. Daniel visibly affected (cp. v. 9) and mentally disquieted (cp. ii. 1, iv. 5, A. V.) treasured up the whole, and, like the mother of our Lord (Luke ii. 19), kept it and pondered it in his heart.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. VII.

2. *the four winds of the heaven strove*] In the Louvre Museum at Paris is a curious bronze statuette of Assyrian workmanship. It is the standing figure of a horrible demon; the body is that of a dog with a scorpion's tail, the feet are those of an eagle, the arms terminate with lion's claws, and the head—that of a skeleton—is armed with ram's horns. Four great open wings spring from the back. A ring placed at the back of the head shews that the figure was usually suspended. On the back is traced an inscription which defines the figure to be the demon of the south-west wind, and orders that it be placed at the door or in the window to avert the terrible effects of that wind. The British Museum has two specimens in stone and one in bronze of the same Wind-demon. Popular belief

long assigned to this Wind, with its burning breath, the personality of a demon.

The cylinders sometimes attribute a purificatory, rather than a destructive, agency to the "four winds." Thus: "when Merodach to the house permitted restoration, four winds he sent forth, and the dust in it removed." The order of the four winds on the barrel inscription of Sargon is E. N. W. S.[1]

7. One of the characteristics of this fourth beast is that "it devoured," אָכְלָה. The Assyrian name for the wolf was zi-i-bu (זְאֵב), and the ideogram which represents this animal is read a-ki-luv, *i.e.* אַכָּל[2]. It is perhaps a legitimate conjecture that a monstrous form of the "wolf" was seen by the prophet in the vision. Schrader's monograph referred to contains some interesting information about the names of animals in Assyrian. The names of the "lion," "bear," "ram" (viii. 3), correspond with the usual Hebrew terms.

(a) *Excursus on the Four Kingdoms.*

Chapters ii. vii.

It is generally, and rightly, admitted that the same four powers or kingdoms are described in the second and seventh chapters[3]. The fourfold partition of the respective symbols, the various minutiæ of analogy and agreement, indicate a coincidence which leads to a certainty through the literal interpretation annexed to and completing the revelation of those visions[4]. Of itself the duplication is not unimportant; it adds to the steadiness of the prediction. Differences of imagery have been rightly attributed to a difference of character in the revelation[5]: in ch. ii. the powers are taken from the sphere of the inanimate, and represent the purely external and unconscious side of the subject: in ch. vii. they are chosen from the sphere of the animate, and illustrate typically the living conscious element of the prophecy. Nebuchadnezzar saw things only from without. The powers of the world in their fullest glory were to him but component parts of one splendid colossal figure bearing the outward appearance of a man; they rested upon but one and the same geographical base—the eastern world: the power of God's kingdom in its highest splendour was but humble as a "stone cut without hands." Daniel penetrated deeper into the vision. He saw that the kingdoms of the world were, notwithstanding their defiant attitude, of a nature animal, plastic, and lower than human. Pagan minds were exhibited to him dull and ignorant of God, as the image, however costly, is ignorant of its maker. Only in the kingdom of God, that humble corner-stone "coming not with observation," was embosomed all that was powerful and eternal. Accordingly to the prophet the kingdom of God is, from the very outset, superior to the kingdoms of the world. Gold, silver, brass, iron—the puppet-work of man's hands, is ground to powder by the stone, the work cut without hands.

But with the recognition of identity of subject, ceases all unanimity of opinion. The critical and theological world has long been, and is still, at issue upon the identification of these four kingdoms. There have been two main[6] views upon this point, called, by a not very just distinction, the "traditional" and the "modern."

The "traditional" opinion is traced back by its supporters to the 4th book of Ezra (=2 Esdras[7]), to the epistle attributed to S. Barnabas[8] and to S. Hippolytus[9]. It has been handed down to modern times under the high sanction of the majority of the early Fathers[10]. It is adopted by the Jonathan-Targum[11], Josephus[12], the Talmud[13], R. Albo[14], and other Hebrew writers of weight[15]; and it is advocated by a very large proportion of English and German commentators[16]. The four kingdoms are, according to this system, the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedo-Grecian, and the Roman with its ultimate subdivisions.

This interpretation is perfectly satisfactory when tested by the mere imagery of the two

[1] Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. pp. 720, 721.

[2] Schrader in 'Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.' XXVII. p. 708, 'Ueber einige Thiernamen im Assyrischen.'

[3] St Hippolytus, p. 177 (ed. Lagarde); and the majority of critics English and German.

[4] Davison, 'On Prophecy,' p. 355.

[5] Auberlen, p. 45.

[6] For others, *e.g.* those of Bertholdt and Herzfeld, Redepenning and Hitzig, vid. the current commentaries (*e.g.* Zöckler, who adopts Bertholdt's view). These "two main views" will be found sometimes overlapping each other.

[7] On this identification, opposed by Hilgengeld and Volkmar, *v.* Westcott, 'Esdras, Second Book of' (Smith's 'Dict. of Bible'), Vol. I. pp. 578—9.

[8] Ch. iv. p. 5, 'PP. App. Op.' Ed. Dressel. Leipz. 1857.

[9] pp. 151 sq., 171—2, ed. Lagarde.

[10] These are collected by (int. al.) Hofmann, 'Weissagung u. Erfüllung,' Part I. pp. 276—96.

[11] On Hab. iii. 17 (Buxt. 'Bibl. Rabb.' in loc.).

[12] 'Ant.' X. 11. 4, 7. This is denied by Hooper.

[13] 'Bereshit-Rabba,' ch. xliv.

[14] 'Sepher Ikkarim,' ch. xlii. ('Hebr. Rev.' III. p. 380).

[15] 'Tanchuma,' 31 *c.* [Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.' Vol. I. p. 422 (1855)]; 'Maor.' fol. 42. 2 (Zündel, p. 82).

[16] *e.g.* Pusey and Wordsworth, Caspari and Keil.

chapters. None are so ready to grant this as those who yet oppose the interpretation. But there exists a certain connection between the facts of these chapters, and those narrated in subsequent portions of the book, which, to many moderns, renders the interpretation improbable if not impossible.

The history of the growth of the traditional view has been explained as follows[1]. The Church in the Apostolic age believed, and was permitted in the Providence of God to believe, that the end of the world, the "finishing of the mystery of God," was at hand, even at the doors. The long interval of conflict which has followed the first Advent formed no place in the anticipations of the first Christians. They could not but believe that their own age was that of the fourth empire—the Roman empire—the last in the series of earthly kingdoms[2]. And, if the early Christians did not test their belief by tracing critically the realization of the prophetic symbols through the page of history, in succeeding ages their opinion was generally received and devoutly retained. The Fathers continued to look for one who should revive the policy of Augustus: the empire, they believed, was but to pass into other hands, not to be changed nor dissolved[3]. Consequently the Roman period was prolonged to meet the requirements of the theory.

It has been urged[4], however, that the text of prophecy should have suggested caution in pressing this application. The fourth empire was to exist till the coming of the Ancient of days (vii. 22, 26—27). That time has not even yet arrived, while the Roman empire, "the empire founded by Romulus and ruled over by Augustus and Constantine, has passed through its regular decline and fall to absolute extinction. Those who are hard pressed by the exigency of system may attempt to make a show of nominal empire; and by long habit, readers and writers of commentaries on the prophecies have come to give and receive very marvellous interpretations with great gravity." But this is to avoid not to meet the dilemma suggested by the very letter of the text. Christians are therefore "beginning to learn slowly and very reluctantly" that the Roman empire cannot be that intended by the prophet.

On the other hand, says Archdeacon Rose, if the above "had been the principal argument for this determination of the fourth empire, there would be great force in it; this is far from being the case. The fact is, that the symbols of Scripture and the course of the world's history led to this identification of the fourth empire with the Roman. But it is also true that, holding this opinion, the early Christians connected the coming of Antichrist with the fall of the Roman empire[5]. Their conclusion of the consummation of all things being at hand arose from their persuasion that the Roman was the fourth empire."

A second interpretation grew up soon after the first. It allotted the "four kingdoms" to Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece. The "fathers" of this, the "modern" view, were Ephraem Syrus (300—350 A.D.), Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A.D. 535) and others[6]. In more recent times the celebrated Aben Ezra[7] and R. Hyam Gallieppo[8] adopted it; and, in addition to many critics, past and present, it has been commended and supported in England by Maitland, Westcott, Browne, and Hooper[9]; and in Germany not only by Ewald, Bleek, Graf, Stähelin and Hilgenfeld, but by Delitzsch and Kahnis.

It is impossible to enter here into a full consideration of these respective views; and equally impossible, from historical data *only*, to assert the one school to be right and the other wrong. One single fact stands out above the strife of words. There is a clear and unambiguous statement of the rise of four kingdoms; the four not to be contemporaneous, but successive; not originating from the same power, but diverse one from the other; not confined to the sway of a domestic sceptre, but kingdoms of conquest and power, bearing rule over the subject-nations. An extension of dominion is predicated of the third, an exceeding strength of the fourth. In a word, there is here a conspicuous and connected prophecy of the most comprehensive changes and revolutions wrought on the face of the ancient world[10].

The difference, it will be noticed, begins with the second image and beast.

The "traditional" view, arguing from the fact that—after the conquest and submission of Astyages—there was no separate Median monarchy, regards these types as representing the Medo-Persian kingdom combined. The

[1] Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 678. It is well stated by Westcott.

[2] St Hippolytus calls it ἡ βασιλεία ἡ κρατοῦσα νῦν (p. 179).

[3] Id. Quoted by Browne, p. 679, note 1.

[4] Maitland. Quoted by Browne, p. 676.

[5] See Chandler, 'Vindication,' &c., pp. 240—254.

[6] Bleek, p. 65, 'Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.' 1860.

[7] Browne, p. 675.

[8] Quoted by R. Albo, 'Sepher Ikkarim,' ch. xlii. Herzfeld, op. cit. p. 422, gives Rabbinical references of the fourth kingdom to the Persians and Arabians.

[9] 'The Prophecies of Daniel collated and expounded,' p. 4 sq. (1861). The opinions of these critics, and of those who agree with them, will be found in the works already cited. Mr Birks, 'The Four Prophetic Empires,' &c. p. 12 (1844), gives others. He himself adopts the "traditional" view. For a summary of "modern" opinions, see Zöckler, p. 76, and De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl.' § 312 b.

[10] Davison, p. 356.

"bear with three ribs between its teeth" is Cyrus and his three dependencies, Media, Persia, and Babylonia (St Jerome); or Media, Assyria, and Babylonia (St Hippolytus); or Egypt, Lydia, and Babylonia (Jahn); or Media, Babylonia, and Lydia (Hävernick); (alii, alia). The maintenance of this interpretation very much depends upon the view taken of Cyrus' position as regards "Darius the Mede." If Cyrus was, at the time of the fall of Babylon, what history affirms him to be —the conqueror of Media; and if the Medians were practically subject to the Persians, then a Median sole supremacy over Babylon was certainly improbable if not impossible.

"Modern" opinion, separating the Mede and Persian, interprets the bear "with its three ribs" of Darius the Mede and his three Presidents,—founding the interpretation upon the fact, that the short-lived Median dynasty was far "inferior" to that of Nebuchadnezzar; or applies the type to the three Median dependencies, the lands of Babylonia, Assyria and Syria (Ewald); or to the three cities Resen, Nineveh, and Calah (Hitzig, referring to Gen. x. 12); or lays no special application upon the symbolism (De Wette). The severance between the Mede and the Persian, asserted by the "modern," is said to be supported by chapter viii. 3. The "ram with the two horns" is the one kingdom successively governed by the kings of Media and Persia; the second horn or kingdom being higher than the first, and the higher coming up the last. This was the case with the kingdom of Persia. It was not till the sole reign of Cyrus that the distinct empires of the Medes and Persians became thoroughly united; and then the Persian element gradually superseded the Median in the governing body. To suit this interpretation the Median empire is considered to be represented in the Book of Daniel as independent, placed between the Babylonian and Persian empires. Though, at that time, an empire of comparatively slight importance in itself, it had a momentous and independent character in relation to the history of Israel, and therefore also in the view of the prophet (Delitzsch). Naturally, the "traditionalist" does not accept this view of the "ram with the two horns." "The body of the ram represents the aggregate of tribes, Median and Persian, which were united throughout its existence. Each was an aggregate of tribes in itself, the Median of six, the Persian of ten tribes. Both were joined together as England and Scotland....This could not have been more vividly represented than by the oneness of the animal, while the horns, the symbol of power, varied...The angel explains (the animal) to represent the kings of Media and Persia, not of Media and Persia successively, but together; for it remained to the end what it was at the beginning, it was the ram with two horns, the king or kingdom of Medo-Persia, when its horns were broken, and it was trampled under foot." (Pusey.)

The identification of the second kingdom with the Medo-Persian leads the "traditionalist" to explain the third of the Græco-Macedonian: the "modern" affirming it to be the Persian. According to the first the "four heads" of the "leopard" (Alexander) are Seleucus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, and Philip[1]; according to the second the "leopard" is Cyrus: the "four heads" are his successors Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes: the "four wings" being either Persia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, or, with the "traditionalist," the four points of the compass. In either case the whole opinion stands or falls with the validity of the position assumed with respect to the second and fourth kingdoms.

What then is typified by the fourth kingdom? This is unquestionably the most knotty point of the subject. From the context it appears to be the last world-power before the Advent of Messianic Salvation. What was that power? and who is meant by the "little horn," that most impious of the enemies of God's people and His sanctuary? The "traditionalist" answers: The kingdom is the Roman; the "little horn," that Antichrist who has not yet appeared, but on all accounts to be carefully distinguished from the great persecutor of the Jews—Antiochus Epiphanes[2]. The "modern" replies: The kingdom is the Græco-Macedonian; the "little horn," primarily at least, Antiochus Epiphanes.

The description of this fourth kingdom has been affirmed capable of application to the Macedonian and Roman alike. If so, the case resolves itself into a balance of probabilities. The feet of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar are "part of iron, part of clay" (ii. 33), "partly strong, partly broken" (*v.* 42): the commixture denoting the "mingling themselves with the seed of men;" the fracture, the "not cleaving one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay" (*vv.* 42, 43). Auberlen's school[3] has affixed to this an interpretation which, though seriously offered, has excited opposition from its artificial character. In the strong metal is discovered an allusion to the "iron" nature of the Roman world-power penetrating and influencing its Germanic and Slavonic off-shoots, while the still existing cleavage is hailed as a predicted result

[1] St Hippolytus, p. 178.

[2] Id. pp. 179, 181. "We must wait till the ten horns arise when the time of the Beast shall be fulfilled, and the 'little horn,' which is Antichrist, shall appear... We must not anticipate the will of God, but have patience, and fear lest our lot fall in such times; neither let us disbelieve that they will happen," &c.

[3] Op. cit. p. 220 sq. (Engl. Tr.). See Wordsworth's 'Commentary on Dan.' ii. 41.

of opposite nationalities and peculiarities. On the other hand, the "modern" school prefers to assimilate the type to the marriage alliances (*v.* 43) of the Ptolemies and Seleucids[1]; unions which promised so much and so speedily came to nothing. For awhile the junction was as that of iron to a tenacious clay, but presently cleavage ensued through the inherent discordance of the materials employed.

This fourth kingdom is symbolized in chapter vii. by a beast with ten horns, from among which arose a "little horn" before whom three of the ten were plucked up by the roots. This *definite* number may or may not be a strict postulate of prophecy, but a *multifarious* division unquestionably is denoted[2]. That division finds its illustration, according to the "traditionalist" opinion, in the cluster of the petty contemporary kingdoms which replaced the Roman empire upon its dissolution; according to the "modern," in the successors or generals of Alexander, the balance of probabilities being in favour of the generals[3]. Auberlen and Bleek[4] are agreed in considering the ten "kings" as co-ordinate in dignity and time. The "little horn" rises not after but *among* the horns (ביניהון). The chief objection made to this form of the "modern" view, is based upon the supposed contradiction of chapter viii. 8. There *four* monarchies, *not ten*, arise out of Alexander's empire, and from one of these four springs the "little horn." This would seem to refer the "little horn" of chapters vii. and viii. to different persons[5]. But as regards the first point, it is answered, that the difficulty is more imaginary than real. The lesser kingdoms into which the great monarchy of Alexander was partitioned were sometimes reckoned as four, ruled by Seleucus Nicator, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Lagi, and Cassander; or as ten under the generals who, after the death of their chief, divided his provinces amongst themselves. All these kingdoms existed contemporaneously, and therefore satisfy the *literal* requirements of the text, if literalism be pressed to the exclusion of symbolism. And as regards the second point, it is urged that the "little horn" of the two chapters must refer to one and the same character. Critics of both schools are almost unanimous in referring the "little horn" of chap. viii. to Antiochus Epiphanes. He was a Syrian, and naturally took his rise from the Græco-Macedonian dynasty. On no supposition could he be said to have sprung from the Roman empire. And if his portrait be accurately drawn in chap. viii., it is equally so in chap. vii. To apply one description to one prince, and another to a second, is alleged to destroy the unity of the Book, and to be contradicted by an evident similarity of details. A comparison of the passages vii. 8, 11, 20, 21, 24—26, and viii. 9—12, 22—5, should, it is asserted, leave no other impression on the mind of an unprejudiced person than this—that they portray but one character under different aspects due to a gradual and successive revelation or to successive intervals of composition. And chap. xi. 21 sq. is adduced further to confirm this impression. There the progress and expeditions of a "vile person" are depicted in the most minute and historical manner, yet with notes of description and definiteness most naturally explained of the "king diverse from the rest" (vii. 24), the "king of fierce countenance" (viii. 23). One and the same character is but looked at under various points of view, and so represented variously. The portrait is substantially the same, and the time of his domination the same. The "time and times and dividing of time" (vii. 25) find a closer definition in the 2300 half-days (viii. 14), once more to be typified in the "time, times, and a half" (xii. 7).

An argument used by Professor Westcott against the identification of the fourth kingdom with the Roman, appears to Archdeacon Rose "to be unsound. It is thus stated by the Professor: 'It is a still more fatal objection to this (the traditional) interpretation, that it destroys the great idea of a cyclic development of history which lies at the basis of all prophecy. Great periods (*αἰῶνες*) appear to be marked out in the

[1] Thus Ptol. Philad. married his daughter to Ptol. Theos (B.C. 252): Ptol. Epiph. married the daughter of Antiochus the Great (197 B.C.); Bleek, 'Jahrb.' p. 60, note 1. Grätz rejects this assimilation, and understands the word as typical of the "various phases of the Seleucid kingdom" ('Beiträge' u.s.w. p. 545).

[2] Davison, p. 361. Beck's remarks on the numbers of prophecy should be studied ('Propäd. Entwickel.' p. 201, quoted by Lee, 'On Inspiration,' p. 215, n. 1). Cp. also Leyrer, 'Zahlen' u.s.w. in Herzog's 'Real-Encyk.' XVIII. p. 371; Lämmert, 'Zur Revision d. bibl. Zahlensymbolik' in 'Jahrb. f. Deutsch. Theol.' IX. p. 23; Engelhardt, 'Einiges üb. symb. Zahlen' in 'do.' XI. pp. 304 sq.

[3] The names of the "Successors" (taken also in the sense of the predecessors of Antiochus Epiphanes) may be seen in Delitzsch or Davidson (Horne's 'Intr.' p. 909; Grätz, 'Beiträge,' p. 348); the "generals" in Bleek, 'Jahrb.' p. 61, or Davidson ('Introd.' Vol. III. p. 211). The names given by Hitzig and Hilgenfeld differ in some respects from the above (vid. 'Zeitschr. für Wiss. Theol.' p. 311, 1860, and 'Jüdische Apokalyptik,' p. 71)! Pusey, p. 147 sq. The views of those who identify the "little horn" with the Papacy, and consider the ten kingdoms to be kingdoms "that came into existence previously to the establishment of the Pope's temporal power in Italy," may be seen in Rule, 'An Histor. Expos. of Daniel, p. 195, &c.

[4] Auberlen, p. 224; Bleek, p. 61.

[5] Pusey, p. 89.

fortunes of mankind which answer to one another, so that that divine utterance, which receives its first fulfilment, receives a further and more complete fulfilment in the corresponding part of some later period. Thus the first coming of Christ formed the close of the last age, as His second coming will form the close of the present one. The one event is the type, and, as it were, the spring of the other.....The first Advent is as much a fulfilment of the visions of Daniel as of those of the other prophets. The four empires precede the coming of Messiah and pass away before Him. At the same time their spirit survives (cf. vii. 12), and the forms of national existence which were developed on the plains of Mesopotamia again reproduce themselves in later history. According to this view the empires can be no other than those of the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, who all placed the centre of their power in Babylon, and appear to have exhibited on one stage the great types of national life. The Roman power was at its height when Christ came, but the Egyptian kingdom, the last relic of the empire of Alexander, had just been destroyed, and thus the "stone cut without hands struck the feet of the image," and Christianity for ever destroyed the real supremacy of heathen dominion.' We are then told that this was only an 'inchoative' fulfilment of the vision, and 'the correlatives of the four empires must be sought in post-Christian history.'" These correlatives are thus shadowed forth: Babylon = Rome, the Byzantine Empire ("inferior" to the Roman) = Medes, and the Teutonic races with their divided empire = Persia, and a northern power (Russia?) = Greeks. "As Professor Westcott is so able a writer," says the Archdeacon, "I take his conspectus of this scheme for examination. But it appears to contain mere assumptions which are treated as if they were recognized facts; and to be quite inconsistent with facts, and with the conditions of the prophecy itself.

"1. First, then, it appears hardly the proper mode of examining a prophecy to settle beforehand that it must meet a preconceived theory. Why are we to assume 'a cyclic development of history,' and to determine that it 'is the basis of *all* prophecy'? Doubtless some of the great prophecies are so framed as to admit of a partial fulfilment; and we assent to the statement that the prophecies of the first Advent often look onward to a more complete fulfilment in the second. But are we then to assume that the subordinate parts of those prophecies must also have a second fulfilment? that the secular history of the world is to be conformed to the type of the great empires which preceded the first Advent? This appears rather to assume what prophecy *must* predict, than to ask what it actually does predict. It is confessed even by the advocates of the modern interpretation that the kingdoms named by the ancient interpretation suit the symbols of the prophecy with great accuracy.

Secondly, what Median empire was there separate from the Persian which could be called a world-power, and could be supposed to succeed the Babylonian? We ask ancient history in vain for such a people.

Thirdly, the strangest part in the whole passage quoted above, is the assertion that the stone cut without hands struck the image on its feet, in close connection with a statement that the last relic of the Greek empire had passed away before the coming of Christ[1]. In fact, from beginning to end this interpretation appears to be only an adaptation of the prophecy to the interpretation, instead of adapting the interpretation to the prophecy.

The very circumstance, which appears to indicate that the fourth empire must be in existence at the coming of Christ, *i.e.* that the stone smites the image on the feet, is thus thrust aside to make the prophecy answer the exigencies of a theory.

The ancient interpretation therefore appears to have at least the merit of being deduced from the conditions of the prophecy, and the course of the world's history. And certainly, the analogy suggested by Prof. Westcott between the empires of ancient and modern history is very little calculated to recommend his interpretation. The fact seems rather to be, that since the destruction of the Roman empire, no power has appeared, except for a few years at some particular epochs, which could be said to occupy the place in modern history which those empires did in the ancient world."

Before leaving this section of the prophecies, let it in justice be stated and remembered that their Messianic character is unimpaired by the "modern" interpretation. To discern the fulfilment of a promised deliverer in the coming of an "Anointed one" at the time of the great persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, is not to obliterate the higher application, the more purely Messianic reference of the title to the person of the Redeemer of mankind. Chapters viii., ix. and xii., so closely connected with and illustrating the chapters just considered, point to a primary fulfilment in the deliverance of Israel from the hand of the Syrian tyrant; they received a second and a greater in the deliverance of sinful flesh by sinless Man: they are to receive a third and the greatest in that final day of victory when the "man of sin" shall be re-

[1] "The purport of the answer generally given by the supporters of this view, is the maintaining that Christianity was destined to overthrow the world-powers in general, not merely one of them; and that their having disappeared made no difference in this respect. But surely the statement that the stone should smite the feet of the image is too definite to be thus disposed of" [R].

vealed and the "last enemy" destroyed. To Daniel the salvation brought to Judæa at the death of Antiochus Epiphanes formed a primary conclusion to his prophecy, as did the return from the exile to the other prophets. That there was and is more beyond, was left and is still left to time to evolve. Daniel's own character is heightened, certainly not diminished, by this primary reference of his prophecy. None but an inspired prophet could have accurately depicted such facts as —the oppression of a tyrant springing from a dynasty which in the first year of Cyrus had not begun to exist;—the circumstances of the oppressed people;—or the title and attributes of the deliverer. It is not by maintaining the "modern" interpretation of the prophecy, but by denying inspiration, and by relegating the accuracy of description to a Maccabæan writer, that the objector to the Book of Daniel wrests its existing phenomena to suit his conception[1]. It has been well said by one[2] whose words are ever words of wisdom to the English critic, that to "try and refer" such illustrious prophecies "to any ingenuity of human reason" is to be confronted by the fact that "they have too much extent and system for the substituted solution. In that attempt of solution, we are cramped by improbabilities on every side. One adequate origin of them there is, and that alone can render them intelligible in their manifest character,—to consent to read them as oracles of God, communicated by Him to His prophets, and by them to others; first, for the manifestation of His foreknowledge and overruling Providence in the kingdoms of the earth, and next for the confirmation of the whole truth of revealed religion. In that light they fall into order. In that same light, too, their origin and their use explain each the other."

It is interesting to note in the Zoroastrian legends "broken fragments," "petrified remains"—as they have been called—of an ancient belief, which bears a faint resemblance to that exhibited in the pages of Daniel. The 'Bahman-Yasht' describes a vision granted to Zoroaster[3]. The prophet saw a tree whose component parts were made of various metals, gold, silver, steel and iron. The golden part represented the beginning of that thousand years in which Zoroaster was born, proclaimed the law, and Vistâçpa received it; the silver part represented the time during which Ardashêr Bâbegâns ruled; the steel that of Khosrav Nushirvân; and the iron those periods in which the faithful lose the kingdom, and Mazdak and other heretics are supreme. So potent and so fatal is this rule of the wicked that unbelief extends itself more and more, and affects even those who externally—at least —remain true to the laws of Zoroaster. That thousand years has not yet expired; and during it no vital improvement is to be expected; there will still be the contest between good and evil, and still the need of a new messenger and lawgiver. At the end will come a deliverer[4].

(b) *Excursus on the Messiah.*

"One like a Son of Man" is now almost unanimously referred to the personal Messiah, and the kingdom given to him, to the Messianic kingdom. But it is only of late that cuneiform discovery has enabled the student to analyse some fresh sources of the greatest importance. These serve to bring out in the strongest relief the spiritualized and inspired conception developed in vii. 13, 14. What the books of the "Law" and the "Prophets" had to teach him with respect to Messianic ideas, and what could be gathered from the oral traditions of his race, may be presumed well known to the prophet of the exile[5]. This re-acted upon his apprehension of a similar tenet carefully preserved in the old Chaldæan "wisdom."

In the Excursus at end of ch. ii., and elsewhere, mention has been made of one Silik-moulou-khi and of the office of mediator assigned to him[6]. Though mythologically conceived, his attributes are essentially human, and exercised for the benefit of the human race. He approaches his father Hea—"the Ancient of days"—and prays for and with men: Hea gives to him the means of conquering the evil spirits and the enemies of men. In the incantations his character and work are dramatically portrayed. He is at once the warrior and the "angel" (ἄγγελος) of Hea; bearing to the people the good tidings which will teach them the knowledge and will of Hea, and delivering them by the powers committed to him.

A later hymn identifies him with the Chaldæan-Babylonian Merodach (Mardouk), and the Assyrian translators of the magic texts always so translate the name Silik-moulou-khi.

The mediatorial functions of Silik-moulou-khi are closely analogous to those attributed to the Sosiosh of the most ancient texts of the Zoroastrian religion, and to the Mithra of the Achæmenian dynasty. Mithra is said to mean "the friend," and Lenormant thinks that

[1] See this well drawn out by Zöckler, p. 149 sq.
[2] Davison, p. 362.
[3] Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterthumskunde,' II. 152 (and ref.).
[4] See below, "Excursus on the Messiah."
[5] For a brief and lucid delineation of the growth of these ideas, cp. Hardwick, 'Christ and other Masters,' I. p. 121 sq.; Döllinger, 'The Gentile and the Jew,' II. p. 391 sq.
[6] Cp. Lenormant, 'La Magie' &c., Index, s.n.

this was the Iranian equivalent and almost translation of the Accadian Silik-moulou-khi, "he who disposes good for men."

This priority of conception, and the bearing of the old Accadian belief on the education of the prophet, is not without importance as settling a hitherto very dogmatic assumption. The whole train of the Messianic thought of the Book of Daniel—with its there revealed accompaniments of resurrection and immortality—has been pronounced of Mazdean derivation. Can the statement be substantiated? How is the subject treated in the pages of Daniel and the 'Zend-Avesta' respectively? In the Book of Daniel, all that originally formed the foundation of Messianic belief is to be found, but with certain developments[1]. A new and brighter light is shed upon things to come. The veil over the future is raised higher; details, for the most part absent from the writings of the older prophets, are added. Daniel's visions include nothing less than the history of the great nations destined to figure on the stage of the world before the advent of the Messiah. Daniel announces that the Messiah shall not appear among men till four mighty monarchies shall have successively asserted their claim to universal dominion. The grand features in the history of these kingdoms, the tragic events connected with the rise and fall of each, are symbolically depicted. It is quite a matter of indifference whether these four kingdoms be explained in accordance with the traditional or modern view. Either application illustrates the one fact, that the advent of the Messiah is attached to successive revolutions of nations. To the prophet those revolutions are necessary antecedents to the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth—that kingdom which is to be the greatest and the last. Numerous calamities precede and announce this advent. At "the time of the end"—the hour preceding God's indignation—the "abomination of desolation" is to last a certain definite time, and then ensues the punishment of the transgressors. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The Kingdom of the Most High is founded by the Messiah. He decrees its extension over all people, and its duration to be eternal.

Now if the Mazdean conception of the Sosiosh[2] or Liberator is compared with this, how true will appear the remark[3]: "While the presentiments that arose in other countries were but dim and floating visions of the night, with nothing in the past or present to which they could attach themselves, and therefore destitute of moral power and practical results; the Messianic doctrine of the Hebrews was real, living, and coherent." Like the children of Israel the worshippers of Ormazd expected their Deliverer. In the fragment of an old epic song preserved in the 'Vendidad[4],' Zoroaster speaks to Angrô-mainyus: "Evil-doing Angrô-mainyus I will slay the creation produced by the devils. I will slay the death, I will slay the Pairika Khnâthaiti[5] for whose destruction Sosiosh will be born out of the water Kaçoya from the eastern country." What is lacking to the more ancient conception of the Sosiosh is supplied from the pages of the 'Bundehesh' and other works of the Sassanian period, and is presented as the parallel to the Messiah of Israel, and the source of inspiration to the writer of the Book of Daniel. A very slight examination shews that the Persian conception is very unlike the Hebrew[6]. The Sosiosh of the later Mazdean scheme appears, by order of Ormazd, at a time when wickedness and injustice have become terribly prevalent among men,—at the end, adds M. Nicolas, of the fourth Persian dynasty. The fall of this dynasty will be stamped by terrible calamities. Nations shall unite and engage in a long and fierce struggle against the worshippers of Ormazd. The shedding of blood shall be so great, that it shall turn mill-wheels with the force of a torrent. The wicked shall triumph over the good, and the lovers of darkness over the true devotees of light. Two prophets, Oschedar-bami and Oschedar-Mah[7], precede the Sosiosh, and

[1] Nicolas, 'Des doctrines religieuses des Juifs,' p. 270.

[2] The Soskyans (Haug) or Çaoschyanç (Spiegel) of the Zend. He is frequently mentioned in the 'Avesta.' Sometimes several, sometimes only one Sosiosh or Soshios (the word is spelt both ways) is mentioned. Haug, p. 268; Spiegel, 'Av.' I. p. 244, n. 1; 'Erân. Alterth.' II. pp. 153, 158.

[3] Hardwick, I. p. 141.

[4] Farg. XIX. Haug gives the ballad in its metrical form, pp. 213—5: his translation is adopted in the text. Spiegel's will be found in the 'Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.' Vol. I. p. 262, or 'Av.' I. p. 244 (cp. 'Erân. Alterth.' II. pp. 156, 157); it is translated by Hardwick, II. p. 429.

[5] "Probably an idol worshipped in Kandahar or thereabouts" (Haug). Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 157, spells the name of the sea Kaûçu.

[6] Cp. for the following paragraphs the works of Haug, Spiegel and Hardwick in places quoted. Franck, 'Études orient.' pp. 98, 9, 238, 9. Döllinger, II. 411 sq.; Nicolas, p. 300. The last writer has framed his sketch by an ingenious interlacing of 'Vendidad,' 'Bundehesh,' 'Minokhired,' 'Huzvaresh' gloss upon the 'Yaçna,' 'Ulem-i-Islam,' and the "ziemlich späte" 'Jamaçp-name.' Probably all these contained more or less accurate reproductions of the belief of a remote antiquity; but it should not be forgotten that the critical gap between the last-named work and the 'Bundehesh' is perhaps as great as that between the 'Bundehesh' and the 'Vendidad.'

[7] This is Spiegel's spelling, 'Av.' I. p. 32;

during their several reigns of 1000 years prepare the way for his coming. They are men who "perpetuate the life," men of the same stamp as the ancient prophets and fire-priests, and bearing the same name of Soshyantô. Sosiosh himself at length appears. He is believed to be a son of Zarathustra Spitama (Zoroaster) begotten in a supernatural way. He, and he alone, brings with him a hitherto unknown Nosk of the 'Zend-Avesta,' and reveals it to mankind[1]. He is the conqueror of death, the judge of the world, and recalls the dead to life. All are raised by him, and made immortal by drinking of the Sacred Homa. The joys of recognition follow. These ended, there ensues a separation of the just and unjust. Husband is severed from wife, sister from brother, friend from friend, by the sentence of Sosiosh enthroned as a judge[2]. Those who can endure the ordeal of that day pass to Gorotman or the dwelling of Ormazd, but the Darvands or impure are hurled into Duzakh or hell. Ultimately[3] a great fire of purification breaks out. The comet Gurzshehr, hitherto restrained by the moon, precipitates itself upon the earth. The pure and impure pass alike through a fiery stream of molten metal. To the one it is painless, to the other purificatory. The last great struggle between the spirits of light and the powers of darkness follows. Ahriman (or Angrômainyus) vanishes in the flames[4], and Duzakh with its godless tenants is renovated by the scorching fire. From that hour evil is annihilated and the regenerated world reflects the image of heaven only. Men unite in singing the glory of Ormazd and of the Amshashpands.

What, then, is a fair deduction from this comparison? Can it be that proposed by M. Nicolas[5]? "Change the names in this great Mazdean drama, and you will fancy yourself reading a Jewish Apocalypse. There are resemblances affecting the most minor points of detail. The fifth monarchy of Daniel corresponds to the fifth dynasty founded by the liberator Sosiosh. The prince of the evil spirits, who places himself at the head of the idolatrous people to fight against the chosen people of God, resembles greatly the prince of darkness leading the Devas and the impure nations against the prince of light and his worshippers. The Messianic reign of 1000 years recalls the "hazare," or similar period, of the two precursors of the modern liberator. And in the Jewish Apocalypse, as in the Mazdean Eschatology, a resurrection of the dead is placed at the commencement of the reign of the deliverer and of the proclamation of a new law." What does this parallel teach, asks the same writer, but that "the doctors of the synagogue, without absolutely intending it, without perhaps being altogether conscious of their act, recalled Persian opinions to aid them in their explanation of the Messianic expectation of their fathers?"

With the views entertained by this writer as to the late[6] amalgamation of ideas between Jew and Persian, this deduction is natural. But being drawn from traditions ancient and modern, genuine and spurious, so indiscriminating a deduction is neither critical nor legitimate. The poetical feeling inventive of this "change" may be thanked for so graceful a conception, but it cannot atone for the entire absence of all critical basis. If[7] it was an innate cause, and not the Apocalypse of the worshippers of Ormazd, which determined the formation of what is truly Jewish Apocalypse; if there are divergences between them altogether subversive of the idea of identity; and if criticism can satisfy itself that the Book of Daniel supplied the groundwork of later Jewish Apocalyptic literature;—then the gap between the thoughts of the Prophet and of the Mazdean is wide indeed. Traces of parallelism dwindle down to the most microscopic proportions; of imitation there is none. It is a mistake to represent either the one or the other as existing in the sense intended.

A spirit of deeper reflection, as regards these points, has grown up of late years. It is felt to be impossible to explain the Messianic and eschatological ideas of either Hebrew or Persian system, if imitation, reproduction, or adaptation, be assumed as the fundamental cause of their presence in either creed. M. Nicolas' own words above may be taken as a protest against the supposition. The opinion requires no proof as regards the doctrine of a Messiah. Of resemblance between Daniel and the *real* Zend literature there is none; or it is of so trifling a description as to repudiate all idea of derivation of the one from the other.

the same writer's spelling with accents is given in 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 153. Haug gives them Hukh-shathra Mâo and H. Bâmya. The names of these predecessors occur in the 'Avesta,' but the names only. Nothing else.

[1] This is the older view: according to the 'Minokhired' each of the precursors of Sosiosh is to add a Nosk to the ancient books.

[2] Assessors (male and female) are given to him in the 'Bundehesh.' Windischmann has traced the names of fifteen. Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. 162.

[3] After three days' separation according to some: v. Franck, l. c.

[4] Or offers sacrifice. Id. Another account represents Angrô-mainyus and the serpent subdued by the holy offerings of Ormazd and Craosha. The serpent is swallowed up by the fire, and Angrô-mainyus springs back into hell, which closes over him. Spiegel, 'E. A.' II. p. 164.

[5] Op. cit. p. 303.

[6] *i. e.* not till long after the Captivity.

[7] These are M. Nicolas' own concessions, pp. 305, 307.

It may well be questioned whether direct derivation can even have alloyed the thoughts and writings of the Maccabæan era to the degree asserted. At that age the Persian power was virtually extinct, and a Mazdean conception would have been very much out of fashion with the chance moralist or romancer of the day. Further, the idea connected, as it always was by the Jew, with the doctrine of the resurrection[1] of the dead, was certainly unfamiliar to the Greek conqueror. It had not penetrated to Athens by the time of St Paul (Acts xvii. 22).

[1] On this as a Babylonian belief, see Excursus to chap. xii.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Daniel's vision of the ram and he goat.* 13 *The two thousand three hundred days of sacrifice.* 15 *Gabriel comforteth Daniel, and interpreteth the vision.*

IN the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me, *even unto* me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.

2 And I saw in a vision; and it came to pass, when I saw, that I *was* at Shushan *in* the palace, which *is* in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.

CHAP. VIII. Introductory Note. About two years had elapsed between the vision of chap. vii. and that of this chapter. The Medo-Persian was at the gates of Babylon, and the catastrophe which Daniel announced was impending though unsuspected (v. 28 and introd. note). The prophet knew that the doom of the Babylonian kingdom was pronounced (ii. 39, vii. 5, 17), though *how* destruction should follow was still undeclared. In this vision "seen at Shushan" (see note to ver. 2), the Babylonian dynasty is left behind: the prophet at that city was brought close to the monarchy destined to rise upon the ruins of that which it superseded. What will be the fate of this second kingdom? was to such a mind as Daniel's, thoughtful, inquiring, and far-seeing —the mind of an inspired seer and of a veteran politician—no improbable question. That question God was pleased to answer. He revealed to him the wars between Persia and Grecia (viii. 20, 21), which Daniel would never actually see; and, carrying the revelation farther than had yet been given, drew His prophet onward to a time when earthly kingdoms and wars should yield to divine powers, and peace for ever follow. It is not surprising that the dim outlines in which these last thoughts were shadowed out should have been felt insufficient by the prophet. He brooded over the subject again and again, till later on (x.—xii.) the revelation was renewed, and in clearer, more emphatic language.

1, 2. *In the third year*, &c.] "We have no Scriptural account of the accession of Belshazzar; that of his father (Nabonadius) is dated B.C. 506" [R]. The vision took place in the last year of his reign. See introductory note to chap. v.

2. *Shushan in the palace...in the province of Elam*] "Shushan" (Susa, "the city of lilies," now Shushter) is so spelt in Assurbanipal's inscription at Kouyunjik (Layard, 'N. and B.' p. 251 sqq.; G. Smith's 'Hist of Assurb.' pp. 220, 224). This inscription is accompanied by a bas-relief, one of the compartments of which depicts the city surrounded by a wall with equidistant towers and gateways. The researches of Loftus ('Chaldæa and Susiana,' p. 346, &c.) have represented this city as placed in a fork between the Kerkha (the ancient Choaspes, Kiepert and Spiegel) and the Dizful (the ancient Kopratas), and about twenty-five miles from the hills. Of extreme antiquity—it is mentioned in the inscriptions as in existence 1635 years before Assurbanipal (B.C. 2280)—in the time of Daniel it might have been called the first of the provincial cities which owed allegiance to the Babylonian monarchy. The kings of Babylon sent to it their high officers to "do business" (*v.* 27), and used its cool retreats as a summer residence; as did later on those kings of Persia—Darius Hystaspis and Artaxerxes Longimanus—the ruins of whose palace were exhumed by the English traveller.

The word translated "palace" is the Hebrew form of the Pers. *barû* (a castle or fortress, a word frequent in the compound names of Persian cities), and is rendered by Theodotion *βάρις*; the idea of a fortified place is not so prominent in the LXX. *πόλις*, or the A.V. "palace."

In Daniel's time "Shushan" was in the "province of Elam." Elamti or Elamun was the name by which the Assyrians expressed Susiana (see Ménant's 'Syllabaire,' p. 110); and this expression is a valuable indication of the date of composition of the passage. In post-exilic times Shushan would have been placed by writers in "Susiana." It was at Susa that, practically, the last Persian king (Darius) made a pretence of opposing the advance of Alexander the Great (see note to *v.* 7).

I was by the river of Ulai] (and *v.* 16). This

3 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had *two* horns: and the *two* horns *were* high; but one *was* higher than †the other, and the higher came up last.

† Heb. *the second.*

4 I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so

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river is named in the 'Bundehesh' Avrai (usually read, Qrei); it took its rise in the neighbourhood of Ispahan and flowed into the Tigris. Known to the Greeks under the name of Eulæus (*e.g.* Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.' VI. 31), it is probably the same as the modern Kuran. The word "Ulai" is omitted by both LXX. and Theod.; and the original word for "river" is translated by the former "gate" of Elam (and in *v.* 3), and by the latter reproduced in a Greek form Οὐβάλ. The LXX. rendering furnishes an interesting illustration of Layard's bas-relief. The "palace," placed by Daniel on the banks of the river, was, according to Pliny, surrounded by its waters. The Greek knew it only as it stood in its day of glory on the banks of the canals which connected the Kerkha and the Kuran (Loftus, p. 426), but Daniel's description is in no way a contradiction to the supposition that this means of defence was wanting to the "palace" in his day (cp. the bas-relief above, and on the general determination of site and names, Spiegel's 'Eränische Alterthumskunde,' II. 622 seq.).

It is still an undecided question whether this vision was seen by Daniel actually at Susa, or in spirit at Babylon (Rabb. and most modern commentators). Daniel, as a high court official in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, would often have gone to this provincial city "to do the king's business;" if his name and reputation were comparatively unknown to Belshazzar (cp. v. 12 seq.), he would nevertheless have probably been employed by those about the person of Nabonadius, who knew his worth (v. 11). There is nothing at all improbable in the conjecture that Daniel had been sent to Susa to watch the progress of Cyrus (see introd. note to ch. v.), and that while there, hearing and seeing what he did of the conqueror's advance, a perception of the impending political crisis (v. 28) was granted to him, and the vision seen which prophesied still more distant revolutions (vii. 19 seq.) to be fought out—in part—near the city where he was staying.

3. "Under the image of a ram and a he-goat the destinies of Medo-Persia and of Grecia (cp. *v.* 20, 21) are set forth. Such symbolical representations as winged beasts with one and two horns with ram's and goat's heads are found on Persian gems and cylinders" [R] (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. 356 and reff.). The Old Test. (Isai. xiv. 9; Jer. l. 8; Ezek. xxxiv. 17, xxxix. 18; Zech. x. 3), classical writers ('Iliad' XIII. 491—3; Cicero, 'de Divinat.' I. 22. 14; Plutarch, 'Sulla,' XXVII.; see the passages quoted at length in Zöckler and Havernick), and the 'Zend-Avesta' (in which the Ized Behram is likened to a ram with pure feet and sharply-pointed horns), all furnish illustrations of this mode of symbolizing princes, kings, and leaders. The special distinctions between the Medo-Persian and the Græco-Macedonian empires underlie the selections of the ram and the he-goat. Both powers were remarkable for their strength and warlike prowess; both animals have ever been accounted remarkable for their pugnacity and courage, confronting their foes at the head of their flocks (cp. Ewald).

The *common* purpose of "the bear and the leopard" (vii. 5, 6)—the lust of power and gain of dominion—is once more pressed under a new symbolism; national dissimilarities are kept out of sight. As Daniel "saw in a vision," the two horns were not seen arising from their earliest stage, but from that point of growth when the horn which had come up last—the Persian which came into prominence after the Median—became the "higher" of the two. It was an accurate representation of the development of the *two* branches of *one* kingdom which the history of Cyrus exhibits.

4. *I saw the ram pushing*, &c.] "Push," a word (see the original) used to express the thrusting of horned beasts (*e.g.* Exod. xxi. 28), and here used in an intensive sense (see the conjugation) in order to indicate the strength and doggedness with which the "ram" pursued its aim "westward" (lit. towards the sea, the Mediterranean).....and "southward" (lit. towards the Negeb). "The Persian empire grew very rapidly in all directions; in the west, Lydia and the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor were absorbed by it; to the north, the Persians conquered Armenia and the Scythian nations" [R]; to the *south*, Babylonia, Arabia, Egypt, and Libya, eventually (the last two in the time of Cambyses) yielded to the arms of the conqueror. The mighty conquests in the east are not mentioned (according to Archdeacon Rose, after Bp Newton) because they could have no influence upon Palestine; or (according to another view) because they occupied but a subordinate place in the development of the Medo-Persian monarchy as a world-power; or (according to a third view) because further conquests in that direction were not expected. But Scripture itself gives no reason for the absence of mention of the east; it is therefore better left unexplained,

that no beasts might stand before him, neither *was there any* that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.

5 And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and ‖touched not the ground: and the goat *had* †a notable horn between his eyes.

6 And he came to the ram that had *two* horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.

7 And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

‖ Or, *none touched him in the earth.* † Heb. *a horn of sight.*

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or referred to the analogous limitation of the "three ribs" in the mouth of the bear (vii. 5).

and became great] Lit. "he made (his might) to be great," in distinct allusion to a conviction that he himself was the cause of his greatness. Under Cyrus, "the father" and the conqueror (*d.* B.C. 529), Cambyses "the despot" and "haughty" (*d.* 522), and Darius Hystaspis the administrator (*d.* 486), this "greatness" rose till it reached its height. From the time of Xerxes (*d.* 465)—"whose career was one unvarying course of cruelty and folly, and after whose reign the decline of the empire in territorial greatness and military strength, in administrative vigour and national spirit," is to be dated (Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 471) —down to that of Darius Codomanus (began to reign B.C. 336), the despotic tyranny and self-glorification, so characteristic of the Persian (especially the later) kings, could hardly be more emphatically stated than they are in the last clause of this verse.

5. *And as I was considering*, &c.] "The language here is suited to the nature of a revelation thus made in a vision. There is no mention of time. The conquests of the Medo-Persian empire are the subject of *v.* 3, while here we are brought at once to the time of Alexander the Great" [R]. The word rendered "considering" is not the same as vii. 8, but recalls the "understanding in all visions and dreams" (i. 17, cp. i. 4) which God had given Daniel.

The "he-goat," whose "notable (*i.e.* 'great,' *v.* 8) horn" (LXX. κέρας θεωρητόν) rises (as from a centre) "between the eyes," is explained to be "the first king" of Grecia (*v.* 21). Just such a he-goat may still be seen on the sculptures at Persepolis with one "notable" horn between his eyes (Vaux, 'Persia,' p. 72, n. 1). The mode of his coming—"not touching the ground" (the marg. rendering is unsupported)—recalls the swift flight-like motion of the winged "leopard" (vii. 6), and is an indirect testimony to the prophetic identification of the two "beasts." The same metaphor is applied by Virgil to Camilla:

"Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret
Gramina, nec teneras cursu læsisset aristas."
'Æn.' VII. 808.

6. *he came to the ram that had two horns*, &c.] lit. "the ram *lord over two horns*" (Baal-Keranaim), an Hebraism equivalent to "he who is horned" (cp. Baal-Canaph, "winged"). The title bears an interesting parallelism to the Egyptian expressions "lord (*neb*) of food," *i.e.* he who is fed, a "bull (*ka*) of offerings," *i.e.* he who has offerings (Goodwin's Transl. of an Egyptian Hymn to Amen, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. pt 2, p. 263); and as a proper name it is found in the Himyaritic inscriptions ('Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XIX. 203). "The representations of Persia as a ram with two horns and of Macedon as a goat with one, are well known. The former—with horns of unequal height—is found sculptured at Persepolis" [R]. It is curious that the Arabs gave to Alexander the Great the name of the "two-horned" (Dûlqarnain) on account of the two ram's horns with which he caused himself, as the son of Jupiter Ammon, to be portrayed (cp. Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' II. 600 sq., 'Die Alexandersage bei den Erâniern'). If this chapter had contained a prophecy "post eventum," and had been written by a pseudo-Daniel, the representation in the text would probably have been altered in accordance with the more common opinion current in the last two centuries B.C.

in the fury of his power] lit. "in the *heat* of his power" (cp. iii. 13, 19, ix. 16, xi. 44).

7 sums up with prophetic brevity the fate of the Medo-Persian empire. There is no attempt at sketching the events which mark the first period of hostility between Greece and Persia (*i.e.* from B.C. 499, the time of Darius Hystaspis, to B.C. 449, that of his son Artaxerxes); no effort to record how from the time of Darius Nothus (*d.* 405) "the Persian empire was prolonged for eighty years by the skilful use she made of the jealousies and divisions of the Hellenic states;" no hint even of the mighty and ominous battles which at the Granicus (B.C. 334)

8 Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it [a] chap. 11. 4. came up four notable ones [a] toward the four winds of heaven.

9 And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the [b] pleasant *land*. [b] Psal. 48. 2. Ezek. 20. 6.

threw open Asia Minor to Alexander the Great, at Issus (B.C. 333) drove Darius Codomanus back to Babylon, and at Arbela (B.C. 331) struck the fatal blow of dissolution to the Persian empire:—points which no Daniel of the Maccabæan era would have omitted. The reader's attention is directed to the general truth "there was no power in the ram to stand before" the he-goat. That truth found its last fulfilment, when even the intricacies of the mountain-passes and the inclemency of the time of year (December) were of no avail to protect Darius at "Susa by the river of Ulai." The last of the Persian kings, "cast down to the ground," "stamped upon," finding "none to deliver him," fled to Bessos and Barsaentes, the satraps of Bactria and Arachosia, only to meet with death by assassination. When Alexander reached the spot which Mordtmann has identified with the modern Dauletâbâd, Darius was no more. Retributive justice had overtaken that empire which had once claimed greatness and power as peculiarly its own (cp. *vv.* 4 and 7; and for the historical details, Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' XII. 7; Rawlinson, 'A. M.' III. ch. vii.; Spiegel, 'Erânische Alterthumskunde" II. 490 seq.).

8. *Therefore the he goat*, &c.] Better, "*And the he-goat became* (very) *great*" (as in *v.* 4); the process with both nations is described by the prophet in the same language, with the addition that the pride of Greece becomes even greater than that of Medo-Persia.

and when he was strong] So LXX.; Theod. alters the first letter of the original, and reads ἐν τῷ ἰσχῦσαι, as do Aben Ezra and Saadias Gaon. The expression is an abbreviation intended to point out, with the following words, that the great horn was broken at a time when it was at its fullest power. The death of Alexander, B.C. 323, at the early age of 32, after a career of unparalleled conquest, was truly a "breaking" not only of the horn itself but also of "his kingdom" (xi. 4), and reference is intended here to that event.

four notable ones, &c.] (see add. Note). These are "four kingdoms who stand up, but not in his power" (*v.* 22). They have not the he-goat's strength or consolidation; they are four, he was one: they are kingdoms which "shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven" (xi. 4; a symbolism, be it remembered, found not only in Daniel, cp. vii. 2, but in Jerem. xlix. 36; Zech. ii. 6, &c.). This general allotment of the dispersion of the kingdoms is to be preferred to that particular definition of them which would press them to be the Syrian under Seleucus, Egyptian (S. under Ptolemy), Macedonian (W. under Cassander), Thracian (N. under Lysimachus); a subdivision which did not actually take effect till 22 years after Alexander's death. The parallelism of ii. 33, and vii. 7, is also opposed to such particularity. "There is no prediction of historical details, but simply the general outlines of the development of this world-kingdom, and in such a manner as to shew the divine purpose and order in its unfolding." (Keil.)

9—12. The little horn (cp. *vv.* 23—25, and see add. Note), *i.e.* Titus, according to Rashi and Saadias Gaon, Antiochus the Great, according to others, but more usually taken to be Antiochus Epiphanes, who sprang from "one of the notable horns"—the Seleucids. His power extended southwards (Egypt), eastwards (espec. Armenia and Elymais), and toward the pleasant land—a mode of describing Palestine found in Jer. iii. 19; Ezek. xx. 6, 15, as well as in xi. 16, 41 (cp. also Isai. xiii. 19, where Babylon is called the "glory"—same word as is here translated "pleasant"—"of kingdoms"). The LXX. and Theod. read this differently (see add. Note).

The imagery of *v.* 10 is the imagery of a vision; and the terms in which it is described, are Babylonian purified by the religious belief of Daniel's forefathers. The planetary character of the Chaldæan-Babylonian gods—*e.g.* Adar (Saturn), Merodach (Jupiter), Nergal (Mars), Istar (Venus) and Nebo (Mercury)—is well known. In their astronomically-conceived theological system, these—together with the greater gods Anou, Bel, Nouah, Belit, Sin (Moon), Samas (Sun) and Bin—are "lords" and "princes of the gods;" they were, according to the inscriptions, publicly worshipped, and their titles entered largely into the composition of proper names (Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 104 seq., Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 145 seq.). They and their legion-satellites were, to a Babylonian-trained mind, "the host of heaven."

As Nebuchadnezzar had in his dream seen the tree reaching in its pride and strength unto heaven, so Daniel in his vision saw the horn "waxing great," reaching up to and casting down everything sacred—"some of the host and of the stars," the greater and the lesser gods—and "stamping upon them."

Daniel "sought" the meaning then (*v.* 15),

10 And it waxed great, *even* ‖ to the host of heaven; and it cast down *some* of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.

11 Yea, he magnified *himself* even † to the prince of the host, and † by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.

12 And † an host was given *him* against the daily *sacrifice* by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised, and prospered.

13 ¶ Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto ‖† that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall be* the vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression ‖ of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?

14 And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred † days; then shall the sanctuary be † cleansed.

‖ Or, *against the host.*

‖ Or, *against.* ‖ Or, *from him.* ‖ Or, *the host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice.*

‖ Or, *the numberer of secrets, or, the wonderful numberer.* † Heb. *Palmoni.* ‖ Or, *making desolate.* † Heb. *evening morning.* † Heb. *justified.*

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but the explanation came later (*v.* 23 seq.); yet that "host of heaven" had been explained in part to him in his previous vision (vii. 21, 25), and the national recognition of God as the God of the "hosts" (Sabaoth) of heaven and earth (Exod. vii. 4, xii. 41) made the after-explanation (*v.* 24) at once acceptable.

11. *the prince of the host*] Again, a Babylonian phrase (cp. the Sar-Sarim of *v.* 25); a title like to that given in the old Accadian hymn to Sin (moon)—"the Lord, prince of the gods of heaven and earth;" or to Merodach (Jupiter)—"the god of the (astral) legions" (Lenormant, 'Les prem. Civil.,' pp. 159, 170); and again, according to the previous vision (vii. 13, 25), assigned a higher and purified application.

The verse has been variously rendered according as the punctuation of the accepted Hebrew text has been followed or not.

by him the daily sacrifice, &c.] (marg. and al. "*from* him," the prince of the host); cp. the phrase in Num. xxviii. 3: it is best limited to the usually accepted sense of the daily morning and evening offering, though some prefer to take it in a more general sense as expressive of everything connected with the worship of the sanctuary. For the last phrase in this verse cp. Exod. xv. 17; 1 K. viii. 13; and for the historical illustrations of the passage, 1 Macc. i. 39, 45, iii. 45.

12. A verse the sense of which is fairly clear, but which has been translated very variously (cp. A. V. and marg.: the LXX. and Theod. punctuated differently: Luther follows the Vulg.). The "host" here as distinguished from the "host of heaven" (*v.* 10) is permitted by God to work its will against what is holy, either (as some translate) "by reason of transgression," *i.e.* as a punishment for the sins of God's people, or (as many modern commentators prefer) "with transgression," with what is abomination, *i.e.* the setting up of a heathen altar.

"It" (the horn) "cast down (the) truth" (*i.e.* the Law, Aben Ezra, Rashi; not as in LXX. and Theod. δικαιοσύνη only); together with the true sacrifice, "truth" or true religion, as contained in the law and prophecy (cp. the allusion in *v.* 26, ix. 13; and Pss. xix. 9, xxx. 9), was trampled upon: and by God's permission it (the horn) "prospered" (Ps. lxxiii. 3, 12, &c.).

13. *I heard one saint speaking, and another*, &c.] As the holy one came down to Nebuchadnezzar and spake (iv. 13 A. V.), so now Daniel in his vision was among the saints and holy ones of the prince of the host of heaven (cp. also vii. 10, the visions of Zechariah i. ii. iii. iv.), who spake to each other (cp. also the speaking to each other of the gods and supernatural characters in the Babylonian "Legend of Ishtar," 'Records,' I. 143 seq.). The question was asked by the younger of the older (Ewald), or by the new-comer of him who explained the events of *v.* 12 (Rashi): but such definiteness is of necessity conjectural when the number of the "holy ones," as conceived by one nurtured in the Chaldee "learning," is remembered.

The word "that certain" saint is literally the "Palmoni" of the margin (LXX. and Theod. φελμωνί), the "nescio quis" of the Vulg. However doubtful its derivation (see add. Note) it corresponds in thought to some unnamed but not necessarily insignificant personage; cp. the somewhat similar phrase of the astronomical tablets, *e.g.* in 'Records of the Past,' I. p. 151, "A nobody took the throne."

How long...?] Like the question in Isai. vi. 11, this was prompted by the frightful profanations which the vision revealed: and the original exhibits an abruptness of construction as well as grammatical solecisms which vividly depict the agitation of the speaker.

The "host" in the latter part of the verse is, by the context, to be referred to that of *v.* 11.

14. *he said unto me*] So the Hebrew text and Luther: the old versions and many moderns have altered this into "unto him:" but the former reading being much the more difficult, involving or implying the latter, and in keeping with Babylonian ideas (iv. 31 A. V.), is to be preferred.

Unto two thousand and three hundred days]

15 ¶ And it came to pass, when I, *even* I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.

16 And I heard a man's voice between *the banks of* Ulai, which called, and said, [c]Gabriel, make this *man* to understand the vision.

[c] chap. 9. 21.

17 So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man: for at the time of the end *shall be* the vision.

18 Now as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground: but he touched me, and [†]set me upright.

[†] Heb. *made me stand upon my standing.*

19 And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end *shall be.*

20 The ram which thou sawest

See marg. Then shall the sanctuary be "justified" (marg.), made once more the cleansed and restored, instead of the "cast down," sanctuary (*v.* 11).

The date is confessedly a difficult one: what was the length of this νυχθήμερον (2 Cor. xi. 25)? Opinion may be said to be still divided between taking the days as whole or half days (see add. Note), and is likely to continue divided. On both sides it seems to be concluded that this definite number is not to be pressed with strict accuracy. It is taken to be either symbolical or an approximation only to historical dates. And this "ideal" value of the number suggests the conclusion that, though God hath revealed to His suffering church the hope of better days, so that no doubt should be entertained of the fact, yet hath He seen fit to keep in His own power the actual times or seasons when those better days shall begin to end no more (Acts i. 7): see note to vii. 25.

15. *I...sought for the meaning*, &c.] The wrapt state still continued, but these words (in the original) indicate that searching earnestly for the "understanding" of the matter which was natural to Daniel (ii. 17).

the appearance of a man] presently called *Gabri-el*, a name, the first half of which corresponds to the word *Geber*, here translated "man," and signifies "man of God," or "man-God," a combination suggestive of the loving friendly disposition of God to man. The conception as well as the name of the "angel" is Semitic: there is no reason at all for seeking its source in the Amshashpands of the Zoroastrian religion (see Excursus at end of this Chapter). The voice of a man (*Adam*), a human voice speaking words intelligible to man, was heard: it seemed to come floating as it were "between the banks of Ulai" (cp. xii. 6); and at the bidding of the voice Gabriel made Daniel to "understand," to know the "meaning" (*v.* 15).

17. *Understand, O son of man*] Men have asked, says Melanchthon, what is the use of these prophecies of successive kings and times and judgment? The answer is twofold. The church has need of them that she despair not in the midst of scandals and afflictions. We all have need of them, that by thinking of the causes which led to such afflictions, we may be more diligent in preserving purity of life and doctrine, and so avert a worse punishment.

To quiet Daniel's great fear (the word in the original is expressive of great perturbation) Gabriel speaks to him. He addresses him by a title which, analysed, contains a contrast to the meaning of his own. It reminded him that though he stood in his prophetic vision among the company of angels (Aben Ezra) he was yet but man (St Jerome). And if this "righteous" man was so deeply moved by the presence of the angel, what shall be the feeling of others when they stand in the presence of God (cp. Isai. ii. 19, Rev. vi. 17)? The title "Son of Man" (Ben-Adam) is given also to Ezekiel (ii. 1).

at the time of the end shall be the vision] Rather, "to the time of the end (belongs) the vision," a phrase explained in *vv.* 19 and 26. The vision was intended to give Daniel "understanding" about the "end" which should come after "many days," even "the last end of the indignation" (cp. Isai. xiii. 5), when God's anger with a godless world will be revealed. It is best to take these words in their most ample sense (*e.g.* Matt. xiii. 30, 39, xxiv. 9; Rom. ii. 5, et sim.), without at the same time excluding more partial and immediate fulfilments (cp. LXX. on *v.* 19), such as that named by Aben Ezra, when God's indignation against His own people was felt in the days of the Greek rule and of Antiochus until the Hasmonæans "cleansed the sanctuary" (*v.* 14).

18. *I was in a deep sleep*, &c.] Rather "trance" than sleep. The somewhat parallel instances of Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 20), Isaiah (vi. 5), St Peter, St James, and St John, on the Mount of Transfiguration (Luke ix. 32), and St Paul (Acts ix. 4; 2 Cor. xii. 4), explain what is meant though not easily expressed.

20, 21. Cp. *vv.* 3—7. The addition

having *two* horns *are* the kings of Media and Persia.

21 And the rough goat *is* the king of Grecia: and the great horn that *is* between his eyes *is* the first king.

22 Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.

23 And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors † are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.

† Heb. *are accomplished.*

24 And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the † holy people.

† Heb. *people of the holy ones.*

25 And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand;

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here (*v.* 21) of the epithet "rough" (hairy) is something more than a mere apposition to the word "goat:" the strength assigned to the long-haired and wild animal over the smoother members of its tribe probably underlies the selection of the epithet.

21. *the king of Grecia*] Lit. Javan, the name by which Greece was known to the Hebrews, Egyptians, and old Persians; see notes to Gen. x. 2.

The occurrence of the word here has been often quoted as a signal instance of late date of composition. Cuneiform discovery has, however, made it evident that Ionia was well known to the Assyrians under the name of Yavanu (or Yaonai) long before the Babylonian captivity (see Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 483).

22. (Cp. *v.* 8). *not in his power*] Either, as Luther paraphrases, "they were not so mighty as he was," or, not of his family (Saadias). The "nation" out of which they sprang is hardly the Greek nation (LXX., Theod., Aben Ezra); there is no definite article; the term is purposely indefinite.

23—26. Cp. *vv.* 9—12. A more detailed description of the "little horn."

23. *when the transgressors are come to the full*] So most moderns; the Greek versions and their followers read "transgressions" (cp. ix. 24). Reference is probably intended (by the use of the same root) to the "transgression" of *vv.* 12 and 13 (see note), but greater vividness is secured by the personality introduced by (*e.g.*) the A. V. Some Rabbins (*e.g.* Rashi, Aben Ezra) take these transgressors to be the wicked ones of Israel; others, to be four kings of the heathen (*v.* 22 Saadias); a diversity of opinion due to the two modes of explaining *v.* 12.

Two points are noticed about the "king" (Antiochus Epiphanes); (*a*) his "*fierce countenance*" (lit. "strength of face," Deut. xxviii. 50; Eccles. viii. 1; Isai. xix. 4), and (*b*) his "understanding dark sentences" (lit. riddles or tortuous sayings: cp. v. 12; Judg. xiv. 12, 18; Ezek. xvii. 2). The defiance, the shamelessness—*ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ*, LXX. and Theod., —involved in (*a*) is brought out in *v.* 24 (cp. vii. 8 (*a*), 21), the "policy" made possible by his cunning in (*b*) in *v.* 25.

24. *his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power*] *i.e.* power he had, but it was "given him" (*v.* 12); he had power only on account of the sin of Israel against God (Aben Ezra and Saadias); by God's permission he "destroyed wonderfully, &c.," even that wonderful work, the sanctuary (Saadias). The "power" is rather the physical force put in motion by Antiochus than the craft which undoubtedly guided it (the alternative interpretations are combined in the Wilna Commentary). He destroyed "the mighty, and the holy people:" the explanation of the latter by the "saints of the most High" (vii. 18, 22) is natural and usual; but commentators are not unanimous with reference to the former. Ewald applies it to the "three of the first horns" of vii. 8, 24; Rashi identifies it with the "worshippers of the stars," *i.e.* idolaters, perhaps with reference to the "stars cast down" (*v.* 10). A more *general* reference of the word to the mighty in the heathen world, to those who resisted his power, is less open to objection.

25. *through his policy*, &c.] A verse very differently rendered by the Greek versions, which must have followed an altogether different text (see add. Note). The verse being a development of that part of the king's character which is described as "the understanding dark sentences" (cp. v. 12), the object is to shew how that crafty "policy" (the "skill" and "cunning," only used here in a bad sense, cf. i. 4, 17) secured success for "hand" and "heart" (the one the passive, the other the active agent towards this end). The very "peace," the careless security in which men lived with him, became indirectly a means of "destroying many" ("the mighty and the holy people"). 1 Macc. i. 30 gives a historical illustration of this thoroughly to the point. In his pride and craft he stands up against "the Prince of Princes" (*v.* 11, and cp. the phrase "Lord of Lords"—Adonai-Adonaim —Ps. cxxxvi. 3), but is "broken without hand" (see marg. ref.), a phrase (cp. Job vii.

and he shall magnify *himself* in his heart, and by ‖peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be [d]broken without hand.

1 Or, *prosperity.*

d 2 Mac. 9. 9.

26 And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told *is* true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it *shall be* for many days.

27 And I Daniel fainted, and was sick *certain* days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood *it*.

6, Prov. xxvi. 20) intimating that his end shall not be due to a man's hand or human power (cp. "hand" in the first part of this verse), but to God's judgment, to (as it were) the "stone cut out without hands" (ii. 34, 45, A. V.). There may or may not be a reference to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Aben Ezra), but the history of that event should be read (1 Macc. vi. 1—16; cp. Milman's 'Hist. of Jews,' II. 8).

26. *the vision of the evening and the morning*] The phrase is the same as translated "day" in *v.* 14, with the addition here of the *definite article*. It may be a mode of defining how long the vision lasted, or (as Theod.) a collective expression for the whole period alluded to in *v.* 14.

shut thou up the vision] Theod. and Vulg. render "seal" (cp. xii. 9), but the word in the original expresses the keeping it to himself in his heart, the laying it by for future use and communication (after "many days," probably "the time of the end," *v.* 17, xii. 4, 9), rather than "sealing." Zöckler, comparing the charge here with that in Rev. xxii. 10, explains the difference by the natural differences of time and circumstances between the Old and New Test. seers. To the former "the many days," "the time of the end," was future in sense and type altogether different to those in which the latter was privileged to conceive them. The New Test. seer was far nearer the end of these world-powers, and could therefore speak freely concerning them to the Israel of God.

27. *I...fainted*] The word is the same as is translated in ii. 1 (his sleep) "brake" (from him). The effect of this vision was to incapacitate Daniel, but only for a time (LXX. *ἀναστὰς ἐπραγματευόμην πάλιν*). As before (iv. 19 A. V.) "astonishment" fell upon him, and—whether he spoke of the vision to others or not—"no one understood it," or had understanding enough to throw light upon it. *The full* comprehension of it would never come till the day of its actual fulfilment.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAP. VIII.

2. אובל אולי. The word אובל from its derivation (יבל, cp. מבול the flood, deluge) probably represents a copious and swiftly-flowing stream. This may well have been the case with the Eulæus in the days of Shushan's prosperity: and, if so, is not without importance in the determination of the disputed question—was Susa in the plain or in the mountains?

8. חזות ארבע. The reading of the Greek versions should be noticed here: their *ἕτερα τέσσαρα* shews that in the copies they followed the first word was אחרות. Grätz proposes adopting this: but the existing Hebrew text is to be preferred as being the more difficult and supported by the analogy of *v.* 5. Others propose punctuating חזות here and in *v.* 5 (cp. 1 Chro. ix. 29, or Dan. iv. 8, 17); but this again is open to the same critical objection that it substitutes an easy for a difficult word. חזות in the phrase קרן ח׳ or by itself is probably a reproduction of the Assyrian Khuseti (some official rank) or of Khissat ("scrutiny, attention"); cp. Norris 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 459, 414. The omission of קרן before ח׳ finds a parallel in the omission of ארץ before הצבי in ver. 9 (cp. xi. 16, where it is inserted).

9. אל־הצבי. The Greek versions followed each their own reading. The LXX. read אל־הצפון, *ἐπὶ βορρᾶν*: Theod. צבא (as in *v.* 10), *δύναμιν*. The variation of the LXX. is evidently due to a desire to enumerate the four points of the compass—*ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ νότον καὶ ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν*. The application of the passage to Antiochus Epiphanes is not affected by this variation. He directed his power both towards the north (Armenia) and towards the Holy Land.

The versions (espec. the Greek) differ in several interesting points from the present Hebrew text of *vv.* 9—12. Grätz, helped by a free and ingenious combination of the Greek versions of *vv.* 11 and 12, reads ושומם instead of וצבא, and "restores", the sense of the first half of *v.* 12 as follows: "und Verwüstung (oder Entweihung) wird auf den Altar des täglichen Opfers gegeben werden durch die Sünde (das Sündenbild)." This emendation is certainly not warranted by the assertion that the "transgression of desolation" in *v.* 13 pre-

supposes previous mention of the subject. Had any such special application been current in the time of the composition of one or other of the Greek texts, it would have been found in one or other of the texts or of the versions more or less dependent upon them.

13. פלמוני. In the Annals of Assur-nasir-pal mention is made of Ahiyababa the son of Lamamana. Dr Hincks rendered Lamaman "nobody," and understood the expression "son of L." to indicate a man of low origin (see Norris' 'Assyr. Dict.' p. 670). If the expression can also be fairly applied to an undefined person, may not the word פלמוני (פל = son) be Babylonian—perhaps a shortened form of Pal-Lamaman—rather than due to the combination of פלוני and אלמוני suggested by Gesenius?

14. *Two thousand and three hundred days.* The first difficulty connected with this expression is the use of ערב בקר instead of ימים (as *e.g.* in xii. 11, 12). Taken as one word, ערב is a solecism which may be considered either a poetical abbreviation, or as equivalent to ע' וב' (LXX. and Theod.). In the next place, critics are divided as to the meaning of the phrase. Some assert for it an allusion to "time" simply, others to the "sacrifice" usual at "evening" and "morning," and so to those times of sacrifice. According as the one or other opinion on the above points is adopted, the phrase is taken to be equal to "days" or "half-days."

Though the selection of 2300 "days," or 1150 "half-days," is attended by one and the same result,—viz. the impossibility of making this number coincide *accurately* with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (vii. 25),—there is more to be said in favour of the latter than of the former application.

It may be supposed that Daniel would use the Babylonian mode of reckoning the year. On this supposition the year would be one of 12 months of 30 days with the insertion of an intercalary Ve-Adar of 30 days in every 6th year, or 60 intercalary days in the Babylonian cycle of 12 years (see Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 160). $3\frac{1}{2}$ years would therefore be 1180 days, omitting the intercalary 15 days. 2300 "days" would, according to the same mode of reckoning, and excluding the intercalary days, be 6 years 4 months and 20 days; and 1150 "half-days," 3 years 2 months and 10 days.

If a comparison of vii. 25, viii. 13, 14, and xii. 11 makes it evident that approximation only is intended, then the time times and dividing of time, *i.e.* the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years or the 1180 days (vii. 25), is sufficiently close to the 1150 "half-days" or $3\frac{1}{4}$ years (approximately) (viii. 13, 14) and the 1290 days (xii. 11) or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (approximately), to make the deficiency in the one case and the excess in the other permissible in a prophetic description.

The student who reads the pages upon pages of criticisms which have been lavished upon these dates, will probably agree with Cahen, that they are almost all based upon arbitrary computations.

25. ועל־שבלו וגו׳. The LXX.—*καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ*—inserted קדשים between על and ש׳. In this it is followed by the Syriac tetrapla; and Grätz supports it on the ground that, not having been marked by Origen with the usual obelus, it probably occurred in the Hebr. text before him. The addition unquestionably gives further coherence to the sense; but the word is evidently inserted from the previous verse, and its absence from Theodotion's text—whose translation is peculiar to himself, *καὶ ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ κλοιοῦ αὐτοῦ κατευθυνεῖ*—may be set off against its hypothetical occurrence in Origen's Hebrew.

בשלוה. Both Greek texts render this *δόλῳ* here. In xi. 21, 24, the LXX. renders it *ἐξάπινα*, and Theod. *ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ* (cp. also iv. 1). The A. V. has the advantage of preserving a uniform translation, though the actual result of the "policy" here may have led to the results described by the Greek versions.

Excursus on the Angelology of the Book of Daniel.

The angelology, it is said, points to a time when Judaism had replaced Hebraism, and to sources decidedly Persian. Peculiar names are given to the angels; separate countries are put under their protection; and these "definite distinctions did not appear among the Israelites before the Persian period, when they came in contact with the adherents of Magianism."

The antiquity of the belief in angels is not now disputed[1]. The foundation of the doctrine is recognized as laid in times far anterior to the captivity of Babylon. The Hebrews had, from the earliest ages, been taught and accustomed themselves to believe in beings of a nature superior to man, messengers of the Most High, executors of His orders. Moses, it is true, gave no precise idea of their nature, nor of the rank they occupied in creation. It is not till later that a definiteness and precision are attained, unrecorded—though not perhaps unrecognized—by the legislator of Israel. In this development the prophet Daniel stands conspicuous. In his pages may

[1] Cf. int. al. Franck, 'Études,' &c. p. 288; Nicolas, pp. 216, 228; Kohut, 'Jüdische Angelologie,' p. 2 (Vol. IV. No. 3 of the 'Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes herausg. v. d. D. M. G.').

be discerned the rudiments of the angelological conceptions so extensively permeating the writings of later Judaism. To him may be traced a more distinct expression of the attributes of the heavenly messengers. They are no longer agents of the Deity generally, but are classed categorically. Each has his special department, each his special functions. The chiefs, those whose part is the most active, are designated by names. The Books of Tobit and the 4th of Esdras carried these conceptions further. They developed angelology into a system, and the heavenly host became in their hands an organised militia.

But is it correct to assign the date and external cause of this development to some two centuries before the Christian era, and to contact with the Persian doctrine of the pure beings who surround the throne of Ormazd? Evidently not. Such an assignment only partly explains the features of even later Judaistic Apocrypha, and certainly fails to account for the phenomena of the Book of Daniel. Babylonia, far more than Persia, had a share in framing the truths the prophet was commissioned to inculcate: though, as regards the date, Mazdeistic contagion was—if necessary for the origination of Daniel's angelology—quite possible long before an age so comparatively modern as the Maccabæan.

A few words will sum up the angelological teaching of the Book of Daniel[1]. Personal appellations are there first assigned to the "ministering spirits" of the Hebrew Church. Two, named by him Gabriel and Michael, are represented as among the chiefs of the celestial hierarchy (השרים הראשנים x. 13), and agents of God in behalf of man[2]. They appear as guardians of nations. They espouse the cause of the people entrusted to them and fight their battles (x. 13, 20). Daniel sees also in his visions "the watchers and holy ones come down from heaven:" the judgment passed upon Nebuchadnezzar is a "matter by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones" (iv. 13, 17, 23). In this can Daniel be, as regards the doctrine of the "watchers," a mere borrower from the Amshashpands of the 'Zend-Avesta'[3]?

and as regards the doctrine of guardian angels, only the echo of a popular opinion[4]?

It is stipulated by criticism that the external features of Daniel's angelology must have been due to the time and scenes in which the writer actually lived, or pretended to have lived. There is ample proof that the Chaldæan mythology and the Mazdeism of the age of the Captivity could have supplied every distinctive feature of Daniel's framework.

The additional notes to ch. ii. and the notes under the text of chaps. vii. and viii. make it almost superfluous to reassert that the Babylonian was taught to consider himself surrounded and affected by spiritual beings from the hour of his birth to that of his death. If ignorance and "magic" impressed the uneducated with the notion that malevolent spirits were in excess of the good, the *khartummim*, the *khakamim*, and the *assaphim* were, for their part, thoroughly familiar with the means of reaching the benevolent genii.

In the old Accadian system[5] the hierarchy of good spirits was classified in a fairly precise manner. Side by side with the wicked *mas*, the wicked *lamma* and the wicked *utuq*, were the good *mas*, the good *lamma* and the good *utuq*. The celestial angels were called *Igili*, and their help was implored in behalf of men. Even in the infernal regions—the birth-place of plague and sickness—the wife of Namtar, the plague personified as a deity, was a good spirit, as if her mission was to lessen the death-blows of her husband and progeny.

In the later Chaldæan-Babylonian system—and that which probably affected the popular as well as sacerdotal belief in the time of Daniel more powerfully than the Accadian—the same feature is continuously prevalent. Ilou, the triads Anou, Nouah and Bel, or Sin, Samas and Bin, and the planetary gods, were served by those legions of "dii minores" whose names are at present only partly known: but whom Berosus, for example, in his fragments on the Cosmogony has represented as working for Bel, and carrying out his orders as Demiurge. Independent, again, of these was that vast series of stellar personifications which was included under the term "host of heaven." These constituted a hierarchy whose constitution as well as classification is well known. The four principal classes of "guardian angels," or genii, found their place here: viz. (1) the *Sed*, *Alap*, or *Kirub*, the bull with the face of a man; (2) the *Lamas* or *Nirgal*, the lion with the head of a man; (3) the *Oustour*, entirely of human similitude; and (4) the *Nattig* with the eagle's head: symbols which will be familiar to the reader of Ezekiel (i. 10, x. 14). Two principal groups of angelic beings were ranked above these, and

[1] Cf. Hardwick, II. p. 419.

[2] This kind of nomenclature speedily became contagious. The Book of Tobit presently added a third, Raphael, and the 4th of Esdras three more, Uriel, Sealthiel and Jeremiel. In the Kabbala, these three are Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, and Gamaliel; in other Rabbinical writings, Sealthiel, Jehudiel, and Barachiel; and in a MS. of the Sibylline oracles Jeremiel, Saniel, and Azael. These differences shew that the theory upon the princes or chiefs of the angels was for a long time floating and uncertain. (Nic. p. 222.)

[3] Davidson, 'Introd. to the Old Testament,' III. p. 178. See on this subject Mill, 'On the Mythical Interpretation,' &c. p. 127.

[4] Nicolas, p. 244.

[5] Cp. for these paragraphs Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 138 sq., p. 101 sq., and Index.

bore names similar to those which similar deities had borne in the Accadian books: viz. the Igîli or celestial spirits, and the Anounnaki or terrestrial. The number of the Igîli is given in a tablet from Nineveh as 300; that of the Anounnaki as 600. On one of the most curious of the tablets recovered and deciphered is the history of the war of the seven evil gods or spirits[1]. Daniel may, or may not, have known this legend. Probably he did; but it would obviously be as unfair to argue that Daniel simply reproduces a Babylonian myth as to assert that Milton plagiarised from the Greek legend of the wars of the Titans against Jupiter.

Thus the angelology of Babylonia presented much that it was possible to imitate, if it was little likely to be imitated by such a man as Daniel. It existed as a tenet common to the Semitic race, and fructifying readily, however diversely, in Semitic minds. The whole train of good and bad angels was a dogma consecrated by the dualistic spirit of Chaldæa, and pictured on the walls of her temples. The "watchers" and "holy ones" which peopled the vision of Nebuchadnezzar were recognized with awe but without astonishment. They were celestial visitors, excelling by their purified beauty the gross forms with which his waking life was familiar.

The Mazdean doctrine of pure spirits was far more attractive. It had that religious and moral character which would attract the Jew. Further study would lead him to consider it a development of his own angelological belief, and a complete portrait of that of which he had as yet sketched the outline only. It has been said, indeed, that an acquaintance with the Amshashpands, the Fervers, &c. of the Mazdean system could not have been possible so early. But this is not the case. Centuries before the times in question, names were current[2] which ultimately became the designations of the Persian archangels. These "best beings," these "wise living spirits," were Vohu manô (the good mind), Asha Vahista (the best truth), Khshathra Vairya (wealth), Çpenta Armaiti (white or holy devotion), Haurvatât (wholesomeness), and Ameretât (immortality)[3]. The etymology and the context prove them to have been, in that remote antiquity, nothing but abstract nouns and ideas representing the gifts which Ahuramazda, as the only Lord, granted to those who worshipped him sincerely[4]. The 'Yaçna Haptanhaiti,' a work composed by one of the earliest successors of Zoroaster, and occupying a place between the older Gâthas and the younger Yaçna[5], presents this and other features of the Zoroastrian religion in a somewhat developed state. "The high philosophical ideas laid down in Zarathustra's own songs were partially abandoned, partially *personified:* the theological, moral and philosophical doctrines gave way to the custom, which has remained up to this time, of addressing prayers to all beings of the good nature, irrespective of their being mere abstract nouns." The name "Amesha Çpenta" (Amshashpand), "the immortal (and) holy (one)," the general term for the highest angels, is first met with and henceforth retained. The process of development thus begun was carried a stage farther in the pages of the 'Vendidad[6].' In that work it is a corollary to the Dualism which sought to supersede Monotheism. Çpento-mainyus and Angro-mainyus, or god and devil, are there encircled with court and council like terrestrial rulers. The number of councillors was fixed at six, each ruling over the separate provinces of the universe, and subject to the celestial or infernal President.

It was easy to foresee that the Amshashpands of the Persian system would be quoted as the nearest parallels to the archangels of Holy Scripture[7]. And it may perhaps be granted that the "princes" of the angels of later Judaism were in some measure a reflection of the princes of light surrounding Ormazd[8]. But it is difficult to understand how the parallelism can relegate the Book of Daniel to the same modern era. The preceding paragraphs will have shewn that, as a mere question of date, it was quite within the circle of sciences open to a Hebrew writer of

[1] G. Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 398 sq.

[2] In the 'Gâtha Ahunavaiti,' Yaç. XLVII. 1; Haug, pp. 143, 260; Spiegel, 'Avesta,' III. p. 8 sq.; 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 30.

[3] They are preserved in modern Parsee compositions under the forms of Bahman, Ardibihisht, Shahrévar, Isfendarmad, Khordâd and Amerdâd. Spiegel ('Av.' III. p. 52 sq.) gives quotations from some of these works: and in his 'Erân. Alterth.' II. 29, other and different meanings to these names.

[4] Spiegel, 'Av.' III. p. 8, considers this a peculiarity attached to them, and running through the whole of the 'Avesta.'

[5] *i.e.* between 1200 and 800 B.C.; cp. Haug, pp. 162, 224.

[6] Fargard I.; Haug, p. 260; Spiegel, p. 7.

[7] See Hardwick, II. p. 422. For example, Kohut, p. 24 &c., has instituted elaborate parallels between Vohumanô and Michael, Craoshô and Gabriel, &c.; parallels which were framed before the readings from the Babylonian tablets were open to him.

[8] Böhmer (Herzog, 'R.-Encykl.' Vol. IV. p. 18 sq., s. v. *Engel*) finds the earthly prototype of the celestial principality in those who "ever stood before the king" Solomon (1 K. x. 8). *Seven* of these were selected (Jer. lii. 25) to be taken to Babylon, because this was the number of the Babylonian councillors, and served to represent the *perfect* annihilation of the highest caste. The septenary division seems to have been common to both Aryan and Semite (Nic. p. 229, note 2).

the Babylonian period to ascertain and reproduce in his pages the current conceptions of Amshashpands and Fravashis[1]. And if it be insisted that such traces of reproduction are certainly found in the Book of Daniel, it will require no further explanation than that furnished by Daniel's practice of sifting, examining, and perhaps insensibly appropriating, all that was good in the foreign systems which came before him. But comparison with the above shews the alleged reproductions to be so slight, so insignificant, as altogether to repudiate the affiliation claimed for them. The conceptions of Daniel, far less elaborate than those of the apocryphal writers who followed him, sever his work from theirs by an interval of centuries. Differences equally remarkable interpose a similarly insuperable barrier to any idea of plagiarism on his part from Mazdean sources. There are indications throughout of independence of origin and treatment, proving, when regarded collectively, the marked distinction recognized by the writer himself between the creed of the Hebrew and the Persian. If there is analogy between them, analogy is not identity; if there is identity, it is not to be explained on the hypothesis that the Jew borrowed from the Persian, or the Persian from the Jew. "It is far more rational to explain this and similar identities on the hypothesis of a common parentage anterior to the primitive migrations, than to argue, first, that the Hebrews only were left without traditions upon these subjects till comparatively modern times; and secondly, that the age in which they finally contracted their belief in such points, was the age when, strangely enough, they are known to have imbibed far stricter tenets on the unity and monarchy of God[2]."

[1] Cp. also Kohut, p. 5.

[2] Hardwick, II. p. 417 sq.; see also Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 179 sq.

There are many facts supporting and commending this opinion of independence of origin. It is a negative fact of some value that the distinguishing angelological features of the Book of Daniel are found less developed, perhaps, but clearly delineated in the Old Testament writings preceding it. It is a fact which casts additional discredit on the favourite attempt to refer the conceptions of the prophet to loans from foreign sources. There is nothing in the subordination or gradation of the spirit-world recorded by Daniel which is not substantially contained in the Books of Moses and the Prophets[3]. There is no inconsistency, no contradiction between the notions of the angelic hierarchy of the Babylonian prophet, and those contained in the works current before the time of the Captivity. Isaiah's splendid vision (vi.) depicts, nearly two centuries before the Exile, the Almighty surrounded by the six-winged seraphim. These constituted the "chief princes" of his day, and one of them by issuing forth with a message to Isaiah offers a proof of independent personality. Earlier still, the prophet Micaiah represents "the LORD sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right and on His left" (1 K. xxii. 19—22). Gradation and personality can only be surrendered here with the authenticity of the passage. And further back still, one who is called the "Captain" or "Prince (שׂר) of the host of the LORD," reveals himself to Joshua as holding a rank of archangelic pre-eminence over the celestial army. What do these instances prove but the affinity between the conception of the ancient books and that of Daniel; just as this last exhibits doctrine identical with that of Zechariah (i. 10, 11, iii. 1, vi. 5, &c.)?

[3] Mill, pp. 123, 4; Hardwick, II. p. 420.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Daniel, considering the time of the captivity.* 3 *maketh confession of sins,* 16 *and prayeth for the restoration of Jerusalem.* 20 *Gabriel informeth him of the seventy weeks.*

IN the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, ‖ which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans; ‖ Or, *in which he, &c.*

CHAP. IX. 1, 2. *In the first year of Darius,* &c.] *i.e.* B.C. 538—7. The occurrences of this chapter—the "understanding by books," the prayer, and Gabriel's visit—took place soon after the events of the last chapter. Darius is described as of the "seed" of the Medes, the word being that similarly employed in the Inscriptions (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 373, 374), and as "made king," not in the sense of being made king by God (Cahen), but by some other prince—a phrase which therefore throws light on the expression "took the kingdom" of v. 31. It was a time of political convulsion, and above all of the destruction of that Babylonian empire which had worked God's will upon Jerusalem and His people (*v.* 16). Such an event would be certain to have an effect upon Daniel. His previous visions (vii. and viii.) had prepared him for the events which had happened and were still to happen to the world-powers: but what would be the issue as regarded God's chosen but captive people? Would the proclamation be heard that the temple might be rebuilt and Jerusalem be free again? The "books" to which he turned gave him part "understand-

2 In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the LORD came to [a] Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

[a] Jer. 25. 11. & 29. 10.

3 ¶ And I set my face unto the

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ing," but not all. God, in His goodness, sent His messenger to "shew" (*v.* 23) His servant things immediate and things still future.

2. *I...understood by books*] All God's prophecies seem, and are, obscure till their fulfilment. The light of divine truth removes the obscurity, but does not supersede the necessity of a diligent study of those prophecies like unto Daniel's (Ezek. xiii. 3). "Whoso readeth, let him understand" (Matt. xxiv. 15).

The present Hebrew text puts a stop after "books." The translation would therefore be "In...books...the number of years...that He would (lit. 'to') accomplish the desolations (not 'in the d.,' cp. LXX., Jer. xxv. 9, and Theod.) (was) seventy years." The 70 years "desolations" (*i.e.* cities or places desolate and desert through the inhabitants having been carried into exile, Ezek. xxxiii. 24, xxxvi. 33) is to be taken metaphorically rather than literally (cp. the history of 2 K. xxiv. and xxv.).

It is difficult to decide when the 70 years were considered by Daniel to begin; *v.* 25, to which many critics refer, does not throw much light upon the question. That verse gives Gabriel's statement, not Daniel's thought; and the starting-point of the calculation is "from the going forth of the commandment to restore," *i.e.* by Cyrus, and not from the commencement of the desolations. According as Daniel had in his mind Jer. xxv. 1 or xxix. 1, a choice is thought, by some, to lie between two different dates—the fourth year of Jehoiakim or the accession of Jehoiachin. But the reference in Jeremiah's second letter (xxix. 10) presupposes the prophecy already declared (xxv. 11, 12); and on the whole it seems best to understand by the expression "seventy years" the period which, speaking generally, elapsed between the first occupation of Judæa by Nebuchadnezzar and the time of Cyrus (B.C. 606—536). The question is partly connected with another: what is meant by the "books" (Sepharim)? Certainly not what is understood by the Old Test. generally (the Thorah, Nebi-im, and Ketubim), a point maintained by some writers, for the word "Sepharim" is never so used, even in late times; nor does the expression refer to a collected volume of *all* the canonical books then current. The "Sepharim" is in all probability a collection of the works of the *prophets* (see Fürst, 'Kanon,' p. 56; Grätz, 'Kohelet,' p. 150), though not in the complete sense which the word afterwards acquired in the old Talmudic literature. In the time of Daniel it had the fragmentary sense implied in the LXX. and Theod. ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις; and in the special case under consideration the "books" consulted were, according to Kimchi, the *Sepher Hamattanah* and the *Sepher Hagalon*—*i.e.* the sections of Jeremiah known as such—or, according to Wieseler, chaps. xxv. and xxix. of the same prophet. Jer. xxv. 9 and 11, and xxix. 10, present interesting proofs of the influence exercised by Jeremiah over Daniel. The mode here (*v.* 2) of spelling his name, Yirmeyah, is that found in the section Jer. xxvii.—ix.; Yirmeyahu being the more common form.

3. "Not," says St Jerome, "that Daniel was incredulous about God's fulfilment of His promise, but he prayed lest his very confidence should beget negligence, and that negligence be an offence." Daniel's prayer was for "the church in the wilderness" of desolation and captivity, the Christian's prayer must be for the "church of God purchased with the precious blood," yet still, on account of its "sins" and "iniquities," deserving God's "anger and fury" (*v.* 16). The church of Christ has a "promise;" but that promise must be sought by "prayer;" when so sought, there is ever an "answer."

"Prayer" (in general) and "supplication" (Theod. δέησις), two parts of one great purpose (*v.* 20), were prepared for by "fasting" &c.; *external* aids were employed in accordance with the practice of his people; they were in Daniel's time and opinion means to an end; the LXX. (and Theod.), writing at a much later period, raised them to the end itself (cp. LXX. εὑρεῖν προσευχὴν καὶ ἔλεος ἐν νηστείαις κ.τ.λ.).

The prayer (*vv.* 4—19) has two principal divisions as pointed out by Melanchthon. Daniel confesses the sins of his people and the justice of God's punishment (*v.* 4—14); then he implores God's pardon (15—19). "It is a sign of true contrition to recognize the anger of God against our sins, to sorrow for our offences against Him, to give Him glory for the justice of our punishment, and to be obedient when punished. But the practice of contrition is attended with this reward—consolation. By his example the prophet teaches us to seek and expect pardon on account of God's mercy and promises." Of these two chief divisions the former has the following subdivision: *vv.* 4—10 are a statement confessing chiefly the sins of his people as they were in Daniel's own time; *vv.* 11—14 add with sorrow that thus it had been in the long past, and that the punishment had fallen only to be forgotten.

Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes:

4 And I prayed unto the LORD my God, and made my confession, and
[b] Deut. 7. 9. Neh. 1. 5. said, O [b] Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments;

[c] Baruch 1. 17. 5 [c] We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgments:

6 Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

[f] Or, *thou hast*, &c. 7 O Lord, righteousness [f] *belongeth* unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, *that are* near, and *that are* far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee.

[d] Baruch 1. 15. 8 O Lord, [d] to us *belongeth* confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee.

9 To the Lord our God *belong* mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him;

10 Neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets.

11 Yea, all Israel have transgressed

The prayer should be compared with those in Ezra ix. 6—15; Neh. i. 5—11, ix. 6—38; Baruch i. 14—ii. 19. All are founded upon thoughts matured in the time of exile, but common to the people of God from the days when liturgical worship expressed them in language. The similarities of diction are not due to servile imitation or to plagiarism, but to a natural and insensible reproduction of the old truths and phrases loved by all devout spirits in common (cp. *v.* 4 with Neh. i. 5, ix. 32, and both with Deut. vii. 21; *v.* 7, 8, 9, with Neh. ix. 17, 32, 34; Ezra ix. 7; Jer. vii. 19; Pss. xliv. 16, cxxx. 4; 2 Chro. xxxii. 21, and all with Exod. xx. 6, 34; Deut. x. 17). Such marks of difference as occur (cp. *vv.* 6 and 8 with Ezra ix. 7 and Neh. ix. 32, 34, 38) are only what might have been expected from men writing at the time and in the order of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

The changes in the name applied to the Deity, Lord (Adonai), God (El, Elohim), and LORD (Jehovah), changes preserved in the A. V., should be noticed, illustrating as they often do the conception or the attribute prominent in the mind of Daniel.

5. *sinned...even by departing*, &c.] Israel's fault is analysed in the words here used. The "sin" is, first of all, the missing the mark, the wandering from truth and the right way (ἁμαρτία); it is followed by "committing iniquity," the acting perversely (ἀνομία) as a consequence of wandering; this again has a further stage in "doing wickedly," as it were in wilful opposition to doing rightly (ἀσεβεία and ἀδικία); the result is "rebellion," obstinate resistance issuing in apostasy (ἀπόστασις), and finally "departure," turning away, from God's "precepts and judgments."

7. The order of the original is emphatic in its contrasts, an order preserved in the versions, except A.V. It should be "To Thee, O Lord, belongeth (is) righteousness, to us" (afterwards amplified in "to the men of Judah," &c.) "confusion," &c. In *vv.* 8, 9, the A. V. retains the order of the original, the name "Adonai" ("O Lord") in *v.* 8 being placed first, as the word which is to take precedence before "us;" the Lord first, man next.

as at this day] The phrase is not to be taken as equivalent to "about this time," but, as in *v.* 15 (cp. Jer. xxv. 18, xliv. 6, 22, 23), as implying a comparison. Experience and actual fact ("as we see to-day," Rashi) proved that "confusion of face" was their portion, and "renown" (*v.* 15) was God's.

trespass...trespassed against thee] The word translated "trespass" implies covert dealing, deception, and faithlessness, and strikingly sums up the characteristic sin of the "kings, princes and fathers" of Israel (cp. Lev. v. 21, xxvi. 40; Num. v. 6, 12; Ezek. xx. 27). LXX. renders it here πλημμελεία.

9. *mercies and forgivenesses, though*] Better as LXX., Theod., Vulg. "because." It is because Israel have rebelled that they need "mercies and forgivenesses", (lit. loosing and untying the bands of sin; cp. Neh. ix. 17; and the use of the verb in Num. xxx. 13; Deut. xxix. 19).

10. *laws, which he set before us*] "laws" generally (LXX. sing. "His law") such as God had given to His people from the earliest

thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that *is* written in the [e]law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

[e] Lev. 26. 14, &c. Deut. 28. 15, &c. & 29. 20, &c. & 30. 17, 18. & 31. 17, &c. & 32. 19, &c.

12 And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem.

13 As [f]*it is* written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet [†]made we not our prayer before the LORD our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth.

[f] Levit. 26. 14. Deut. 28. 15. Lam. 2. 17.

[†] Heb. *intreated we not the face of the &c.*

14 Therefore hath the LORD watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God *is* righteous in all his works which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice.

15 And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast [†]gotten thee [g]renown, as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly.

[†] Heb. *made thee a name.*

[g] Exod. 14. 18.

16 ¶ O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people *are become* a reproach to all *that are* about us.

17 Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and

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times (LXX. "to Moses and us") by His prophets, presently (*vv.* 11, 13) considered as a collection—"the law of Moses the servant of God." The words in the original are the sing. and plur. of the same noun—*Torah*—and in the latter case not without interest in the history of the Old Test. Canon.

11. *the curse is poured upon us*] God's indignation and anger (Jer. xlii. 18), and here His curse (long ago threatened, Lev. xxvi. 14; Deut. xxviii. 15, xxix. 18) is poured down like a storm of hail (Exod. ix. 33; Gen. xix. 24; Jer. vii. 20, xlii. 18, xliv. 6; Nahum i. 6). To add emphasis to the fact, Daniel declares in the following words that affirmation of the "curse" by the "oath" which was accounted so binding in the traditions of the Israelites (Num. v. 21; Neh. x. 29, A.V.).

12. *confirmed his words...against our judges*] Lit. "hath made to stand:" the word is used in the sense of fulfilling a prophecy in Isai. xliv. 26, a promise in Deut. ix. 5, and a covenant in Jer. xxxiv. 18.

The occurrence of the word "judges" (Shofetim) here is of some interest. It is not to be taken in its more restricted application—the "judges" proper, the princes or heads of the people in the period between Joshua and Samuel—but rather in the sense which includes not only these but also "the kings and princes" of *vv.* 6, 8. An illustration of this is to be found in the Phœnician use of the term, as recorded in the Marseilles Table of offerings (*c.* B.C. 500—400). There the "Sufeten" (cp. Liv. XXVIII. 37, XXX. 7) are the *Shofetim* in the sense of the chief men of the colony (see Meier, 'der Phön. Opfertafel von Marseille' in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' XIX. 92).

13. *understand thy truth*] The original of "understand" is the word so frequent in Daniel (cp. *v.* 22 and i. 4, 17): the "truth" here is not only the δικαιοσύνη of the LXX., but, as in viii. 12, the law in which God was pleased to convey the knowledge of His truth.

14. *watched*] An expression for which the Babylonian mode of thought (iv. 13 A. V., the word there and that here being cognate in sense; see note) is sufficient explanation, and which acquires additional interest from its occurrence in Jeremiah (*e.g.* i. 12; xxxi. 28, cp. also Ezra viii. 29). There is no hostility implied in the phrase, but simply an attitude (cp. Jer. xxxi. 28) which the conduct itself of Israel should decide to be one for good or for evil. Daniel in these verses (11—14) explains why God's anger and fury against His "chosen" people has been marked by such exceeding punishment. They had met His great "mercies and forgivenesses" with ingratitude and rebellion. St Luke (xii. 48) gives Christ's comment upon similar conduct.

15. *hast gotten thee renown, as at this day*] See marg. rend. In the punishment of Israel by captivity the name of God was as much magnified as in the deliverance from Egypt, though in a different way; and the fact is urged as an additional reason for mercy (cp. Jer. xxxii. 20; Nehem. i. 10, ix. 10; Isai. lxiii. 11). From such passages as this arose the use among the Rabbins of "the Name" as a title for Jehovah.

17. *hear the prayer of thy servant...for the Lord's sake*] Daniel applies to himself the title "servant" which he gives to Moses and the prophets (*e.g. vv.* 10, 11, LXX. beauti-

his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake.

18 O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city † which is called by thy name: for we do not † present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies.

† Heb. *whereupon thy name is called.*
† Heb. *cause to fall.*

19 O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name.

20 ¶ And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the LORD my God for the holy mountain of my God;

21 Yea, whiles I *was* speaking in prayer, even the man [h] Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly † swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation.

[h] chap. 8. 16.
† Heb. *with weariness, or, flight.*

22 And he informed *me*, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth † to give thee skill and understanding.

† Heb. *to make thee skilful of understanding.*

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fully depicts the relation by the word παῖς, παῖδες), a title intended to shew that he felt his communion with God to be like unto theirs. It is one which no pseudo-Daniel would have been permitted to retain. "For the Lord's" (Adonai) "sake,"—a phrase worded in a slightly different manner in *v.* 19, "for thine own sake, O my God (Elohai)"—is rendered by the LXX. "for the sake of thy servants (δούλων), O Lord" (δέσποτα in *vv.* 8, 16): but the A. V. rendering, which is also that of the versions and commentators, is faithful to that spiritual instinct which asks of God not for man's but for God's sake, because He is God.

18. *behold our desolations*] The word is not the same as in *v.* 2, but as in *v.* 26 refers rather to those judgments of God which filled the mind with "astonishment" (see deriv. of the original). It includes the special "desolation"—the desolate sanctuary *v.* 17, cp. viii. 13—which was perhaps the most trying as well as "astonishing" to the Jews.

present our supplications] The marg. (Theod. ῥιπτοῦμεν) preserves better the force of the original. There is an allusion intended to the practice of kneeling or falling prostrate in prayer (cp. *v.* 20, vi. 10; Jer. xxxviii. 26, xlii. 9).

19. The energy and fervour of this prayer, so replete with scriptural allusions and couched in scriptural language, reaches its climax in this verse. Notice the triple repetition of the word "Lord" (Adonai), the position of that word, the abruptness of the clauses, and the emphatic forms of the verbs in the original. It closes with the thought, "defer not" ("tarry not," LXX. and Theod. μὴ χρονίσῃς), which implies how earnestly Daniel hoped for the speedy accomplishment of the 70 years" (*v.* 2). The LXX. adds Sion to the word "city," and Israel to "people," as if specifying *the* objects of God's mercy. If the Church Catholic, and every true portion of it, derive its "name" from Christ, then is that fact one of the most potent reasons for praying to, and expecting an answer from, Him to whom it is dedicated.

20. *And whiles I was speaking*, &c.] Part only of what Daniel prayed is recorded (*vv.* 4—19). The tenses of the original convey the impression that the prophet was still rapt in communion with God. His prayer was for his own sin as well as for the sin of his people. He Daniel was one of the "people." In his humility he coupled himself with his sinful fellow-countrymen that pardon might be granted in answer to that humility (Jerome).

When his prayer first began is not recorded: the answer to it, conveyed by the angel Gabriel, was given—about sunset, or (Cahen) about our three o'clock in the afternoon (*v.* 21, cp. Num. xxviii. 4)—"about the time of the evening oblation," an expression which (like vi. 10) indicates the faithful attachment of Daniel to the religious memories of his people, even if their religious practices were denied him.

21. *being caused to fly swiftly*] This translation, supported by the versions (cp. LXX. τάχει φερόμενος) and most commentators, is that which is attended with fewest difficulties. The marg. rendering—which is also that of Aben Ezra and Gesenius—is obtained by derivation from a different root, and introduces a novel idea, that of angelic weariness; an idea which is of course capable of being softened down into the paraphrase "haste," but which is without support from other Biblical passages. Some commentators, in accepting this latter rendering, escape the difficulty by transferring it to Daniel himself—"Gabriel, whom I, when in a state of weariness, had seen," &c.—a transference which is not warranted from the passage viii. 17, adduced in support of this view. Another rendering "shining in splen-

23 At the beginning of thy supplications the † commandment came forth, and I am come to shew *thee*; for thou *art* † greatly beloved: therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision.

† Heb. *word.*

† Heb. *a man of desires.*

24 Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, ‖ to finish the transgression, and ‖ to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to

‖ Or, *to restrain.*

‖ Or, *to seal up.*

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dour," though unsupported, is natural and unaccompanied by the difficulties, angelological or otherwise, which the first presents.

22. *and he informed me...understanding*] Better "he made me understand...understanding" (Theod. συνέτισε σύνεσιν), the words being derived from the same root, and recalling the "understanding" derived and sought for in *v.* 2 (cp. *v.* 23 and viii. 16).

23. *the commandment came forth*] Better (as marg.) "the word" (and in *v.* 25); the word of God which, as an oracle, is contained in *vv.* 24—27, and is made known to Daniel. The translation "commandment" would imply a charge to Gabriel.

thou art greatly beloved] See the marg. here and in x. 11, 19 for a literal rendering of the phrase (Theod. ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν). The phrase is illustrated by the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, where the Assyrian equivalent is employed to describe "excellence" (*e.g.* of iron, Norris 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 434). As a title it may be compared to "Jedidiah" given to Solomon (2 S. xii. 25), and in later days to the epithet of Titus "amor et deliciæ generis humani." Its significance as applied to Daniel has been thus pointed out: Daniel was not only the means through which, but the man for whose sake, God was pleased to make that revelation which proved of such inestimable value to Daniel's people centuries later (Füller).

understand the matter] Better "u. the word," the original being the same as in the previous part of the verse. An alternative translation, "beloved and understanding in the matter," &c., is not so good as that of the A. V.

24. On some of the leading difficulties and diversities of opinions connected with these verses, see Excursus at end of Chap.

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people...thy holy city] By some taken to be 70 weeks of days (x. 3) or 490 days; by others 70 weeks of years (*e.g.* Lev. xxv. 8) or 490 years, with a reference, *i.e.*, to the 70 years of Jeremiah alluded to in *v.* 2.

The pronoun "thy" before people and city as spoken by the angel is as it were an answer to the prayer of *v.* 16 seq. God associates Daniel with Himself: "My people and thy people," "My city and thy city." Jerusalem —in spite of "rebellion," "transgression," and "sin" (*vv.* 5, 11, 16)—in spite also of being a "reproach," a "confusion of face, and "desolate" (*vv.* 7, 16, 17)—was still "holy" (Isai. lii. 1; Matt. iv. 5).

The word translated "determined" is an ἅπ. λεγ. and is taken by lexicographers to be cognate to the word rendered "decree" (the "decree" of the "gazerin" or "astrologers") in iv. 17, 21 (A. V.). If such a sense was connected with the phrase here, the mystical and symbolical significance often accorded to the verse receives additional confirmation. To the Babylon-bred Daniel it would be a natural as well as appropriate word. The general significance of the expression is preserved in the LXX. ἐκρίθησαν, but narrowed, and therefore obliterated, by the translation of Theodotion and the Vulgate (συνετμήθησαν; abbreviatæ sunt; the latter translation being perhaps assisted by the ἐκολοβώθησαν of Matt. xxiv. 12).

to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins] The marginal variations give a different sense to these two clauses, and are due to a different punctuation of the verb in the first, and to a different reading in the second. The A. V. follows the versions in preferring "finish;" and the sentence is a strong affirmation of the close of that form of "transgression" to which allusion had been frequently made (*e.g.* viii. 12, 13). In the second clause, the marg. rendering is that of Theodotion (σφραγίσαι), and being much more difficult represents probably the original reading. The A. V. has indeed the support of viii. 23 (cp. also Isai. xvi. 4, xxxiii. 1), but the idea "sealing" up sins is so truly Babylonian, that it should not be set aside. In the Maccabæan period the meaning of the phrase was lost; but to the Babylonian familiar with those seals, for example, which kings wore representing the slaughter of the evil principle (cp. vi. 17, and G. Smith's 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 434), it was intelligible and emphatic (cp. Rev. xx. 3).

to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness] The first clause is the technical expression for atonement (*e.g.* Lev. v. 8, xix. 22; Pss. lxv. 4, lxxviii. 38), and is coupled with the second as cause and effect, or as the negative and positive aspects of the Messianic mercies of God. The words "transgression," "sin," and "iniquity," so often repeated by Daniel in penitence, are thus repeated to him in mercy, as if to assure him emphatically that God would put them away as though they had not been. (Pusey.)

righteousness] A true attribute of Messianic

seal up the vision and [1]prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

25 Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince

[1] Heb. *prophet.*

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times (Isai. xlvi. 3, li. 5, &c., liii. 11; Jer. xxiiii. 6; Mal. iii. 20), this is defined to be everlasting, like to the kingdom of which it is the ornament (ii. 44, vii. 18, 27); not a righteousness which is "by the law" and external, but that righteousness which "dwelleth in the new heavens and the new earth" (2 Pet. iii. 13). This sentence, as a whole, occupies justly its central position. It is preceded, because prepared for, by the "finish" of sin; it is followed by the closing of the means, which were closed because merged in higher and holier.

to seal up the vision and prophecy] The metaphor of the previous clause is repeated, but with a different sense:—either the "sealing" is used to express the confirmation of the document (Jer. xxxii. 10, 11, 44; a practice frequent in Babylonia: cp. John vi. 27); or to attest its closing up.

It is a difficult question to decide what "vision and prophecy" is meant. The marg. reading "prophet" (LXX. and Theod.) is more literally correct, while the absence of the definite article from the substantives makes the A. V. state more than the original. This indefiniteness at once makes it extremely questionable to refer the "vision and prophet" to the special prophecy of Jeremiah (xxv. and xxix.). It is far preferable to take the words in the most general sense: "vision and prophet," one means of communicating the message and the messenger, are "sealed;" their mission has received its confirmation. The "visions and prophets" of the Old Test. received their fulfilment in Jesus Christ (Matt. xi. 13; Luke xxii. 37; John i. 46): this does not exclude the belief that the visions and prophets of the New Test. point onward to a yet further confirmation in the second Advent (2 Cor. i. 20).

to anoint the most Holy] Liter. as LXX. and Theod. "a Holy of Holies" (see the Excursus). The phrase is here an attribute of a Person, who is to present Messianic truth in a yet higher and holier form than the "prophet" who precedes him. This was literally fulfilled in the case of Jesus Christ and John the Baptist (John iii. 30, &c.). Others translate the words "the Holy of Holies," and refer them to the altar of offering of the new covenant and Messianic congregation, which is to take the place of that which is despoiled and profaned, and is never more to be desecrated (viii. 14, cp. vii. 25, ix. 17). So understood, this prophecy received a fulfilment when the service of the temple was restored after the three years' desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. iv. 54). In a more complete manner it was fulfilled, when the cross of Christ—anointed and consecrated by the shedding of His precious blood—became the altar of offering proper to the sanctuary and service of the New Covenant (Zöckler). Cp. Hebr. xiii. 10; Col. i. 20. But it awaits still its final and most complete fulfilment when "the tabernacle of God shall be with men" (Rev. xxi. 1—3), and "prophecies shall fail" (1 Cor. xiii. 8).

25. The opening words recall the language of our Lord, "Whoso readeth, let him understand" (Matt. xxiv. 15).

the going forth of the commandment] Lit. "word." The analogy of *vv.* 2 and 23 refers this expression here to one and the same "word," the oracle of God. It is no new prophecy which is to be considered, but an amplification of *v.* 24.

to restore and to build] (See marg. and Excursus): probably, to restore the captives. Many critics, however, prefer the sense of restoring the city to its pristine state (*e.g.* Cahen).

the Messiah the Prince] The words in the original have not the definite article (cp. Theod. ἕως χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου). Hence many commentators prefer the indefiniteness of "an anointed one, a prince." In either case two distinctive marks are specified for the identification of the person alluded to. (1) He must be anointed (*Messiah*); (2) he must be a prince (*Nagid*). Norris gives the word "nigutu" in sense of "authority" and "jurisdiction" ('Assyr. Dict.' III. 976).

According to the teaching of the Old Testament, kings and priests were anointed, and they alone. The apposition of the words here points therefore to one who combined in himself those attributes and functions which belonged to a king *and* a priest. Such an idea would be familiar to one who like Daniel had been educated in the court of the priest-king Nebuchadnezzar, however unknown—or, at least, unfamiliar—such a combination may have been elsewhere. If therefore reference was intended to Cyrus, the Lord's anointed, of whom Isaiah (xlv. 1) had spoken—Cyrus when he became king of Babylon would be properly designated by such a title. The Messianic prophet had described him under the title of "Messiah" or anointed; the regal or princely dignity he had assumed would be to the mind of a devout Israelite like Daniel a reflection of that "prince"-dom or king-ship which had been the attribute of David (2 S. v. 2). But though Cyrus would satisfy the requisites of the title "Messiah-Nagid," he cannot be said to have exhausted them. And certainly no

shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street [1] shall be built again, and the [2] wall, even [3] in troublous times.

26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, [4] but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto

[4] Or, *and shall have nothing.*

[1] Heb. *shall return and be built.*
[2] Or, *breach, or, ditch.*
[3] Heb. *in strait of times.*

earthly priest-king after him, as such a term was afterwards understood, ever did. The term "Nagid" in later Hebrew sank from its previous grandeur to be the designation of the head of a small community, the προστάτης (for example) of the people in the time of the high-priest Onias II. (Josephus, 'Antiq.' XII. 4 2); and the "Messiah-Nagid" was the high-priest of the post-exilic period (Grätz). It would have been then impossible—"comical" according to Grätz—to have assigned the title of Nagid to a mighty sovereign, while the title Messiah had acquired more and more that mystical meaning which rendered it inappropriate to a heathen king.

The title "Messiah-Nagid" is therefore best understood if it be taken as typical of the Messiah. Jesus Christ at His first Advent was this in a higher sense than any Cyrus or Joshua son of Jozadak; He will be *the* Messiah-Nagid in its highest and most spiritual sense in that day when *the* "Word" goes forth, and He shall appear unto all who "look for His coming."

the street...and the wall, &c.] *i.e.* of Jerusalem. The words translated "street" and "wall" have been variously rendered (see marg., int. al.); but that of the A. V. (cp. Theod.) is usually preferred. According to the punctuation adopted (see Excursus) this rebuilding took place either at the end of "seven and threescore and two weeks," or after the "seven" and during the "threescore and two weeks." The apposition of the words (cp. Isai. xxvi. 1) conveys the idea that the rebuilding would be symmetrical and strong, and not at haphazard or imperfect. *The* drawback to continuous progress would be "troublous times." Historically the books of Ezra and Nehemiah furnish a verification of this passage if the Masoretic punctuation be preferred. The rebuilding of Jerusalem was frequently interrupted and hindered. In the second year of Darius Hystaspis (Hagg. i. 4) the city was inhabited, but it had neither walls nor gates (Zech. ii. 8, 9). The enemies of the Jews were only too successful in preventing rapid or continuous work (Ezra iv.). By the 20th year of Artaxerxes what wall there was was broken down and the gates burnt (Neh. i. 3). Typically (cp. Ps. li. 18, A. V.) the passage has reference to the building of the New Jerusalem with walls "great and high" and streets of "pure gold" (Rev. xxi. 10 seq.).

26. *And after threescore and two weeks,* &c.] *i.e.* at the end of them. The verse therefore describes what shall take place in the 70th "week." Who then is Messiah that shall be cut off? There is no definite article in the original, and the Greek versions translate the word not χριστὸς (Vulg.), but χρῖσμα. Is he the same as in *v.* 25 or not? The question is connected with another: Who is "the prince (Nagid) that shall come?" Is he identical with Messiah? Is he the same as in *v.* 26 or as in xi. 22? The number of changes which may be rung on these questions will give some idea of the number of answers which have been given. Perhaps the answer which requires least alteration of the punctuation of the present text is the answer which considers the Nagid in this verse distinct from the Nagid of *v.* 25, and the "Messiah" the same if the traditional division of *v.* 25 be preferred, but different if the Masoretic accentuation be followed. The advocates of either view are obliged to make the dates very elastic to suit their requirements.

and the people of the prince that shall come, &c.] The Greek versions agree in "punctuating" the word translated "people" as a preposition ("with"), and give a different sense to the whole verse: "Both the city and the sanctuary shall he (scil. βασιλεία ἐθνῶν, LXX.) destroy with the prince," &c. (μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ, LXX., as if they had read Messiah). This rendering is certainly very old, and, if accepted, gives a good sense. But the punctuation followed (*e.g.*) by A. V. is much harder, and therefore probably original. Commentators identify the "prince" with Antiochus Epiphanes as the type of Antichrist, or—passing over the reference to Antiochus—with Antichrist alone, or assign the title to Titus.

and the end thereof shall be with a flood] "The end" of what or of whom? Some commentators answer, Of the city and the sanctuary together or separately; others, Of the prince that shall come. The LXX. (probably) and Vulg. favour the last-named application; and this is supported by the masculine gender of the substantive and by the *usus loquendi* of the word "flood." The analogy of such passages in Daniel as xi. 10, 22, 26, 40, make the reference to a person more probable than to a place or thing. The rendering of this clause should therefore be "the prince that shall come and shall find his end in the (not 'a') flood." The "flood" is either used *sensu bellico* for the army (see reff. above), or as typical of divine punishment. Judged by the

the end of the war [1]desolations are determined.

27 And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and

[1] Or, *it shall be cut off by desolations.*

Babylonian colouring of the whole book, the latter sense—involving, as it often might, the former—would probably be uppermost in the mind of Daniel. Not only was he, as a Jew, familiar with the records of Gen. vii. 17, &c., Exod. xiv. 26, &c.; but, as trained in Babylonian courts, he knew how largely the recollections of *the* flood entered into the popular legends, and how, even in his own day, the popular rites connected with the rise of the river Euphrates attested the importance or the dread connected with the idea of "flood" or inundation. Tablets still exist recording how in the month Nisan the officer, called the *amil-urgal*, had to watch the stream, and record in the temple the measure of the waters, praying at the same time to Bel, the great god of Babylon, to be propitious to the country (G. Smith, 'Assyr. Discoveries,' ch. XI. and pp. 395—7). The LXX. either did not understand the allusion (either here or in the xith chap., where it has nothing like Theod.'s κατακλυσμός), or it followed a different reading, "with" anger.

and unto the end of the war...determined] So Grätz: this is better than the marg. rendering. There is nothing gained in breaking up this verse as follows: "and unto the end, *i.e.* to the end of the 'week,' there shall be war;" or of reducing "desolations" to the meaning "ruins."

27. *And he shall confirm...for one week*] It is far preferable to take with Vulg. "he" as the nominative in this sentence than "covenant" (LXX.) or "one week" (Theod., see Excurs.). The allusion will be to the Nagid (Prince) of *v.* 26. The theocratic sense of the word "covenant" usual in the book Daniel (xi. 22, 30, 32) must be preserved here; the covenant confirmed is not a mere princely or royal agreement, but the covenant of God with Israel or the laws of God. If the acts here assigned to the "prince that shall come" are to be identified with the acts of the "vile persons" (xi. 21), the confirmation of the covenant would be one of those acts of flattery (do.) by which he "worked deceitfully," till he threw off the mask, and "caused the sacrifice to cease," &c. The "many" are the multitude (the οἱ πολλοὶ of the Greek versions) whose opposition to Hellenizing practices was well known, but who were blinded by the "prince's" dissimulation.

and in the midst of the week...to cease] *i.e.* in the half (ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει Theod.), and that the latter half (ἐν τῷ τέλει LXX.) of the week alluded to in the previous clause of this verse. To "cause to cease" is literally to "cause to rest," and does not imply cessation from either cruel or vindictive motives but rather from suspension. The "sacrifice and oblation" represent the two principal elements of the Mosaic offering, and may be taken as a summary mode of describing the offering generally.

and for the overspreading...desolate] This clause has been well called a *crux interpretum*. It has furnished almost as many explanations as explainers. Briefly stated, the majority of these belong to one or other of two principal divisions, (*a*) those that follow the lead of the Gk. and Lat. versions, (*b*) those that do not. (*a*) requires a different reading and punctuation of the present Hebrew text. If the requisite alterations be admitted, the usual reference of the words to Christ as an Avenger, or to the acts of desecration by the Zealots previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, or to the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes, are readily deduced. (*b*) leaves the present Hebrew text intact.

The A.V. can hardly be said—either in the text or the margin—to satisfy entirely (*a*) or (*b*); though both readings help to preserve—what should not be forgotten—the identification of the person intended with the person referred to in the previous clauses, *i.e.* the "prince" (Nagid). The word rendered "overspreading"—and (marg.) metaphorically the "battlements" (or pinnacles) of the temple—is literally a "wing;" and the sentence would be more literally rendered "upon the wing of abominations (shall be—ἔσται LXX.) a desolator."

Without insisting upon any special reference of this description to any special person, does the peculiarity of the imagery require a paraphrase to explain it, or does that very peculiarity suggest another and a nearer explanation? This sentence should be studied as it would be understood by one surrounded by the winged monsters of Babylonia. In the Babylonian ring of the words and thought lies the solution of the difficulty connected with the imagery of the clause. God riding upon the Cherubim and "seen upon the wings of the wind," or bearing up "His people on eagle's wings," were metaphors familiar to the prophet; not less so were the "lion with the eagle's wings," and "leopard with wings of a fowl" (vii. 4, 6), symbolizing that power and rapidity of flight which was used not for protection but for desolation. This imagery was employed by Gabriel to bring home to Daniel that the desolator should, as it were, ride upon abomination, and be a winged abomination like one of those hideous forms which represented the evil genii.

[1] Or, *with the abominable armies.*
[2] Matth. 24. 15. Mark 13. 14. Luke 21. 20.

[1] for the overspreading of [2] abominations he shall make *it* desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

even until the consummation, &c.] The meaning of this sentence is clear, though the details are not without difficulty to the critical student. If the previous clauses spoke of destruction, trouble, and desolation, the faithful are now assured that these woes shall not last for ever.

The opening words occur in Isai. x. 23, and xxviii. 22, and are there translated "a consumption even determined;" here they form the subject to the verb "poured." Whether the last word in the verse be taken as "a desolate one" or "desolator," the reference is in either case to the same person, the Nagid. He who had been a desolator becomes desolate.

The same "consummation" was revealed to, and recorded by, the Daniel of the New Test.—St John the Divine. In the "Revelation" the desolations permitted to Antichrist are described; and side by side with them the "end." Victory is assured to the Christian through the conquering power of the Lamb.

Excursus on the Seventy Weeks.

Ch. IX. 24—7.

"I know," said St Jerome[1], "that this passage has been much disputed among the most learned men. Each has spoken the opinion suggested by his own mind. And therefore, because I consider it dangerous to pass judgment on the views of the doctors of the Church, and invidious to prefer one to another, I will state what each one has thought, and leave it to the option of the reader whose interpretation he shall follow." St Jerome's example may be imitated in any remarks upon this, the second great prophetic section of the book.

The record of variation dates from pre-Christian times[2]. The 1 Macc. (i. 54) speaks distinctly of "the abomination of desolation" (*βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*) set up in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and explained (i. 59) to be "the idol altar" (*βωμός*). The LXX. by its curious reading of *v.* 26—*μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο, i.e.* "after 139 years" (139 Seleucid. æra or B.C. 174)—refer the passage to the same period. But previous to the time of our Lord and after, it was felt that the reference to Maccabæan times by no means exhausted the significance of the passage (Luke ii. 25, 26, 38; Matt. xxiv. 15, and parallels; 2 Thess. ii. 3, &c.; Josephus, 'Antiq.' x. 22. 7). The Jews of the Talmudical period almost unanimously adopted the view of Josephus, that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was alluded to; the early Christians, guided by our Lord's words, gave to the passage a directly Messianic application. Since then, speaking generally, opinions have ranged themselves under adaptations of one or other of these views.

The text itself of the prophecy subdivides the seventy weeks into seven, threescore and two (*v.* 25), and one (*v.* 27) week: and these are almost universally understood as weeks of years; the total being therefore 490 years. The "terminus a quo," however, and the "terminus ad quem," are points strongly disputed. With Hengstenberg and Hävernick, Reinke and Wordsworth, who follow the majority of the Fathers, the "term. a quo" is the 20th year of Artaxerxes[3] (B.C. 445), the "term. ad quem" the public appearance of Christ (Luke iii. 1) at the end of the 69 weeks. With Auberlen and Pusey the "term. a quo" is the return to Jerusalem sanctioned by Artaxerxes in his seventh year (B.C. 457), the "term. ad quem" the martyrdom of St Stephen (A.D. 33). With others the "term. ad quem" is the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the "term. a quo" is either the edict of Cyrus, B.C. 536, or the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chaldæan army, B.C. 606.

In *v.* 24 the extent and duration of the period included in the prophetic vision is clearly defined. At the end of the "seventy weeks" are brought in

[1] 'Comment. in Dan.' Vol. III. pp. 1109, 10, ed. Bened. It should be added that he only gives a choice of "traditional" opinions; *e.g.* Africanus, Eusebius, Hippolytus, Apollinarius, Clemens Alex., Origen, and Tertullian. "The harmony of unbelieving criticism," says Pusey (p. 214), "has been contrasted with the disagreements among believers;" and he proceeds to shew that the alleged unanimity of this unbelieving criticism has been in pulling down rather than in building up, while the disagreements among believers have had reference to the exposition of particular texts and not to matters of faith.

[2] See a summary in Zöckler, p. 185 sq.

[3] So marg. note A.V. The Patristic views will be found conveniently summed up by Reusch in the Tübingen 'Theol. Quartalschrift' for 1868, p. 583 sq.

A. V.	Bleek[1].
"Everlasting righteousness, the sealing up the vision and prophecy (marg. prophet), and the anointing the most Holy."	"Everlasting righteousness, the sealing up the vision and prophet, and the anointing a most holy place."

The main difference here is the interpretation of the concluding words למשח קדש קדשים. Saadias refers them to Cyrus. Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ebrard and others, follow the patristic interpretation, and understand the קֹ֫דֶשׁ of the person of the Messiah: Auberlen includes in it—the Messiah and the faithful since the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. "The קֹ֫דֶשׁ can be no one but the Son of God," says St Hippolytus[2]: "Christ," remarks Hengstenberg[3], "may very appropriately be designated a Holy of Holies." The allusion to a "prophet" (see marg. reading and note under text) in this verse, and to the Messiah-Nagid in *v.* 25, support the view that a Person is here meant. Others, on the contrary, take the words קֹ֫דֶשׁ to be the technical phrase for the altar, or the sanctuary, or the temple when anointed[4]; and assert that the phrase is never applied to a person but always to things. The assertion requires qualification. The phrase is distinctly applied to Aaron (1 Chro. xxiii. 13)[6]; and if the Greek Versions are allowed weight here they distinctly understood the words in dispute in a personal sense. Field's Hexapla gives them thus: O. *εὐφρᾶναι ἅγιον ἁγίων*, which clearly refers to a person, *εὐφρᾶναι* having no meaning when applied to a thing; Theod. *χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων*; A. *τοῦ ἀλεῖψαι ἡγιασμένον ἡγιασμένων* (cp. this version in *v.* 26, where the *ἐξολοθρεύσεται ἠλειμμένος* identifies the person with the *ἡγιασμένον ἡγ.* here). The LXX., when translating קֹ֫דֶשׁ, "the Sanctuary," &c., always insert the article, *τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων*[6]; and the absence of the article here is very significant of the personal sense in which that version took the original Hebrew. That personal sense is retained by the Vulgate "Sanctus Sanctorum." Many German commentators still, however, prefer what is admitted to be the general usage of Scripture, and refer the words to the dedication in the time of Zerubbabel (Wieseler), or to the re-dedication of the temple and the altar of Mount Zion after its profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes (Bleek).

Support for these opposite views is deduced from the succeeding verses.

The interpretation of the passage, says Bleek[7], is confessedly very much disputed. The chief point in dispute is: do the words of the angel refer to the historical appearance of Jesus Christ, or to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes?

A. V. ver. 25.	Bleek.
"Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore[8] and to build (marg. build again) Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall (marg. breach or ditch) even in troublous times."	"Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the word to build again Jerusalem till an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks: and for threescore and two weeks, shall it be rebuilt with streets and ditches, yet in troublous times[9]."

The first difference is one of punctuation. The "modern" school (including Keil and Zöckler, as well as Bleek and Davidson) adopts the Masoretic: the "traditionalist" follows Theodotion, the Vulgate, and Luther. The LXX. omits the dates from this verse, but puts them all together at the beginning of *v.* 26. According to the latter division of the verse, the restoration and the rebuilding of Jerusalem are not to be referred to the seven weeks alone but to the seven and the sixty-two together,—an idea necessarily repudiated even in the "traditional" system. As regards the first, though the Masoretic division is not of very great authority in itself,

[1] The renderings of the English version and Bleek are given as representing the "traditional" and "modern" school. Bleek's will be found critically explained and defended in the 'Jahrb.' pp. 72 sq. In his main points he is supported by Delitzsch, Hofmann, Zündel, Kranichfeld and Zöckler. Kliefoth's and Leyrer's (Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' XVIII. p. 383, &c.) views are adopted by Keil, p. 331, &c.

[2] p. 158 (ed. Lagarde).

[3] 'Christology,' III. pp. 123, 4 (E. Tr.): so Pusey, p. 179.

[4] In this sense the expression is found in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ezekiel, and 1 Chronicles. Cp. Cahen's note, and Keil's arguments, pp. 288 sq.

[5] See the notes of Bertheau and Keil (in loc.), and Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' p. 1109, and Dr Pusey, 'Lectures on Daniel,' pp. 179, 180.

[6] See Trommius' 'Concord.' s. n.; for this fact and other suggestions for the elucidation of this verse I am indebted to Canon Cook. (J. M. F.)

[7] 'Jahrb.' pp. 76—7.

[8] If להשיב is right, the word שבית is probably to be understood, though omitted. The restoration of the "men of the captivity" or the exile, would thus be alluded to (Wieseler and Grätz. Cp. Jer. xxix. 10). This seems preferable to reading לשיב. The Greek versions felt the difficulty, and met it by *ἀποκριθῆναι: i.e.* "from the going forth.....to *the answer* to the word."

[9] Grätz, instead of בצוק העתים, would read בקץ הע' (cp. xi. 14), and place it at the beginning of *v.* 26. The Peshito reading לשולם זבנא (cp. LXX. of *v.* 27) may be due to some such variation on the present Hebrew text. It is singular that the Greek versions have nothing corresponding to the idea of "trouble."

yet it is pleaded that it is justified by the position of the copula ו before שבעים: a reference to the original text shewing that for the other punctuation the ו should have been before תשוב[1]. The interval between the issue of the "commandment" or "word" and the coming of "Messiah the Prince" or "an anointed one" is thus defined to be seven weeks: at the end of the threescore and two weeks which follow "Messiah is cut off" (*v.* 26). If the seven and sixty-two were connected together as in the A.V., then the time of *v.* 26 ought to be sixty-nine not sixty-two.

The next and the more important difference is one of interpretation. What is the meaning and application of the דבר (Theod. λόγος: Vulg. *sermo*: Luther, *befehl.*)? What is the date of its issue? Who is the person of whom the prophet speaks?

Is ד to be translated "decree"? And if so, is it to be referred to *that* issued by Artaxerxes Longimanus in his 20th year, permitting Nehemiah to go to Jerusalem (Neh. ii.—Hengst., Häv., *i.e.* B.C. 445, or, B.C. 455, according to Heng.'s reckoning): or to *that* issued in his seventh year, giving a like permission to Ezra (B.C. 457, Auberlen): whether that decree be considered divinely dictated (Hengst. and Häv.), or not (Auberl.)? Or is this translation to be rejected, and the expression referred to the "word of the Lord spoken to Jeremiah the prophet" (*v.* 2), relating to the seventy years of which Daniel was seeking an explanation? And if so, is it to be dated from the beginning of the destruction of Jerusalem (Bleek, Davidson), or from the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Ewald)[2]? The former class of interpreters proceed upon the supposition that there must be sixty-nine weeks of years "from the going forth of the word" to the concluding scenes of the life of Christ. It is an opinion said to be strengthened by the fact that up to the time of the decrees the more modern city of Jerusalem was but thinly inhabited: and it transposes the first reference of the vision to the age of Artaxerxes rather than to that of Cyrus. It is objected to this that too strong an interpretation is attached to the decrees issued to Nehemiah and Ezra. The deductions drawn from them are considered unwarrantable. And to pass over all reference to the earlier prince, Cyrus, so distinctly named as the builder of Jerusalem (Isai. xlv. 13); to omit all mention of the previous return of the Israelites to their own land under their earliest leaders, is alleged to be "improbable and unnatural[3]."

The point is a very difficult one. The "modern" school is quite as undecided with its dates as its opponents. Von Lengerke, Wieseler, Hofmann, Hitzig, and Hilgenfeld[4] sacrifice the distinctness of the position of the seven weeks. Hitzig places them in the middle of the sixty-two, including them within them, and extending their range from B.C. 606 to Antiochus Epiphanes. Wieseler[5] places them at the end: in his system the sixty-two weeks begin with 606—5 B.C. and reach to 172 B.C.; the "one week" reduces this to 165—4 B.C., after which follow the "seven weeks." Hofmann and Delitzsch[6] assert both positively and negatively the same position for the "seven weeks." They reach this result by a comparison of *vv.* 24 and 27, affirming that the ends of the sixty-three and seventy weeks do not coincide. The "seven weeks" are left as an object of research (ἐρευνᾶν) to the faithful, and by this means the difficulty is met that those "seven weeks" do not carry the dates down to the birth of Christ. The great objection to these systems is the separation of the seven from its place. It is named first in the prophecy, and there is no good reason for disturbing the natural order of the text. To place it after the sixty-three is a violation of the laws of natural exegesis, as Auberlen has shewn. Another section therefore of the "modern" school takes the seven weeks in the order in which the text presents them. The permission granted by Cyrus to the Jews to return home is taken to mark their close; and consequently the starting-point of the whole term of years is the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans: and the "seven" weeks of years an approximation to the half-century between B.C. 586 and 536.

The application of the sixty-two weeks follows as a corollary to the position of the seven. Hengstenberg and others starting from B.C. 455 bring the seven weeks to B.C. 406, and the sixty-two to the three and a-half years of the Saviour's ministry. Bleek and Ewald appropriate the period to the interval between Cyrus and Antiochus, though it is more than sixty "years" too short. Grätz and Zöckler refer it to the time between the restoration of the temple (B.C. 538) and the death of Onias III. (B.C. 171), though this leaves a deficiency of fifty-three years. Usually such deficiency is met by the Gordian reasoning that the author of the book Daniel made a mistake in, or did not know, the true chronology, or

[1] Reichel, 'Stud. u. Krit.' p. 741, 1858.

[2] Mr Tyrwhitt argues that the Ptolemæan canon and the Hebrew accounts agree in referring the extent of the seventy years to the interval between the fourth year of Jeh. (first year of Neb.) and the first year of Cyrus; *i.e.* B.C. 606—536. 'Journ. of Royal Asiat. Soc.' Vol. XVIII. pp. 119, 121.

[3] Bleek, 'Jahrb.' p. 81; Keil, p. 313.

[4] 'Die Jüdische Apokalyptik, Das Buch Daniel,' p. 30, and note.

[5] 'Gött. Gel. Anz.' pp. 126, 131, 1846.

[6] Hofmann, 'Schriftbeweis,' II. p. 584; Delitzsch, in Herzog's 'Encykl.' III. p. 283.

preferred to express it by a round number. Ebrard and Fries[1] abide by peculiar and unsupported calculations.

And, again, in accordance with these chronological definitions משיח נגיד is with Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Ebrard, Wieseler, and Oehler[2],—Christ at His first coming, *the* anointed, *the* Prince; with Delitzsch, Hofmann, and Fries,—Christ at His second coming; with Bleek, Hitzig, Kranichfeld, Zöckler, and Reichel[3], an anointed one—Cyrus; with Grätz[4],—the first high priest of the post-exilic period, *i.e.* Joshua son of Jozadak.

A. V. ver. 26.

"And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself (marg. and shall have nothing. John xiv. 30): and the people of the prince that shall come [marg. or, and (the Jews) they shall be no more his people; or, and the prince's (Messiah's, *v.* 25) future people] shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined (marg. it shall be cut off by desolations)."

BLEEK.

"And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and have no successor: and the people of a prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and his end shall be (sudden) as a flood; and still to the end (there is) war, the close of desolations." (Beschluss der Verheerungen, reading שְׁמָמוֹת: others, retaining the Masoret. punctuation, "desolations decreed.")

The great difference here is that of interpretation. The "traditionalist" refers the verse to the death of Christ, and to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. In accordance with this interpretation משיח is *the* Messiah, *the* Christ. The absence of the article is explained to be intentional, and in perfect accordance with the character of the whole prophecy: an attentive and unprejudiced reader ought to be able to gather from the context that *an* anointed one here is the same as *the* anointed one of *v.* 25. Hengstenberg and Pusey agree in objecting to the translation given (*e.g.*) by the English version of ואין לו ("but not for himself"): that would require such an expression as ולא לו, the the words אין and לא not being interchangeable. Hengstenberg prefers to render them, "and there is no inheritance to him;" Auberlen paraphrases them, "no one hangs on Him (the crucified), all forsook Him and fled;" and Keil translates them, "He loses his position as Messiah." The "prince that shall come" is consequently with Hengstenberg and Ebrard,—the Christ, the Redeemer; and with Auberlen—Titus: while the "end" is variously applied to the sanctuary alone (Auberlen), to the temple and sanctuary together (Hävern.), to the "people of the prince" (Ebrard), or to the whole series of events, "the end of the matter shall be desolation" (Hengstenberg).

The "modern" school adopts an entirely different interpretation, but without preserving much unanimity of opinion. The result gained from referring the sixty-two weeks to the time immediately preceding the tyranny of Antiochus is, that the anointed one must be a person who met with a violent death about that date. Accordingly, with Bleek, Von Lengerke, Maurer, Ewald, Davidson, and Baxmann משיח is Seleucus IV. Philopator, son and successor of Antiochus the Great, who was cut off after twelve years' reign by Heliodorus[5]. Eichhorn, Wieseler, Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Reichel, Zöckler, and Grätz—whether laying stress upon the absence from the word משיח of any such expression as נגיד (as in *v.* 25) or not—give to it a priestly sense[6]. In their system the anointed one is Onias III. the high priest murdered by Andronicus[7]. In accordance, also, with their respective views, the words ואין לו are explained by Bleek and Ewald, "he has no successor to his throne;" by Grätz, "he has no helper," ingeniously supplying עזר as in xi. 45; by Hitzig and Wieseler, "he is no more;" by Steudel and Hofmann, "the people have no anointed one;" al. al.

The next clause of this verse is not so diversely applied. The majority of the "modern" school are agreed in referring the "prince that shall come" directly or typically to Antiochus Epiphanes; though it is not a little singular that—with the exception of Grätz—they reject the reading of the Greek versions "with" instead of "the people" (עִם instead of עַם).

A. V. ver. 27.

"And he shall confirm the (marg. a) covenant with many for

BLEEK[8].

"And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week;

[1] 'Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.' p. 254 sq., 1859; cp. Keil, pp. 329 sq.

[2] Herzog, 'Encykl.' IX. 422.

[3] 'Stud. u. Krit.' p. 363, 1858.

[4] 'Beiträge,' p. 397—8.

[5] Appian, 'Syr.' 45.

[6] The LXX., reading *μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ*, marked by Origen with the obelus which indicated the absence of the word from the original before him, evidently inserted משיח. The Hebrew text followed *may* therefore have been as in *v.* 25. The LXX. did not read הבא but ובא, *καὶ ἥξει*; but this hardly justifies Grätz in considering הבא suspicious, and to be dissociated from נגיד.

[7] B.C. 171. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 34; Josephus, 'Antiq.' XII. 5. 1.

[8] Bleek's translation of the second clause is more properly: "and the half of the week will

A. V. ver. 27. one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate (marg. and upon the battlements shall be the idols of the desolator), even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate" (marg. desolator).

BLEEK. and the latter half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and upon the wing of abominations (al. the altar of the Temple) comes the desolator (al. the abomination of desolation) even until the consummation: then shall the destruction determined be poured out on the waster" (al. the abomination shall continue till punishment and destruction be poured out on the waster).

Hengstenberg and others translate the first clause of this verse "one week will confirm... many," and refer it to the new covenant brought in by Christ, and to the removal of the altar-sacrifice by His death: Bleek to Antiochus Epiphanes[1]. Corresponding deductions follow. With Ebrard, the "one week" is closed by the act of Titus in setting aside the temple-worship subsequent to the gathering together of "many" (רבים Isai. liii. 12) by Christ from the Gentiles. With Auberlen, the "many" are the "elect;" the interval, that which occurred between the commencement of Christ's ministry and the stoning of St Stephen. With Bleek and others, the "many" are the Hellenizing Jews, with whom Antiochus Epiphanes connected himself (B.C. 169, 1 Macc. i. 11—5); and the "week" is placed at the close of the seventy weeks. This difference naturally affects the details of the verse. The "traditionalist" renders חצי השבוע "the midst of the week;" the death of Christ upon the Cross rendering superfluous ("making to cease") the oblation and sacrifice. But though the rendering is clearly defensible (cf. 2 S. x. 4), the more usual sense of the expression is "the half of the week,"—defined in this particular case as that latter half during which the sacrifice and oblation were to cease.

But the second half of the verse is perhaps the most disputed passage in the whole prophecy. The general sense may be clear, but the words and construction are exceedingly obscure[2]. What for instance is the על כנף שקוצים משומם? The translators of the English version give two renderings. Theodotion and the LXX. render it ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων; the Vulgate "in templo abominatio desolationis;" Luther "bei den Flügeln werden stehen Greuel der Verwüstung." Ewald and Auberlen prefer "the fearful or desolating climax of abominations," though the word כ is rather applicable to extension than to height. Hengstenberg follows the ancient versions in referring the expression to the temple, "over the abomination pinnacle (Von Lengerke and Maurer—the abomination battlement, *i.e.* the battlement or pinnacle desecrated by abomination) comes the desolator." Reichel and Keil appeal to the analogous phrase על כנפי רוח (Pss. xviii. 10, civ. 3), and translate, "a desolator comes upon the wings of abomination:" Reichel suggests this with reserve, owing to the difference of number, a difference which Keil reduces to a minimum. Wieseler, understanding the words to refer to the eagle, the symbol of the Olympian Jove, to whom Antiochus Epiphanes dedicated the temple at Jerusalem, renders "a desolator will raise himself against the bird of abomination." Bleek alters the text. He would read שקוצי the first letter (מ) of משומם being supposed carried back by mistake to ש[3], and the error perpetuated by successive copyists. And this would seem to have been the reading of the Greek and Latin Versions. They probably read וְעַל כָּנָף (*sub.* בהיכל, or הקדש, or המקדש), and hence the sense attached to the words.

The exegetical conclusions upon this verse are such as might be anticipated. The "consummation determined" is accomplished in the acts of Titus (Auberlen et al.), or in those of Antiochus Epiphanes (Bleek et al.[4]). Both opinions are encompassed with difficulties arising out of the obscurity attaching to the whole subject.

This brief sketch of some only of the dis-

put a stop to the sacrifice and oblation." He however conceeds that that adopted in the text is "wohl zulässig."

[1] The opening phrase הגביר ברית is altered by Grätz into העביר ב; feeling rightly that ב can only have the sense of God's covenant with Israel (see note to *v.* 27). He explains his phrase thus altered to be an allusion to the permission and encouragement given by Ant. Epiph. to the Jews who wished to *transgress* the holy covenant; but the alteration is quite unnecessary.

[2] Bleek, 'Jahrb.' p. 93, honestly remarks, "Sehr schwierig ist das Zweite Hemistich des Verses, wovon ich bekenne eine recht befriedigende Erklärung weder irgendwo gefunden zu haben, noch selbst eine geben zu können." Such language presents a pleasing contrast to that of Grätz, 'Beiträge,' p. 404, "Bei der Erklärung von על כנף ש' מ' sind die Ausleger rathlos."

[3] Grätz reads שקוץ מ', and takes על כנף as a preposition = "auf, über" like the Chald. על גב (cp. Prov. ix. 3, and Gesenius, 'Thesaur.' s. v.).

[4] Grätz, as usual, alters the present text. Instead of תחך, he would read תחחך (see *v.* 24), and give to the word the same sense as נזר in later Hebrew: "bis Untergang...verhängt werden wird über den Verwüster." The Greek Versions read תנתן.

puted points of interpretation and application will serve to shew how vain, if not impossible, it is to expect unanimity of opinion. Methods of parallelisation, methods of intercalation, methods of transposition, and analogical methods, have been, and are, offered in all earnestness by their advocates as solutions for the difficulties confessed by all. It cannot be said that these solutions are satisfactory, however impossible it may be to give better.

The first difficulty which meets the student is still unexplained. What are the "weeks"? Are they weeks of days, or weeks of years—lunar years of 354 days, or Babylonian years of 360 days, or jubilee periods of 50 years—or are they mystical and symbolical numbers? Critics of acknowledged piety and ability adopt, on this point, the most opposite views, and practically no advance is made towards agreement. There is, of course, one thorough and ready solution possible to the critic who adopts the opinion that Daniel is a mere "nom de plume" and the book not a genuine work: he may then do anything he pleases with numbers and text. Others of equal critical ability have not, and cannot, come to any such conclusion. To them, however pleasing and in part defensible this or that solution may be, it seems best to wait. Babylonian discovery may help to clear up some details; the good pleasure of God may see fit to make known the times and seasons which He hath put into His own power.

The majority of interpreters attach a Messianic character to these visions. Not only is this element accorded to chapters ii. and vii. but also to chapters viii., ix. and xii. If ch. vii. alone announces the promise of a Personal Messiah, the other chapters distinctly assert the advent of Messianic salvation to the people of God at the end of the terrible visitation. On no account can the proclamation of this salvation be charged with monotonous repetition (Auberlen). The varied aspect of the prophecies, the ever-changing modes of revelation inculcating their one great lesson, sufficiently refute the charge. It is in fact quite possible to admit, that while the historical horizon of these chapters appears to be terminated by the Grecian kingdom; while moreover the cessation of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes is connected with the advent of an Anointed One and the commencement of the Messianic kingdom; yet such historical restrictions do not exclude or supersede the belief, that prophecy prefigured under a historic garb the repetition of many of these acts in later and Christian times, and their yet final fulfilment at the second Advent[1]. If prophecy possesses that complex nature once generally accorded to it, it is its privilege to regard as united or combined what history separates and evolves: it is further its property to place in close proximity that which is immediate though still future and that which is reserved to the end. The manner in which Jesus Christ Himself referred to Daniel's prophecies, may be quoted in proof of this. Matt. xxiv. 15 contains a distinct application of the prophet's words to the coming desolation under the Roman arms, but it by no means affirms that the prophecy should then receive its perfect fulfilment. The very contrary has certainly been the generally-received opinion. The words of the Saviour in the context, and St Paul's prophecy upon *the* Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 4), have led and still lead the Christian to believe that Daniel's words have yet to receive their most marked and final accomplishment.

[1] This was an opinion entertained in the days of Augustine; at a time, it would seem, when men began to doubt whether the "fourth" empire was really the Roman. In his correspondence with a certain bishop, named Hesychius, he states the case thus—Hesychius referring the prophecy of the seventy weeks not to the first Advent of Christ but to His second—"Tota quæstio est utrum Danielis hebdomadæ primo adventu Domini impletæ sint, an finem sæculi prophetaverint, an ad utrumque pertineant." After mentioning the currency of the latter view, he adds his own opinion: "Equidem video quia si primus eas non complevit adventus, necesse est ut secundus eas compleat: quoniam prophetia illa non potest esse falsa: quæ si tempore primi adventus impleta est, non cogit intelligi quod etiam de fine sæculi implebitur. Ac per hoc incertum est, etiamsi verum est: neque negandum quidem sed neque præsumendum est id futurum." 'Epist. CXCIX. ad Hesych.' 'De fine sæculi' (Vol. II. p. 912, § 21, ed. Migne). The spirit in which this question is discussed is worthy of this great man and of the maxim on "toleration" attributed to him.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Daniel having humbled himself seeth a vision.*
10 *Being troubled with fear he is comforted by the angel.*

IN the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belte-

CHAPS. X.—XII. form a section of themselves. They occupy the position naturally assigned to them by their date (x. 1) and by their contents; in the latter point, being a development of the prophecies contained in chaps. viii. and ix. The section may be conveniently divided into three parts: the first, an introduction (x. 1—xi. 1) giving details of the circumstances connected with the vision and the mode of its communication;

shazzar; and the thing *was* true, but the time appointed *was* †long: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.

† Heb. *great.*

2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three †full weeks.

† Heb. *weeks of days.*

3 I ate no †pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth,

† Heb. *bread of desires.*

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the second (xi. 2—45), the revelation of leading events in the history of the great southern and northern powers, and of the Old Test. Antichrist; the third (xii.), the victory and deliverance of God's people in Messianic times; accompanied by some words of comfort specially applicable to Daniel himself.

The revelation—like those in chaps. vii. and viii.—is communicated to the prophet by an angel. The vision itself is not one of monster-beasts or of ram and goat, but of a "man;" the description of whom is given in language which recalls the language used in the description of the Ancient of days (vii. 9). The reader who further studies the details of the conception and reception of the vision, as well as the nature and contents of the revelation, will not fail to notice those indications of the "ascensio mentis" which find their unobtrusive and natural explanation in the spirituality of the aged prophet.

CHAP. X. 1. *In the third year of Cyrus... a thing was revealed unto...Belteshazzar*] A date (B.C. 536—5) later than any other in the book (cp. i. 21) and altered by the LXX. (and some MSS. of Theod.) to "the first year," but to be retained as not in any way contradicting that earlier date. The "thing" is the same word as "commandment" and "matter" in ix. 23, and would be better rendered "word" in both clauses of this verse, "the word" being that revelation which follows. The occurrence of the name Belteshazzar is due to the same reason as in v. 12—the identification of the prophet with the (once) well-known "chief of" Nebuchadnezzar's "governors" (ii. 48, iv. 8, A.V.). To the courtiers of Cyrus he would be known by his Babylonian name, and to his compatriots by his significant Jewish one. It is further not without intention that, as before, the heathen name is attached to a section which is pregnant with traces of the influence upon Daniel of the thoughts and beliefs among which he had been nurtured.

and the thing was true, but the time appointed was long] An excessively difficult clause, owing to the abruptness of the present Hebrew text. The A. V. translation of the words "but...long" is hardly defensible. Literally and in their order the words of the sentence are "and truth (is) the word and a great host." Comparing this with viii. 12 the sense would seem to be:—the word of God now revealed to Daniel was about the subjects alluded to in the previous vision, ch. viii., "the truth" cast down and the "host" given to the little horn. The clause may therefore be taken as a kind of title or designation of the section, as is done by Theodotion (see *v.* 21). Chapter xi., &c. is the amplification of this revelation.

he understood the thing, &c.] Cp. ix. 23, last clause, where the same thought is expressed with verbal modifications.

That Daniel was still found at Babylon in the third year of Cyrus instead of returning to "the city Jerusalem, the holy mountain" (ix. 16), will not be felt a serious difficulty, or a reflection upon his deep religiousness, if it be remembered that in so remaining he but did what many did;—what in fact Ezra and Nehemiah would have done, had they not been called to take a prominent part in the settlement of their countrymen in Jerusalem (Grätz). Daniel was very old; and the journey would have been such as few at his advanced age could have undertaken with safety. He may further have felt that by remaining in exile he would be of greater service, comparatively speaking, than if he revisited the land of his fathers. Kranichfeld (p. 341) has well pointed out that had the book Daniel been written in the Maccabæan period, the author would never have made the mistake of making Daniel so (apparently) indifferent to national and patriotic considerations.

2, 3. *I...was mourning*, &c.] See the marg. for the literal rendering of some words. The cause of his mourning is fairly referred to the opposition which the "children of the captivity" had encountered at the hands of their "adversaries" when they "builded the temple unto the Lord God of Israel" (Ezra iv.). News would also reach him that "the ancient men, that had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice" (Ezra iii. 12) as they compared their recollections of the old with what they saw the new was about to be. And Daniel was now not so able as of old to resist opposition on the one hand or to give consolation on the other. Therefore he mourned and "chastened himself before God" (*v.* 12). This took place in the "first month" (*v.* 4), the month Nisan (Esther iii. 7): it was the month in which the Passover festival was kept; and possibly the hindrances to its proper observance felt in Jerusalem (Ezra iv. 1—5) may have been an element conducive to "mourning."

The "mourning" (the original is suggestive of outward signs, such as bowing or hanging the head as well as affliction of the soul), if not marked by such penitential observances as in ix. 3, was accompanied by abstinence from

neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled.

4 And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which *is* [a] Hiddekel;

5 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold [†] a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins *were* [b] girded with fine gold of Uphaz:

6 His body also *was* like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of

[a] Gen. 2. 14.

[†] Heb. *one man.*

[b] Rev. 1. 13, 14, 15.

"bread of desires." Some writers contrast this with the "bread of affliction" used at the Passover, Deut. xvi. 3, and take it, together with the following words, "neither flesh nor wine," to signify the diet proper for fasting; but "bread of desires" (cp. the analogous phrase in *v.* 11) is better taken as descriptive of the ordinary food (cp. i. 5) which was placed on the table of a Babylonian noble. "Anointing oneself with oil" was considered a mark of joy and happiness (Amos vi. 6, Ps. xxiii. 5): it was usual to refrain from it in times of sadness (2 S. xii. 20, xiv. 2).

For three weeks (21 days) the "mourning" lasted. It was thus that the prophet prepared himself and sought for that communion with God, which issued in God's revelation of His will to His servant. "In this we have a picture of what goes on with the Church. God wishes that the Church should be both tried by afflictions, and in faith look forward to freedom" (Melanchthon).

4. *in the four and twentieth day*] *i.e.* his "mourning" lasted from the 3rd to the 24th of Nisan, the first two days of the month being, since the days of Saul (*e.g.* 1 S. xx. 18, &c.) and onwards, observed as a festival.

great river...Hiddekel] (See Gen. ii. 14, note.) This was the old Accadian name for the Tigris (Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. 300; cp. Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' I. 128, II. 475), so LXX. and Theod. It was not the Euphrates (Syr.), for which the cuneiform readings give a corresponding name.

There is no reason to doubt that Daniel was actually by the Tigris, and not "in the spirit:" the point is, however, an open one as in viii. 2. The application of the word "river" (nahar) to the Tigris has been quoted as an instance of incorrect expression, and therefore fatal to the authenticity of the passage. The cuneiform inscriptions fully prove the correctness of Daniel's use of the word (cp. Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. 758).

5. *a certain man clothed in linen*] The indefiniteness of the original of "a certain man" (see marg. for literal rendering, the ἄνθρωπος εἷς of LXX.; cp. similar expressions in 1 K. xx. 13, and—with a change of order—in viii. 13, Ezek. viii. 18) renders it impossible to identify with certainty the individual meant. Probabilities are in favour of his being either the same as he who called Gabriel (viii. 16), or Gabriel himself (Ewald and Grätz, see *v.* 10), rather than Michael (Rabb.: *v.* 13 is opposed to this), or *the* Angel of God's presence, or "the withholder" (ὁ κατέχων) of 2 Thess. ii. 6. The words of this "certain man" follow in *v.* 11, &c.

The linen clothing was, it is true, the clothing of the priests—especially of the high-priest (*e.g.* Lev. xvi. 4), and so may be typical here of the holiness, as the gold would be of the honour, of the "certain one:" but the type should not be pressed. The expression is one of simple and natural description, the linen dress being also the dress of the better class of the Babylonians (see note v. 7), and that to which Daniel and Ezekiel (ix. 2) were most accustomed.

loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz] The girdle was an essential feature of the Babylonian costume (cp. Ezek. xxiii. 15); all wore it from the king to the peasant (see the representations from the monuments in Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' XXIII.—XXXI. 25, 27, &c.; Rawl. 'A. M.' III. 1 seq.). The word rendered "gold" is either, as A.V., a gold of a fine and purified kind, or may indicate (see one meaning of the root) gold-work of a repoussée or stamped character.

Where Uphaz was is an undecided geographical problem. The versions give little help here: the LXX. omits the word (rendering it Μωφάζ in Jer. x. 9), and the Vulg. latinizes the form Ophir—"auro obrizo." The name only occurs here and in Jer. x. 9 (where Targ., Syr. and Theod. read Ophir). It was certainly the name of a country. If it was identical with Ophir (the change of *r* to *z* is not an impossible one, Ewald; cp. the *lect. var.* "bazaq" for "baraq," Ezek. i. 14), and a dialectical form of that name, it is either to be looked for in Southern Arabia or—as modern research seems to determine (see Cameron in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. 267)—in Tepora (T'epora, the land of Opor or Ophir), the Teprobane of the Greeks and the Tipperah of the Gulf of Bengal.

6. *body...like the beryl*] Lit. "like Tarshish" (Theod. ὡσεὶ θαρσείς; LXX. has an altogether different reading; see add. Note), the local designation being applied to the gem (cp. Ophir = gold, Job xxii. 24). This Tarshish is not the Phœnician settlement nor the coast-district of North Africa, but used interchangeably with Ophir for the Indian coast-territory (see Cameron, p. 281). The gem is the chrysolite (Vulg. here) of the ancients and

lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.

7 And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves.

8 Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my [1] comeliness was turned in me into [2] corruption, and I retained no strength.

9 Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground.

10 ¶ And, behold, an hand touched me, which [†] set me upon my knees and *upon* the palms of my hands.

11 And he said unto me, O Daniel, [†] a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and [†] stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling.

12 Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before

[1] Or, *vigour.* [2] chap. 7. 28.

[†] Heb. *moved.*

[†] Heb. *a man of desires.*

[†] Heb. *stand upon thy standing.*

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the topaz of the moderns, which was bartered on the coasts of Spain, Ethiopia and India.

feet like in colour to polished brass] Lit. "like the eye," *i.e.* the appearance or aspect (Theod. ὡς ὅρασις, cp. the similar phrase of *v.* 16, "like the similitude"); the phrase is frequent in Ezekiel (i. 4, viii. 2, x. 9). The "feet" (prop. foot-region, cp. Ruth iii. 4, 7, &c.) is fairly paraphrased by the Vulg. "quæ deorsum sunt usque ad pedes;" the general aspect of the body, not of the arms or the feet only, was like "burnished brass" (Ezek. i. 7; not brass in a fused and glowing state).

voice...like the voice of a multitude] So Theod. and Vulg. The word rendered "multitude" is variously applied to the noise due to rain, thunder, song and a crowd (LXX. here θόρυβος), and hence metaphorically transferred to the crowd itself (*e.g.* Isai. xiii. 4, xvii. 12); the analogy of Ezek. i. 24 ("as the voice of many waters," cp. xliii. 2, Rev. i. 15) has induced many commentators to assimilate the translation here to that.

The details of the description of the "certain one" (*vv.* 5, 6) should be compared with the details in the following passages in Ezek. ix. 2, i. 16, 13, 7, 27, 24, but it is unnecessary to assume imitation of Ezekiel's description on the part of Daniel, or to adduce Rev. i. 13—15 as the explanation of the person meant. The passage in Daniel might be used in illustration of that in the Revelation—not vice versâ; and the spiritual environment, taken in connection with the whole Iranian atmosphere in which both Ezekiel and Daniel lived, is more than sufficient to explain *naturally* resemblances of diction.

7. *I...alone saw the vision, &c.*] Cp. the somewhat similar circumstances connected with the history of St Paul (Acts ix. 7, xxii. 11). Who were Daniel's companions—whether Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (Rashi) or not—must be purely conjectural. At his age and in his position he was sure to have his attendants (vi. 28), whether they were such as would be chosen for him, or such as the families of the companions of the youth and prime of his life (i. 19, iii. 30) would—in the then days of toleration and freedom—supply to him.

a great quaking...fled to hide themselves] The word "quaking" (not ἔκστασις, Theod.) aptly renders the trembling kind of fear which the original denotes. The latter clause is more literally "in (*i.e.* while) hiding themselves." The ἐν σπουδῇ of the LXX. and ἐν φόβῳ of Theod. are paraphrases rather than translations of the present text.

8. *my comeliness was turned...into corruption*] *i.e.* the shining freshness of health which tinged his cheek (not the πνεῦμα of LXX. or the general ἕξις of Theod.) left him (cp. vii. 28; v. 6, 9), as if a "destroying wind" (Jer. li. 1) had passed over him: the effects are further defined by the last clause of this verse and the next (cp. viii. 18, the expressions here being rather stronger).

10. *an hand touched me*] *i.e.* the hand of the "certain man" (*v.* 5): there is nothing gained by multiplying the number of angelic personages with whom Daniel was in communication during this vision. The touch "moved" (see marg.), helped him to his hands and feet in order to stand upright. The A.V. "set me" (like the ἤγειρεν of LXX. and Theod.) expresses the result rather than the process indicated by the original word. The action described in *v.* 10, as well as the words used in *vv.* 11, 12, recall the action and words of Gabriel (cp. viii. 18, and ix. 22, 23).

11. The angel calls him Daniel, not Belteshazzar: he gives him the name by which he was known to the saints of God (cp. Theodoret in loc.).

thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.

13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, [1]one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.

[1] Or *the first.*

12. *I am come for thy words*] The change from "I am sent" of *v.* 11 should be noticed. The still "trembling" prophet needed encouragement; therefore the more gentle and friendly expression ("menschenfreundlich vor Menschen erscheint," Ewald) cheers him. It was on account of his "words," his prayers, and "mourning" (*v.* 2), that the angel "came... to make him understand" (*v.* 14) what would be the issue to his people of all that troubled him and them.

13. *The prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me*] This verse gives the reason why, during the "three whole weeks" (*vv.* 2, 3), no answer had been vouchsafed.

"There was war in heaven" (cp. Rev. xii. 7); it was no contest between princes of the earth, or between angels of heaven and earthly kings, or between good and evil genii, nor was it waged in earthly courts; but the guardian-angel of Persia opposed the guardian-angel of Israel (cp. *v.* 21, xii. 1). "There are actual celestial powers which correspond to the powers and kingdoms of earth; there is a purely spiritual and heavenly history which corresponds to the history of earth and men; behind all that is visible is that invisible and higher power which is at once necessary to, and the connecting-link of, all human things" (Ewald). The conception is one, to which such Old Test. passages as Isai. xxiv. 21 and (more indirectly) Isai. xlvi. 2, Jer. xlvi. 25, xlix. 3, as well as the remarkable reading of some codices of the Greek version in Deut. xxxii. 8 (cp. Frankel, 'Vorstudien z. d. Septuaginta,' p. 66), Baruch iv. 7 (*δαιμόνια*, cp. 1 Cor. x. 20, 21), and Ecclesiasticus xvii. 17 (*ἡγούμενος*), furnish parallels; but which finds its most natural illustration from the books and sculptures of Babylonian "wisdom." Every city, every tribe, and every country, had its special protecting god. In war the conqueror carried away, more often than he destroyed, the image of the tutelary god of the country or city captured. It was a sign that the "prince of his kingdom" had been victorious over the "prince" of the withstanding people (cp. xi. 8). The original of the word "withstood" is taken in a past sense by the versions: but the word (as at present pointed) is a participle; and a present sense, "he is withstanding me," would convey more clearly —what is evident from the rest of the verse and *v.* 20—that the contest was still continuing. The original of the expression also gives prominence to the "face to face" nature of the contest—"he is standing before me" (cp. LXX. *ἀνθεστήκει ἐναντίον μου*).

Michael, one of the chief princes, &c.] Lit. (see marg.) one of the first princes;—called also "your prince" (*v.* 21: *i.e.* Daniel's prince, and so also the prince of Daniel's people), and "the great prince" (xii. 1, cp. the application of the word "first" in sense of "chief" in 1 Chro. xviii. 17),—but less than the Prince of princes (viii. 25). In Jude (*v.* 9, cp. Rev. xii. 7) he is called "the archangel." The meaning of the name "who is like God (El)"—a name framed after the same manner as Mishael (Exod. vi. 22), Micaiah ("who is like Jehovah (Jah)"),—recalls such passages as Exod. xv. 11, Ps. lxxxix. 8 (A. V.). The name is not only a testimony to the incomparable and "incomprehensible" (*immensus*) power of the God of angels; but also, as borne by an angel, is suggestive of the lowliness and humility which even angelic powers count it a glory to acknowledge, when they are compared with Him before whose presence they bow their faces. The conception of a leader of the angelic host was deeply rooted in the minds of the Jews (Josh. v. 14; it is implied in Gen. xxxii. 1, 2; 2 K. vi. 17), but names for him or other angels do not appear to have become common till the Babylonian and later periods. This is what might be expected. It would be natural if not necessary both as a protest and as a protection against the names given by the Babylonians and Persians to their gods and genii. It will be noticed that Daniel gives no name to the "prince of Persia," or "prince of Greece:" the cause is self-evident (see also Excursus on 'Angelology,' p. 348).

I remained there with the kings of Persia] The A. V. carries on the idea conveyed by this rendering by commencing the next verse (*v.* 14) with "now:" but—though supported by the Syr., Vulgate, and some modern lexicographers—the rendering is not satisfactory. The Greek versions take it very differently: "I left him (Michael) there...and am come," &c. (cp. LXX. and Theod.). And this—though not a literal translation—is more in accordance with the action to be predicated on the part of the angel. Hence, following the hint of the Greek versions, many modern commentators take the word translated "remained" in the sense of "remaining over and above," *i.e.* of being superfluous. The sense would then be: through Michael's help "I was superfluous (I was not wanted) with the kings of Persia, and I am come," &c. Other renderings—such as that of Luther "I gained the victory" (in support of which the *usus verborum* in Gen. xlix. 4 is quoted, but

14 Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy peopl in the latter days: for yet the vision *is* for *many* days.

15 And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb.

16 And, behold, *one* like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength.

17 For how can [1] the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.

18 Then there came again and touched me *one* like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me,

19 And said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace *be* unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.

20 Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and

[1] Or, *this servant of my lord.*

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without sufficient reason), or "I maintained my place," are not so philologically accurate.

The plural "kings of Persia" does not represent human powers only, *e.g.* Cyrus and his successors, *i.e.* the Persian dynasty as a whole, or Cyrus (in particular) and his guardian-genius, but the active powers *spiritual and earthly* which had the kingdom of Persia in charge. Michael's victory over "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" was a victory over "the kings of Persia;" it was the victory of God over the powers natural and supernatural which resisted Him. For this enlarged use of the word "kings" cp. Isai. viii. 21; Ps. ii. 2, and for a similar thought Isai. xxiv. 21; Ps. lxxxii. 6, 7.

14. *for yet the vision is for many days*] *i.e.*, as Luther has paraphrased it:—"for the vision shall happen (be fulfilled) after many days." The sense would seem to be (with Rashi and other Rabbis) that another vision was to be granted to explain what had not been explained. Whether the "many days" in this clause of the verse is the same as "the latter days" of the previous clause or not, is a disputed point. The context as well as the more simple mode of interpretation are in favour of their identity. On the phrase "the latter days" see ii. 28.

15 seq. Thrice in this vision "angels came and ministered" unto the servant as they "ministered unto" Him of whom he spake (Matt. iv. 11); and the successive effects of the vision upon Daniel are worthy of attention: (*a*) cp. *vv.* 8 and 9; there the effect was followed by partial restoration to strength: (*b*) *v.* 15; the dumbness noted was removed (*v.* 16), but was again followed by utter prostration: (*c*) *v.* 18; a third time the "strengthening touch" was administered, and Daniel expressed his ability to listen (*v.* 19). It was the recognition of this triple ministry which induced some of the early Christian Fathers (as Ephraim Syrus) to trace in each separate act the work of a separate Person of the Trinity.

16. *one like the similitude of the sons of men*] Cp. the similar phrases *v.* 18, vii. 13, viii. 15. It does not follow that this was Gabriel, but there is nothing against the identification (see *v.* 5). The LXX. reads "like the similitude of the hand of a man." For the angel's act compare also ix. 21.

O my lord...my sorrows are turned upon me] Lit. "Adoni" (sing. not "Adonai," plur.), cp. xii. 8; the last letter "i" is hardly the connecting sound which so frequently occurs with this word (*e.g.* in proper names, Adoni-bezek), but rather the mark of the pronoun "*my* lord." Having regard to the etymology of the word, *i.e.* to the strength which it was, the angel's to give, the title "my strength" is very significant when taken in connection with the context. The "sorrows" are lit. pains like those of a woman in travail (1 S. iv. 19). The word is used in the same way by Isaiah (xiii. 8, xxi. 3) to express that overpowering grief which masters mind as well as body. Theod. accepts the original somewhat more literally, *ἐστράφη τὰ ἐντός μου ἐν ἐμοί*: so Luther "meine Gelenke beben mir."

17. The second clause is taken by many modern commentators as an apostrophe on the part of Daniel, and not to be considered part of his remarks to the angel; but there is no necessity for introducing such an "aside." The verse is best understood if considered (with Luther and Ewald) an integral part of the prophet's faltering speech.

20. The sense of this difficult verse is made clearer, if it be allowed that the "prince of Persia" and the "prince of Grecia" are not conceived as fighting against each other, but as—in succession of time—powers (plur. see note on "in these things" in *v.* 21) fighting against the angelic powers of Israel. The "fighting," again, should not be taken in

now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come.

21 But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and *there is* none that †holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.

† Heb. *strengtheneth himself.*

CHAPTER XI.

1 *The overthrow of Persia by the king of Grecia.* 5 *Leagues and conflicts between the kings of the south and of the north.* 30 *The invasion and tyranny of the Romans.*

ALSO I in the first year of Darius the Mede, *even* I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him.

2 And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up

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the sense of disputation or word-strife among the "princes," but in the more literal and usual sense. The "going forth" may therefore mean something more than simply leaving one place for another; it may imply that the going forth is for the purpose of war, as would also be the coming (cp. i. 1) of the "prince of Grecia." The verse may then be paraphrased thus: "I will return to fight out the fight with the prince of Persia, begun (*v.* 13) but not ended; but while I am going forth (the verb is the pres. part. in the orig.) for this contest, while it is still continuing, the prince of Grecia cometh (pres.) and a new contest will begin" (cp. the Greek versions, which however translate the verbs in the past tense). Grätz refers the "going forth" to the act of Gabriel going to bring Daniel word; and considers the coming of the "prince of Grecia" to have taken place while Gabriel was absent on this mission.

The hostility towards God's people which the "prince of Persia and the prince of Grecia" shewed, is illustrated historically in the opposition and hindrances endured by the Jews at Jerusalem, not only during the reigns of Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes and Artaxerxes (Ezra and Nehem. passim) but also, if in a less degree, in that of Alexander and his successors.

21. *that which is noted in the scripture of truth*] "Noted" is elsewhere rendered "written" (v. 24) and "sign" (vi. 8): the idea of engraving, etymologically connected with the root of the original, suggests the indelibility of what is "noted."

The "scripture of truth" is the title for the ensuing section. It not only expresses the divine record (Ps. cxxxix. 16, cp. Rev. v. 1), whose characteristic is faithfulness and "truth," particularly in relation to religious truth and the true announcement of the future (Pss. xxv. 5, cxix. 142; Jer. xxvi. 15); but it is here used with an implied contrast to the records and books of Babylonia and Persia familiar to the prophet—neither imperishable nor true; and with evident reference to the "true thing" (*v.* 1) and "the truth" of previous visions (viii. 12, ix. 13).

The "but" which introduces these words is (in the original) an adverb of peculiar force. Often rendered by *vai* (the *immo vero* of Latinity), it expresses the firm assurance of a thing which might be doubted. So here; lest Daniel's heart should faint again at the thought of the greatness of the contest hinted at (*v.* 20), the angel encourages him in language, the first word of which would strengthen him.

none that holdeth with me in these things] Better as in marg. "strengtheneth himself" with me. The word is rendered "play the man" in 2 S. x. 12.

The A.V. "in these things" agrees with Vulg. (perhaps also the Greek versions); but this does not give the right sense. The words are "against these," *i.e.* against the "princes of Persia and Grecia."

The opening verse of chap. xi. is usually connected with x. 21, rather than with xi. 2. The division into chapters x., xi., xii. is unfortunate and inconvenient. The whole section forms one connected whole, and to be understood must be read regardless of the current divisions.

CHAP. XI. 1. *in the first year of Darius... even I, stood...him*] The LXX. (and Theod.) read Cyrus, evidently from x. 1: but the accepted reading "Darius" is contextually the correct one. The "him" is not Darius but Michael (x. 21): lit. the verse runs "my standing was to confirm," &c. There is probably an allusion to the then—"in the first year of Darius," after the fall of Babylon—uncertain position which Darius would take with regard to the people of Israel. The history of chap. vi. shews how precarious was the position of the great men of the Jewish race: here it is intimated that the angelic powers of Israel strengthened each other against the "prince of Persia" (or Media). Angelic interference was exercised in behalf of Daniel (vi. 22), and had continued, and would still continue.

2. *there shall stand up yet three kings*] *i.e.* after Cyrus (cp. x. 1). Who were these three, and the fourth richer, &c.? If the principle of selection be admitted, or the number four be accepted as symbolical (as in vii. 6), it is not necessary to the interpretation that these should represent four kings who succeeded one another in strict chronological order; neither can this be said to be required by the original of the word "stand up" (here and in

yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than *they* all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.

3 And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.

4 And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those.

5 ¶ And the king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes; and

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v. 3). The description given of the fourth, if applicable to Xerxes, is not less so to Darius Codomannus—the last king of Persia; and the parallelism of viii. 7 is in favour of referring "the fourth" to this latter king. If so, and neglecting strictly successive order, "the three kings" would be those, after Cyrus, most renowned, *e.g.* Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes (see note viii. 4). On the other hand, if a strictly successive order be adopted, the "three kings" would be Cambyses, pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspis, and the fourth —Xerxes. This necessitates the supposition of a long interval between the concluding events of *v.* 3 and the beginning of *v.* 4:—of itself not inadmissible in a prophetic section, nor philologically incorrect; but if the interval is to be placed anywhere it is less abrupt, less disconnecting, if placed between the third and fourth kings of *v.* 3. The language of the verse does not help the reader to a decision between these two current modes of interpretation. "Far richer than they all," he "stirs up all" (*i.e.* nations, men, and the wealth which they represented), are expressions true (*a*) of Xerxes, the inheritor of the wealth of his father Darius Hystaspis, at the head of his forty to forty-nine nations (between one and two millions of men), prepared to cross the Hellespont, and (*b*) of Darius Codomannus marshalling his hundreds of thousands at Issus, or his twenty-five nations (above a million of men) at Arbela, and resting upon that countless treasure which at Susa fell into the hands of Alexander (Grote, 'Hist. of Gr.' IV. 162, n. 1).

3, 4. *a mighty king*, &c.] The diversity of opinion as regards *v.* 2 ceases here. Critics are agreed in referring this to Alexander the Great. If viii. 7 describes typically and tersely his conduct to Persia, the language of this verse is not less a summary of the character of the "mighty" (cp. the phrase in Isai. ix. 5, x. 22) king of Greece and of the fortunes of his family. The "ruling a great rule" (the alliteration of the original should be preserved here as in *v.* 5) is a fitting description of the power which, having subjugated the Hellenic world, made itself felt on the Iaxartes and on the Nile, on the Hyphasis and on the Tigris: the "doing according to his will" is not only descriptive of the character—"agere videbatur gentibus quidquid placebat"—assigned to him by Quintus Curtius (X. 5, 35), but also an exhaustive delineation of that career which obtained for the conqueror the title of "Alexander, the son (not of Philip of Macedon, but) of Zeus Ammon." And it was "when he stood up," or, as viii. 8 expresses it, "when he was strong" (a reading Grätz would adopt here by a change in the letters of the word in the original)—in the full plenitude of his power, that his death occurred (*æt.* 32, B.C. 323); and that kingdom which only Alexander could have held together was "broken" in pieces. (Grote, XII. 138, 142). Its unity was at an end, it was to be "divided toward the four winds" (cp. viii. 8, 22). His kingdom did not remain in the time of his "posterity" (for the word cp. Jer. xli. 17; Amos iv. 2; Ps. cix. 13; the Greek versions render differently), but to "others besides these." At his death one illegitimate son—Heracles, was alive; a few months after, his favourite wife Roxana gave birth to a posthumous child—Alexander; both were eventually murdered at the instigation of those who "rooted up," "plucked up," as roots out of the ground, the kingdom of that emperor who had raised them to power. The "realm of Grecia" was never again "according to the rule which he (Alexander) ruled." The eastern satrapies were left at the time in the hands of their holders, but the yoke of the foreigner was thrown off as speedily as circumstances permitted; west, north, and south, the chief officers partitioned that vast intestate legacy which the mighty king had won only to be dismembered.

5. With this verse begins a summary of the leagues and conflicts between "the kings of the south and of the north:" literally, the titles are the king of the "Negeb" (see Gen. xx. 1)—a geographical expression for the land from southern Canaan to Arabia Petræa and Egypt (cp. Isai. xxx. 6, 7)—and the king of the "Zaphon"—a geographical term of very wide as well as narrow significance, sometimes taken to refer to Assyria (Jer. iii. 18), sometimes to the land of the Chaldæans (Jer. vi. 22, x. 22), sometimes to Babylon (Zech. ii. 10), sometimes to Syria (Isai. xiv. 31), sometimes to

he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion *shall be* a great dominion.

6 And in the end of years they †shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make †an agreement: but she shall

† Heb. *shall associate themselves.*

† Heb. *rights.*

Media and Persia (Isai. xli. 25; Zeph. ii. 13). The south is placed here before the north. This was probably the Babylonian usage due to the same idea as that entertained by the Egyptians (Birch, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' III. p. 425)—viz. that the civilization and emigration of the earlier settlers had been directed to the south from the north.

By the "king of the south" is meant the prince into whose hands the kingdom of the south fell after the death of Alexander. Egypt was conquered by Alexander in B.C. 332 and placed under the lieutenancy of Ptolemy (I.).

The explanation most current refers these conflicts, &c. to those which history recognizes as having occurred between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids; but the very vagueness of the terms "north" and "south," as well as the frequently ideal rather than strictly historical representations, necessitate sometimes caution, sometimes breadth of application, and fully justify the purposely chosen indefiniteness which marks (for instance) the heading of the A. V.

the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him] The "south" is (throughout) rendered by the LXX. "Egypt" (from *v.* 8), but not by Theod. If by the "south" is to be understood here Egypt, Ptolemy would be the king alluded to, that portion of Alexander's empire being still governed by him at the time of the emperor's death. He assumed the title of king about B.C. 304 (Grote, XII. 203).

The identification of "one of his princes" is difficult (for the phrase, a partitive use of the preposition "from," cp. *v.* 7; Exod. vi. 25; Neh. xiii. 28). According to one interpretation, it means that one of the princes of the kingdom of the south was strong above the king of the south; an interpretation which involves the neglect of the verse-divisions in the existing Hebrew text (they are correctly given in the A. V.), and the adoption of those followed by the Greek versions, *e.g.* "The king of the south shall be strong; and one of his princes shall be strong above him," &c. (so the Rabb. interpretation in the Wilna-Bible); and this is supposed to refer to Seleucus, who assumed the title of king when he became master of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria (Grote, l. c.). The great objection to this is, that Seleucus never was one of Ptolemy's princes—in the sense of either vassal or subordinate of any kind. In the great alliance between Cassander of Macedonia, Lysimachus of Thrace, Ptolemy, and Seleucus against the overweening power in Asia of Antigonus—an alliance which ended in the defeat of Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (B.C. 300) and in the dissolution of his Asiatic dominion chiefly to the profit of Seleucus, whose dynasty from that date exercised authority from the coast of Syria to the Caspian gates, Parthia, and even nearly to the Indus—the four confederates appear always on equal terms. To obviate this difficulty, Luther (and some moderns) take "one of his princes" to mean one of Alexander's princes. The Greek versions are so indefinite that they may be claimed in support either of this or the preceding application. The translation would accordingly be, adopting also the Septuagintal division of the verse: "The king of the south shall be strong, and one of Alexander's princes shall be strong above him;" a translation which will also admit the reference to Seleucus, while strictly in accordance with fact. Seleucus and Ptolemy were both generals of the great Alexander; and the power ultimately acquired by the former was far greater than that acquired by the latter. The suggestion (*e.g.* by Grätz) that a sentence (after "one of his princes") such as "shall stand up from the north" should be—for the sake of elucidation—supplied (from *v.* 6, "they"), is in accordance with this view and clears up the difficulty. The grammatical objections to this view are not insuperable; and the explanation is preferable to that first named or to a third sometimes offered, "the king of the south shall be stronger than the king before him, or than his princes."

6. *in the end of years they shall join themselves together*, &c.] Allusion is here made to the political or matrimonial "leagues between the kings of the south and north," which took place after some time (cp. the phrase in 2 Chro. xviii. 2).

to make an agreement] συνθηκαὶ (LXX.) based upon "rights" (see marg.) and the principles of equity (Prov. i. 3). The sense of the following words of the verse may thus be paraphrased: The marriage (cp. the phrase in Josh. xv. 18, Judg. i. 14) of the daughter of the king of the south to the king of the north shall not be attended by retention of power on her part nor on his (the king of the south), the agreement will fall through or not be observed, and the political significance of the union come to nothing; the power of the king of the north will still remain the greater.

It is more difficult to determine the right rendering of the words themselves, and their reference. It is remarkable that the text fol-

not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and [1]he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in *these* times.

7 But out of a branch of her roots shall *one* stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail:

[1] Or, whom she brought forth.

lowed by the LXX. makes no mention of "the king's daughter;" throughout, the action is between the kings of the south and the north without any reference to a third person. Was this owing to the difficulty felt in identifying this "king's daughter"?

she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm] Lit. "retain strength" (as in x. 8, 16), a phrase which from its ordinary use (see 1 Chro. xxix. 14; 2 Chro. ii. 5, xiii. 20, xxii. 9) suggests that the preferable translation would be "the arm shall not retain strength" ("arm" is a fem. noun usually, and the verb is fem.; so LXX. ὁ βραχίων αὐτοῦ οὐ στήσει ἰσχύν). The second clause being considered tautological, Theod., Vulg. and Luther, by a different punctuation of the original, read "his *seed* shall not stand," referring the words to the "king's daughter;" but this—though removing the difficulty—is unsupported, and the clause is best taken as one idea amplified, *i.e.* not "he" alone nor "his arm" alone, but "he and his arm," or the king and that power which he held as king.

she shall be given up, &c.] A clause, the general sense of which appears to be the surrender of all who had taken part in the marriage or league; but its various expressions are still matters of uncertainty. For instance, instead of "he that begat her," Theod. read ἡ νεᾶνις, pointing differently, see A. V. marg.; Luther, "child;" Vulg. plur.; the LXX. omits the words. "He that strengthened her" is by some referred to her husband, by others to her father. "In (these) times" is by many MSS. of Theod. placed at the beginning of the next verse and referred to other events than those connected with the league.

Independent of these difficulties, there is the greater difficulty: to whom does this refer? The LXX.—as has been stated—ignores "the king's daughter;" but, accepting the usual reading, to whom is allusion intended? The usual interpretation is as follows. Between verses 5 and 6 a space of a century and a half at least is supposed to elapse—a length of time which somewhat severely taxes the phrase "in the end of years" (see ref.). Seleucus I. (Nicator) was succeeded (B.C. 281) by Antiochus I. (Soter)—a prince passed over in the prophecy, and he (B.C. 262) by Antiochus II. (Theos). Ptolemy I. was succeeded (B.C. 284) in Egypt by Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus); and with this prince Antiochus II. (Theos) made league (B.C. 247) by repudiating his first wife (Laodice) and her children, and by marrying Ptolemy's daughter Berenice. On the death of Ptolemy (B.C. 246) Antiochus took back Laodice, who poisoned her husband, and caused Berenice and her child (a boy) to be murdered at Daphne.

This interpretation would be legitimate if there were no doubt either about the reading or explanation of every sentence in the verse. But considering that every clause is open to a variety of interpretations, and that there existed a text (followed by the LXX.) which differed so remarkably from that usually received, it is both wiser and more critical to see in this verse a general rather than specific allusion to those leagues and alliances between the kings of the south and north, which from their want of cohesion and assimilation ended in nothing "even as iron is not mixed with clay" (ii. 43).

7. *But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate*] The prep. "in" is supplied here from the phrase in *vv.* 20, 21, 38 (lit. "in his place," see LXX. *vv.* 21, 38). The words "out of" are unnecessary: the better rendering (analogous to "*one* of his princes," *v.* 5) would be "And a branch of her roots" (*i.e.* one who comes from the same origin), &c. Critics are divided in their application of the word "roots." Some take it as referring to her parents, others to herself.

which shall come with an army, &c.] The A. V. agrees with the Vulg. and Luther; but the preposition in the original is not "with," but "to;" and the more generally accepted view is to understand by the "army" that of the king of the north. The sense would then be, "which shall come to the army," *i.e.* in a hostile spirit (cp. Gen. xxxii. 9; Isai. xxxvii. 33), "and enter" &c.

The "fortress" here is best taken as a collective word (cp. the *plur.* "shall deal against *them*"); elsewhere the plural form is used (*v.* 19). It is very doubtful if either Seleucia (near Antioch) or Gaza can be said to be here particularly specified.

The LXX. has here again a remarkable variation from the *textus receptus:* The "king of the north" is not a genitive but a nominative; and the sense implied is that it is the king of the north "which shall come to (against) the army" of the king of the south "in his own might...and shall prevail," &c.; *v.* 8 is also applied to the king of the north, but not *v.* 9.

8 And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, *and* with †their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue *more* years than the king of the north.

† Heb. *vessels of their desire.*

9 So the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and shall return into his own land.

10 But his sons ‖shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and *one* shall certainly come,

‖ Or, *shall war.*

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8. The spoliation mentioned here was practically tantamount to an admission of total defeat on the part of those so treated (cp. i. 2, v. 3; Isai. xlvi. 1, 2; Jer. xlviii. 7, xlix. 3). The word (Nasikim) rendered "princes" (so Rashi) is translated by others "molten images" (*τὰ χωνευτά* of the LXX. and Theod. Vulg. "sculptilia"). The inscriptions use the word nisik in the sense of "treasure," or "jewels," and nasiku in that of "prince" or "chief." Sardanapalus speaks of himself as conveying to his city Assur Ila, Nasik of Lage, with his soldiers and yoked chariots (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. 1065—7; G. Smith, 'Hist. of Assurbanipal,' p. 226; Prætorius, 'Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.' XXVII. 514). The "gods" and "images" here would be those of the defeated kingdom.

he shall continue more years than the king of the north] A translation which is hardly correct. Theod. and the Vulg. "ipse prævalebit adversus regem aquilonis" represent one commonly adopted translation; but a better still would be "he shall stand" (same as *v.* 2, 3, 4, 6) (some) "years (away) from the king of the north," whether from exhaustion or through peace remains untold.

9. *So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom*] The A.V. and LXX. are here in opposition to the other versions (and most commentators): "The king of the south" is by these latter taken as a genitive, and the translation preferred is "And he (the king of the north) shall come into the kingdom of the king of the south," &c.; the sudden change of subject being considered less violent in the original than it is in translation.

The historical events alluded to in *vv.* 7—9 are supposed to be the standing up of Berenice's brother ("the branch of the roots") Ptolemy III. (Euergetes, B.C. 247) against Seleucus II. (Callinicus, B.C. 243), who had succeeded Antiochus (Theos). Ptolemy's career was marked by invariable success. The fortresses of Cilicia and the strong places of the Syrian power as far as the Tigris and Babylonia were entered by him, and Laodice was put to death for her share in Berenice's murder. He returned to Egypt with a booty of 40,000 talents of silver, precious vessels of gold and silver, and bringing back with him those statues of the national deities which Cambyses had carried away to Persia. This last act procured for him his title of Euergetes. The temporary suspension of hostilities was broken by a combined naval and land expedition against Ptolemy on the part of Seleucus, which resulted in the dispersion of the fleet by a storm and the total defeat of the land force, Seleucus escaping with difficulty to Antioch.

The same uncertainty marks this explanation as was noted in *v.* 6. The remarkable difference exhibited in the LXX., the difficulty of deciding who is alluded to in the "roots," the (minor) historical inaccuracy which describes Ptolemy as bringing back to Egypt the *images* captured by Cambyses, when as a matter of fact (Herod. III. 37) he ordered the images (*e.g.* of Memphis and Cabeiri) to be burnt (see Niebuhr, 'Lect. on Anc. Hist. of East,' III. 294), all give prominence to other views different from those usually accepted.

10. *But his sons shall be stirred up*] *i.e.* to battle (*v.* 25). Whose sons? According to the rendering of *v.* 9 and grammatical sequence, the A.V. (and LXX. who reads "his son," *sing.*) must mean the sons of the king of the south. Those who render *v.* 9 differently (see that verse) refer the words to the sons of the king of the north.

The original of the word "forces" corresponds to the word used to describe the troops of Babylon (Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' II. 419).

one shall certainly come, &c.] The verbs in the previous part of the verse are in the plural, now they change to the singular. One mode of explaining this is that given by A.V. (and, practically, by Theod. *εἰσελεύσεται ἐρχόμενος*); others consider the "multitude" as the nominative to these verbs in the second clause, and render "the multitude shall come," &c.

The diversity of explanation, and consequently of application, of this verse is in no small degree due to the various readings (see the difference in the original between the Keri and Kethib).

(*a*) To give first the view usually adopted. Seleucus II. (Callinicus) was succeeded (B.C. 225) by Seleucus III. (Ceraunos) in the kingdom of the "north." St Jerome asserts that he together with his brother Antiochus (hence "sons," *plur.*) carried the war into Egypt against Ptolemy III. (Euergetes). As this is questionable, other critics explain the "stirring up" to battle to be a summary mode of including both an attack on Attalus of Pergamos by Seleucus (*d.* 224—3), and the later (by some years, 220—02) wars

and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, *even* to his fortress.

11 And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, *even* with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand.

12 *And* when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down *many* ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened *by it*.

13 For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come †after certain years with a great army and with much riches.

† Heb. *at the end of times of years.*

14 And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the

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of Antiochus (III. called "the great") in Egypt against Ptolemy IV. (Philopator). The "one" who "shall certainly come" is this Antiochus the Great, who revived the fortunes of the Syrian empire and took from the weak and abject Ptolemy Philopator (B. C. 222) Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria and part of his possessions in Asia Minor; "overflowing" the country like a flood and returning to "his fortress" at Seleucia on the Orontes (others, to Raphia in Egypt; others, to Gaza).

(*b*) The reference of the "sons" (or "son") to the children of the king of the south, gives an altogether different exposition. The "one" is, according to this view, Ptolemy Philopator the son of Euergetes, and the expressions in the verse are general descriptions of the hostilities which find further expansion in *v.* 11.

Both these interpretations—supported as they are by able men—cannot be right. The natural conclusion must be, to leave the verse in that indefiniteness which has marked the verses preceding it.

11, 12. The difference between the LXX. and the original ceases here, but not the obscurity of the references.

11. *he shall set forth a great multitude*, &c.] "he" is—according to one view—the king of the south, and the phrase "but the multitude shall be given into his hand" intimates that the multitude shall be given into the hand of the king of the north. According to a second view, "he" is the king of the north, and the multitude is given into the hands of the king of the south. According to a third, "the multitude" belongs to the same king in both clauses, and the phrase "shall be given into his hand" is equivalent to an assumption of the command by the king. Of these views, the second—supported as it is by *v.* 12—is the most in accordance with the context: but in common with the first view, it necessitates a change of subject in the middle of the verse.

12. *when he hath taken away the multitude*, &c.] *i.e.* when he, the king of the south, &c. The A.V. is substantially in agreement with the versions. Many modern commentators, however, render this "and the multitude lifts up itself and his heart," &c., a rendering necessitated by the references discovered in the previous verse rather than by the *usus verborum* alleged from Isai. xxxiii. 10.

The historical illustrations of these verses are—adopting the second view above—the exertions made by Ptolemy Philopator to withstand Antiochus the Great, exertions which issued, by the aid of trained Greek mercenaries, in the decisive defeat of Antiochus at Raphia. The Syrians are said to have lost upwards of 10,000 men besides 4000 prisoners.

13, &c. follows out the fact announced in the previous words, "he (the king of the south) shall not be strengthened by it" (Vulg. non prævalebit).

after certain years] Lit. "at the end of the times (even) years" (the LXX. reads "a year"). Ptolemy Philopator abandoned himself after the battle of Raphia to a life of coarse licentiousness. As Niebuhr has said, "the government of Alexandria was as bad and disgraceful as that of the Countess Du Barry under Louis XIV." Antiochus occupied himself for a time in restoring the Syrian empire from the Hellespont to Bactria. But towards the end of the Hannibalian war, about fourteen or fifteen years after his defeat at Raphia, Philopator being dead, and his son of five years old, Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes, B.C. 204), placed on the throne, Antiochus entered into alliance with Philip III. of Macedon, and the two princes, having agreed to partition Egypt, attacked it.

with much riches] Rather, war-material, baggage, or camp. The inscriptions use the corresponding word in a military sense, and of an assemblage of men (Sayce, 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' II. 129, n. 2; Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' III. 856).

14. This verse introduces for the first time the "people" of Daniel's nation. From the previous verses it would almost seem that they had remained comparatively unaffected by the leagues and conflicts between the kings of the south and of the north. A slight sketch

† Heb. *the children of robbers.* south: also †the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall.

15 So the king of the north shall † Heb. *the city of munitions.* come, and cast up a mount, and take †the most fenced cities: and the arms

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of the history of the Jews during the period of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic contests up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes may not be out of place.

On the death of Alexander, Judæa came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. In B.C. 321 Ptolemy I. conquered Laomedon, and assaulting Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day, occupied it without resistance. After deporting many thousand captives to the partly Jewish colonies at Alexandria and Cyrene he, with true political instinct, turned to account the patriotism natural to the Jewish character, and entrusted the chief garrisons of the land of Judæa to an army of 30,000 men composed of Jews. In the wars between the generals and successors of Alexander, Jerusalem itself—governed by such able high priests as Onias and Simon the Just—escaped the horrors of war; the towns on the sea-coast, such as Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, being the chief objects of contention. On the establishment of Antioch by Seleucus I. as the capital of the Syro-Grecian kingdom, it was inevitable that Judæa should feel its position as a battle-field between the Seleucid power to the north and the Ptolemaic power to the south. Still under the humane government of the first three Ptolemies—the second of whom, Philadelphus, ordered the preparation at Alexandria of the first Greek version (the LXX.) of the Old Testament—the Jews enjoyed a quiet and enviable political obscurity. While war was raging around them, their country flourished in profound peace. With the synchronous reigns of Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) and Antiochus the Great this peace came to an end. Antiochus—previous to his defeat at Raphia—had seized Judæa. Ptolemy IV. after his victory entered Jerusalem, and offered up sacrifice and thanksgiving in the temple to the God of Israel. But wishing to penetrate to the sanctuary, and persisting—in spite of the remonstrances of Simon the high priest (son of Onias), and of the cries of the people—he is said to have been struck by an unaccountable terror. He was carried out speechless. Whether this was the cause of his subsequent conduct or not, from that day Ptolemy exhibited the most cruel animosity to the Jews. At his death Antiochus, in union with the Macedonian prince, again invaded Judæa. The Jews, angry with the family of the Ptolemies, hailed him as a deliverer; and the Syrian king—in spite of the opposition offered by Scopas the Egyptian general—fixed himself firmly in the territory, and restored to Jerusalem all its ancient privileges. It is at this point that—according to the second view mentioned in *v.* 11—the events of *v.* 14 become prominent.

shall many stand up against the king of the south] The "many" is supposed to refer to those who rose up against Agathocles and the guardians of the young Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes, son of Philopator); but this rising was not against the king; on the contrary, it was to secure him liberty. Hence the "many" is taken by others to refer to those alluded to in the second clause of the verse. The LXX. must have followed a different text: it reads "thoughts," instead of "many."

the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves] Lit. sons (that are) robbers of thy people (not as in marg. here. The sing. of the original occurs in Ezek. xviii. 10). The phrase is usually taken to describe those who set law and right at defiance when these come in conflict with their own supposed interests (cp. Ps. xvii. 4; Ezek. vii. 22; Isai. xxxv. 9). It is impossible to take the phrase as simply equivalent to the "most powerful," and—introducing a lapse of years between the first and second clauses of the verse—understand the words under consideration to be a forecast of deeds performed under Antiochus Epiphanes. It is not less difficult—because contrary to fact (a point the supporters of the view are compelled to admit)—to understand by these "robbers" the Jews who sided with Antiochus. "Robbers" or "law-breakers" these men could not be called, when the main object of their union with Antiochus was to obtain the restitution of their rights, and the restoration of their temple and worship.

A different sense is attached to the clause by the Greek versions. The LXX., following a different reading, renders it: "he" (the king of the south) "shall build up the fallen things of thy people" (ἀνοικοδομήσει τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ ἔθνους σου). Theod. gives the verb a passive sense ("the sons of the plagues of thy people shall be puffed up;" Vulg. extollentur). The rendering of LXX. indicates how very early uncertainty existed as to the interpretation and application of the original. The translation "robbers" is in fact unsatisfactory and perhaps incorrect. The word (parizim) is used in a Babylonian sense and corresponds to the "captains" and leaders (parzi: Norris, 'Assyr. Dict.' I. 123) mentioned in the inscriptions together with the head men of the country. The clause would then be "also the 'captains' or 'the sons of the captains' of thy people shall be taken away...and shall fall," and the allusion would be to those courtier and renegade

of the south shall not withstand, neither † his chosen people, neither *shall there be any* strength to withstand.

† Heb. *the people of his choices.*

16 But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the ‖ glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.

‖ Or, *goodly land.* † Heb. *the land of ornament.*

17 He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and ‖ upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him

‖ Or, *much uprightness; or, equal conditions.*

Jews who, joining themselves with "the king of the south" in his acts of illegality and cruelty, "stumbled" and fell.

to establish the vision] Lit. "a vision," the definite article being absent; or "vision" generally. The paraphrase of LXX., *τὴν προφητείαν*, taken together with the word translated "establish" ("make to stand"), makes the sense clear, and renders it unnecessary to see in the phrase any special allusion to any special "vision" hitherto recorded. If, however, choice is to be made, the "vision" will be that (x. 1, 7, 8) with which this chapter is connected rather than with that of ch. viii. or ch. ix. The suggestion, that reference is intended to some current book of prophecy, has not so much in its favour as another suggestion, that the words are spoken parenthetically by the angel (see the accentuation of the present text).

15. *cast up a mount*] Cp. Ezek. iv. 2; Jer. vi. 6; 2 K. xix. 32.

take the most fenced cities] Lit. (see marg. rend.) "a city of fortifications." If the expression be considered a collective one for all the fortified places of the kingdom of the south, it corresponds to the rendering adopted by the A. V., Theod., Vulg., Luther and De Wette. The LXX. renders it singular "the strong city;" in this it is followed by many modern commentators, who further define the city specified to be Sidon. Scopas (see *v.* 14), after his defeat at Paneas by Antiochus, threw himself into that town: eventually he was forced by hunger to capitulate. But the whole tenor of the verse is in favour of the more general sense adopted by A. V. The fortified town of Sidon may have been, and probably was, among those captured by a "king of the north" on his way south, especially if occupied by an army of the south; but Sidon would have been only one among many fortified cities which would bar the conqueror's progress before he reached Egypt.

and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, &c.] The sense is happily given by the LXX.—which, it will be seen, omits one negative in the present Hebrew text; "the arms of the king of Egypt shall stand with his princes, and there shall not be strength to him to withstand him." The word "arms" (as in *vv.* 22, 31) is (in meaning) equivalent to an armed force or army.

16. A description already applied to the "mighty king of Grecia" (*v.* 3) and to the "ram" (viii. 4); and consequently of general import.

he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed] "The glorious land," *i.e.* Palestine (see viii. 9). Theod. here (and in *vv.* 41 and 45) reproduces the original word under the form *ἐν γῇ τοῦ Σαβεί* (al. *Σαββείρ, Σαβείν, -είμ*). If by this be meant the land of the Sabæans, the reading was probably adopted from the difficulty of applying to Antiochus the Great the character of consumer or destroyer of the land of Israel. In fact this difficulty has led to a wide diversity with respect to the words translated by the A. V. "by his hand shall be consumed" (perhaps better "and consumption [*i.e.* destruction] shall be in his hand"). The sense of destruction is one derived by the A. V. from the Greek versions and adopted by many commentators (the word being taken by some as a verb, by others as a substantive); but it is felt to be inapplicable to Antiochus the Great, whose whole conduct was the reverse of destruction to Palestine. Hence the "destruction" has been applied to Egypt, or to those "robbers of the people" (*v.* 14) who sided with Ptolemy against Antiochus. Hence also the word has been pointed differently and rendered "(the land) is *entirely* in his hand;" or, retaining the punctuation, "totality" and "perfection" in an adverbial sense has been assigned to it with practically the same meaning as a result. The first of these alternatives is purely arbitrary and unsupported; the second though not without a parallel (cp. Gen. xviii. 21; Exod. xi. 1) is opposed to the *usus verborum* of Daniel (see ix. 27, Heb.; and cp. Jer. iv. 27, v. 10; Ezek. xi. 13); and both are confessedly means of escape from a difficulty. That difficulty, together with much else due to the divine nature of the communication to Daniel, is still unsolved.

17. *He shall...enter with the strength of his whole kingdom*] So Theod. The idea presented is not so much the progress of a conqueror as of one, who having conquered, advances in pomp and might (cp. iv. 19) to cement peaceful alliances.

and upright ones with him; thus shall he do] The A. V. appears to be alone in this rendering, though Theod. and the Vulg. retain something like it, "he shall do everything that is upright with him." The truer rendering (pointed out by LXX., "he shall make agreements with him") would be "and agreements with him" (cp. *v.* 6 and marg. render-

† Heb. *to corrupt.*

the daughter of women, †corrupting her: but she shall not stand *on his side*, neither be for him.

18 After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: † Heb. *for him.*
but a prince † for his own behalf shall

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ings here and there), the past nature of the agreement being defined in the next sentence as a political marriage.

he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her] The bride is so called (acc. to some) because of her youth, *i.e.* "a young bride;" or (acc. to others), on account of her softer, more feminine character. The phrase "corrupting her" is much more difficult. Who is referred to by "her"? According to the Versions, the bride; according to most moderns, Egypt. The latter interpretation is both abrupt in its intrusion of a new object, and is partly due to the mistaken reference of "kingdom" (in the first clause) to the "kingdom of the south." It is better to adopt the former, and consider the words "corrupting her" (hardly, as some, in order to corrupt her) as a consequence of the marriage. This consequence is summed up in the following words, "she shall not stand" ("on his side" is an addition by A. V.; it is not in the original), "neither be for him" (lit. "and not to him shall she be"). It is better (with the Greek versions) to refer these words to the same object throughout—"the daughter of women," than to attach an impersonal sense to the verbs and render "but it (the plan or counsel—Rashi) shall not stand," &c. (Luther), *i.e.* the king of the north shall not be benefited.

The historical fulfilment of this verse is usually taken to be the marriage of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, with Ptolemy Epiphanes. This was not forced, as by a conqueror, on the king of Egypt. It was proposed, together with Cœle-Syria as a dowry; and the marriage took place (B.C. 198—3). The result of this marriage was unfavourable to Antiochus. The political support he anticipated from the union was not granted him, Egypt ever employing its ancient alliance with Rome for the purpose of protecting itself against Syria. Cleopatra is said to have sent her congratulations to the Romans on their defeat of her father at Thermopylæ (by which he was driven out of Europe) and at Magnesia (by which he was compelled to cede nearly all his possessions in Western Asia).

It is obvious that this explanation is unaffected by the two modes of applying the "her" in "corrupting her;" whether to the bride or to the kingdom to which she went as a bride. But the explanation is diametrically opposed to another which understands the last clause of this verse as follows:—she shall not be acceptable to her husband, and she will not be willing to be his wife.

18. *After this shall he turn his face unto the isles*] Lit. "and" he shall turn; in the original there is no conjunction strong enough to warrant the translation of the A. V. (Luther *darnach*). The reading "he shall turn" is the "Kethib" (see *v.* 19) and is adopted by Theod., Vulg., Luther, &c.; another reading —the "Keri" (see *v.* 17)—is "he shall act;" and is adopted by the LXX., which also replaces "the isles" by "the sea."

a prince for his own behalf, &c.] Theod.'s rendering of this very difficult passage, "he shall make the princes stop from their reproach, but his own reproach shall turn upon himself" (cp. Vulg.), seems to give the best sense. "Prince" (Isai. i. 10, iii. 6; Prov. xxv. 15) is taken as a collective noun, translated in the plural (ἄρχοντας), and is an accusative instead of a nominative, the nominative to the verb being "the king of the north." The A. V., Luther, Benisch, &c. express the idea: "a prince shall cause to cease the reproach offered by the king of the north, and shall cause reproach to turn upon himself;" and the historical illustration is found in the events which brought Antiochus the Great into conflict with the Romans. The Syrian king had shared with Philip of Macedon the Egyptian possessions of Asia Minor. All the ports of Asia which had been given to Philip in that division had been ceded to the Romans, and were to be free; but Antiochus took possession of the Thracian Chersonesus and several places on the coast of Thrace. The Romans demanded that he should give up his possessions in Europe, adding that an Asiatic king had no right to have them; and that he must surrender the Greek towns in Asia Minor because they had been declared free by the Romans. Antiochus answered, If the Romans were really so zealous in the cause of the freedom of Greece, they should first set free Magna Græcia, and that then he would take the matter into consideration. From this moment both parties prepared for war. Antiochus landed at Demetrias in Magnesia and took Chalcis, only to be driven back to Asia Minor in the following year. The Romans followed up their advantage; aided by Philip (Antiochus' former ally), the Roman fleet under Regillus destroyed the Syrian fleet near Ephesus, while their army under Lucius Cornelius Scipio (called in the 'Fasti' Asiaticus), the younger brother of Publius Cornelius Scipio the Great, passed over into Asia Minor, and in the battle of Magnesia in Lydia (B.C. 190) totally defeated the hosts of Antiochus. The terms dictated by the conqueror—the "prince"—were the surrender of all European acquisitions with the promise of non-interference in Europe, and of

cause †the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause *it* to turn upon him.

19 Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

20 Then shall stand up in his estate †a raiser of taxes *in* the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he

† Heb. *his reproach.*

† Heb. *one that causeth an exacter to pass over.*

all Asiatic possessions west of Mount Taurus (cp. Niebuhr, 'Lectt. on Anc. Hist.' III. 397—403; and 'Lectt. on Rome,' II. 175—188, Engl. Tr.).

The allusions in *v.* 19 are referred to the same prince. The "fort of his own land" (lit. "forts") are the strongholds to which Antiochus fled when driven out of Lysimachia in the Chersonesus, to Lydia, and thence to Phrygia. His "turning his face toward" them was in flight: the expression is not ironical. "He shall stumble, fall, and not be found" is a prediction verified, it is said, by his death, together with the destruction of his army at Elymais.

The explanation, of necessity, requires modification if the rendering of Theodotion (*v.* 18) be preferred: and then it must be conceded that the phrase "he shall cause princes to cease," &c. must be left in its vagueness: it *may* refer to the "princes" or leaders whom Antiochus at first defeated at Phthiotis, Chalcis, and elsewhere. But, whatever application be adopted, part of *v.* 19, "he shall not be found," must certainly be left in the indefiniteness natural to the language. It implies the extinction, politically speaking, of the king of the north; but it cannot be pressed into anything more. The accounts of that period are so confused; the after-events of the history of Antiochus the Great are so lost in obscurity —the same kind of death, for instance, being assigned to him and to Antiochus Epiphanes —that the language of the verse should not be strained into saying more than it absolutely does say.

20. *a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom*] How different are the renderings of the original may be seen by comparing the A. V. with the LXX. Vulg. "vilissimus et indignus decore regio." Cp. also marg. read. This last is to be preferred to the present A. V. (so Benisch and Zunz). The diversity of application is equally manifold.

Antiochus the Great left two sons, Seleucus IV. (Philopator) and Antiochus Epiphanes. The former succeeded him, and is described by Niebuhr ('Lectt. on A. H.' III. 445) as a good-natured man and a kind brother, but otherwise weak and insignificant. Under him the empire of the Seleucids fell into still greater decay. After a peaceful and insignificant reign of twelve years (B.C. 187—176), he was murdered by Heliodorus (Liv. XLI. 19, App. Syr. XLV., cp. Ewald, 'Gesch. d. V. Israel,' IV. 331, n. 2); a death, if "not in battle," due probably to "anger" and revenge consequent upon blame for his failure at Jerusalem (see below).

What events happened in his day to which the verse may be applied? Those who translate a "raiser of taxes" or exactor find in the verse a reference to the intestine strife, which, in the reign of Seleucus, put an end to the long prosperity of the Jewish people (for the facts cp. Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' I. 455 seq.; Palmer, 'Hist. of the Jewish Nation,' p. 139). A quarrel arose between Onias III. the high priest, Simon the collector of the royal revenue, and the governor of the temple and of its treasury. Simon, in revenge, reported to Apollonius, Seleucus' governor in Cœle-Syria, that there were incalculable riches stored in the temple at Jerusalem. Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately despatched to take possession of this welcome fund. An apparition—immortalised by the genius of Raphael—forced him from the sanctuary he had attempted to defile. A horse, mounted by a rider clad in golden armour, struck at him with his hoofs: two young men of marvellous beauty and strength scourged him till he was senseless. He left the city to declare to his royal master his inability to resist the power of the God who protected it. To justify this application the verse is translated as in marg., and the phrase "the glory of the kingdom" is taken as a description of the city Jerusalem (viii. 9 "the pleasant land" being quoted as a parallel). Unfortunately the above history of Heliodorus rests on the very apocryphal testimony of 2 Macc. iii.; and the violent death of Seleucus is unnoticed by Josephus, and passed over in silence by those authorities whose estimate of evidence is worthy of respect (*e.g.* Niebuhr, Milman, and Palmer). To understand "the glory of the kingdom" of Jerusalem is hardly warranted by the parallel alleged; and it is better to take it (with Gesenius) in a wider sense for Palestine, or (as LXX. and Theod.) as synonymous with "the honour of the kingdom" (*v.* 21). If the verse illustrates any episodes in the life of Seleucus, it does so only by a *general* allusion to the efforts he made to pay the instalments of tribute due to the Romans after the death of Antiochus the Great. In that sense *he* was (as A. V.) a raiser of taxes, an exactor, &c. But how difficult the application to Seleucus was felt to be, is seen in the fact that Rashi explains the verse of Mattathias the Maccabee; others apply it to Antiochus the Great; or (as Gk.

† Heb. *angers.*

shall be destroyed, neither in †anger, nor in battle.

21 And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.

22 And with the arms of a flood

versions) uniting *vv.* 20 and 21 apply the details to one and the same person.

21. The confusion and vagueness hitherto remarked with reference to the kings of the north and south ceases here. From this verse onward the history of *one* individual is brought prominently forward; and, however difficult some of the details, critics are usually agreed in applying the description—in the first instance—to Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Seleucus and the younger son of Antiochus the Great.

a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour, &c.] The word "vile" was used by the translators of the A. V. in a sense differing from its more modern use. "A vile person" means one little esteemed, held but cheaply and so despised; and is in that sense an accurate translation of the original (LXX. εὐκαταφρόνητος). Critics generally find the explanation of the term in the *moral* character of Antiochus. The surname Epiphanes ("the brilliant") was altered by some punster into Epimanes ("the madman") to describe not only his cruelty but also his eccentricities. The man who "united the quick and versatile character of a Greek with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic;" who was another Sardanapalus in his luxuriousness, and withal a bigot animated by the fiercest religious intolerance—was a man deservedly contemptible. Some allusion, however, is probably intended by the term to the "*little* horn" (vii. 8, viii. 9), and to the fact that not Antiochus, but Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, was the right heir to the Syrian throne.

he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries] For the first clause cp. *v.* 24 and viii. 25; "peaceably," *i.e.* in the midst of security, when men were living carelessly (Jer. xxii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 49; Job xv. 21), and so "unexpectedly" (cp. LXX. ἥξει ἐξάπινα): for the second cp. *v.* 34, flattering deeds as well as words. The LXX. by a different reading has the interesting variation here and in *v.* 34, "by inheritance" (ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ). The historical reference may be to such concessions and "flatteries" as are noted in 1 Macc. i. 11—15, which would attach to him the Hellenizing party if they alienated the patriots of Jerusalem, or to that line of conduct which made him lay aside his royal dignity and mix familiarly with the lowest of the people, frequent the public baths and dances, and act as umpire in the petty disputes of the buyer and seller in the market-place. His "flatteries," again, in the shape of the embassage to Rome, the humility of the address, ample promises, and still more ample bribes, secured for a time his position in imperial favour. The main result would be to "cause to be strong" (not "obtain") the kingdom he had already come to.

22. *And with the arms of a flood*, &c.] Better, "and the arms of a flood," &c., *i.e.* an overflowing army (see *vv.* 10, 15, 26, 31). Army against army; and in the result, that opposing him should be broken: and not only should this happen to his enemies but also to the "prince of the covenant."

The reference intended by this last expression —(analogous to similar phrases in Gen. xiv. 13; Obad. 7)—is very much disputed: the balance of probabilities being strongly in favour of identifying the person alluded to with Onias III.; and for the following reasons. (*a*) They who assert that no allusion to the Egyptian wars of Antiochus is to be found before *v.* 24, take *vv.* 22 and 23 as a general description of what is presently given in detail (25—27), and the "prince of the covenant" as an equally general expression for all with whom he made covenant. *Primâ facie* the "prince of the covenant" is not a quasi-title and a general expression (see ix. 25); and it would seem from its position in the sentence to be some person specially singled out. (*b*) Verses 22—24 are taken by others to allude to Antiochus' *first* Egyptian war (25—27 being referred to the *second*), and the "prince of the covenant" to some one who in contest with him was "broken" (*v.* 22). Antiochus on his accession found himself opposed by Heliodorus, and was called upon to resist an attempt on the part of the Egyptians to gain Cœle-Syria. He was successful in both cases. The reigning monarch of Egypt was Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who is therefore identified by some with the "prince of the covenant." The reference of the verses to the first Egyptian war may be taken to be correct, but this identification of the prince is open to very valid objections, *e.g.* (1) the absence of any historical data relative to any "covenant" between Antiochus and Philometor; a difficulty not overcome by the incongruous reference of this "covenant" to the marriage contract in *v.* 17; (2) the difficulty of explaining why a new title, instead of the usual "king of the south," is employed; (3) the *usus verborum*, which would seem to indicate (cp. *vv.* 28, 30, 32; and ix. 23) some one connected with the Hebrew theocracy. This indication leads, in fact, to the view that Onias III. is the person meant;—a view independent of the consideration whether or not the first or second Egyp-

shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.

23 And after the league *made* with him he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.

24 He shall enter [1]peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do *that* which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: *yea*, and he shall [†]forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

25 And he shall stir up his power

[1] Or, *into the peaceable and fat, &c.*

[†] Heb. *think his thoughts.*

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tian wars are alluded to. The title itself would be a fitting one for the head of the people of the covenant; and the deposition to which Onias was subjected through the gold of his brother Jason, and eventually his death (Milman, I. 458; Palmer, p. 140), are in consonance with the language of the verse. Rashi, true to the instinct that the title is a theocratic one, identifies the "prince" not with Onias, but with the Hyrcanus (II.), the opponent of his brother Aristobulus; thus carrying on the reference of the verse to later events.

23. *after the league made with him*] With whom? with himself (Antioch. Epiph.); see the Greek versions. This is more natural than to refer it to "the prince of the covenant" just mentioned (so Luther's version); because this—if Onias III.—was impossible, he being dead; or, if Jason, very awkward, the introduction of a new character being abrupt. This abruptness is not critically excused by the historical fact that "from the time that league was made with" Jason, Antiochus' conduct was that of a man who met deceit with deceit. Jason's underhand dealing with Onias was certainly, after three years, checkmated by the equally underhand dealing of his brother Menelaus, in every case to the pecuniary advantage of Antiochus (cp. 2 Macc. iv.). But this solution of the reference of the pronoun is neither necessary nor altogether satisfactory; though it is more so than that which takes "him" to stand collectively for all with whom covenant was made [see *v.* 22 (*a*)], or than that which takes "him" to refer (also generally) to the Egyptian adversaries of Antiochus, or (lastly) that which sees in the pronoun an allusion to Ptolemy Philopator. The latter part of *v.* 23 is historically unsatisfactory if applied to the two last references.

he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people] *i.e.* (as Rashi well explains it) he became strong in the countries round about—Judah, Edom, Ammon and Moab. Judah helped him, and by such help Antiochus' small native (heathen) force was sufficient.

24. *He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province*] This is the usually accepted rendering; and the places of the province (cp. ii. 48, iii. 2, or land, Ezek. xix. 8) are (following upon the application given in *v.* 23) understood to be the choice and rich tracts of Cœle-Syria and Palestine (cp. the phrase in Gen. xxvii. 28, 39). But the words "among (to) them" in the latter part of the verse, have suggested the translation: "He shall enter peaceably (see *v.* 21) and with the principal men (or warriors) of the province," after the analogous use of the original word in Isai. x. 16; Ps. lxxviii. 3. The suggestion has the merit of being supported by the historical fact recorded of Antiochus (1 Macc. iii. 30).

The largesse, the profuseness, the "scattering," here noted of the king of the north, is in marked contrast to the practice of his predecessors. Too often the "prey and spoil and riches" were bestowed upon the generals and soldiers of the conqueror; now they were bestowed upon the people and the princes of the subject-land. If it was "flattery" (*v.* 21) it was flattery with a policy.

The same result would be attained if the "province" be understood to be Egypt (see next note). Such largesse marked Antiochus' second expedition to that country, a fact which Wiederholt (Tüb. 'Theol. Quartalschr.' p. 584, 1874) takes to be significant of what he may have done on his first expedition.

he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time] See marg. rend. Theod. has "against Egypt" (reading "Mizraim" instead of "Mibzarim"); and it is probably this which has suggested the application of *vv.* 22, 23, and the "fattest places of the province" of this verse, to that country. Preference being given to the view above (*v.* 23) on what is, after all, a question of interpretation rather than a point of material importance, the "strong-holds" (plur.) alluded to would, in all probability, include the fortresses of Egypt, *e.g.* Pelusium (cp. LXX. τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἰσχυράν), Naucratis, and Alexandria, but without excluding other strongholds which lay on the road to that country.

even for a time] *i.e.* as God permits (*e.g.* as in *vv.* 27, 35, viii. 17, 19, &c.); it shall not be for ever; as LXX. paraphrases, οἱ λογισμοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς μάτην.

25 is said to introduce the second of the Egyptian wars for which Antiochus Epiphanes is known in history. Ptolemy (Epiphanes) (see *v.* 17) was stabbed at an early age. His two

and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him.

26 Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him,

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sons (minors) Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon were to reign together with their sister Cleopatra. Antiochus seized the occasion afforded him by the war of the Romans with Perseus (who had married Antiochus' daughter) to attack the Egyptian princes. He first demanded Cœle-Syria, and, evading the appeal to existing treaties, conquered it, and then attacked Egypt. That country was then in the most pitiful condition. The royal brothers were quarrelling. Men, some of them Jews, destitute of political or moral rectitude, and bent upon securing their own advantages, "despectissima pars servientium," held the reins of power. The result of the second war was not long doubtful (see n. *v.* 26); that of the third—as regards the power of the resistance of the "king of the south"—was not less quickly decided, though the brothers had compromised their miserable quarrel and united to oppose the invader. Factions called Samaritans and Hierosolymitans divided the court, and rendered effective union against an invader impossible. Hence Antiochus speedily defeated the Egyptian force opposed to him, took Pelusium, advanced to Memphis, and was practically unopposed till he reached Alexandria. Philometor appealed to Rome. M. Popillius Lænas arrived in answer to the appeal. The Roman met Antiochus at a distance of four (Roman) miles from Alexandria. He placed in the king's hand, stretched out to greet him, the ultimatum of Rome. Antiochus intimated that he would consider it with his council. Popillius at once drew with his staff a circle round Antiochus and compelled him to declare, before quitting that circle, that he would evacuate Egypt. The Syrian king was forced to obey (cp. Polyb. XXIX. 11; Livy, XLV. 12).

he shall stir up his power, &c.] "he," *i.e.* the "king of the north:" "power," lit. his strength (*v.* 15) and his heart (the seat of courage); allusion being intended to the faculties and emotions of the individual as distinguished from the "army" presently mentioned. The word translated "stir" (cp. *v.* 2) and applied to the king of the north is a different word from the "stir" (cp. *v.* 10) applied to the king of the south. The former word is rather the stirring which results from awaking or arousing a person to anything; the latter the stirring which results from irritation and anger. The original text presents in a historically true light the facts of the case between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy. The indolent yet ambitious Asiatic "roused" his courage to action; the Egyptian, irritated at the breach of treaties, was stirred up to war.

he shall not stand] (cp. *v.* 15 and viii. 4, 7); "he," *i.e.* the king of the south. Which of the brothers? 1 Macc. i. 16—19 and Josephus ('Antiq.' XII. 5, § 2) single out Ptolemy Philometor; they would have before them the passage of the book of Daniel. The expression as used here, in the divine communication, is a general one, including under the term "king" whatever represented royalty.

26. *they that feed of the portion of his meat*, &c.] (cp. add. N. to i. 5). A pleonasm for courtiers or principal officers (cp. for the thought Ps. xli. 10).

The application of *vv.* 25, 26 to Antiochus Epiphanes' first Egyptian war, and to the destruction (or "breaking") of Ptolemy's army, primarily through the disaffection of the courtiers and then through defeat in the field, is far more easy than to the second war.

The whole passage is confessedly difficult: "hoc secundum historiam demonstrari non potest," said St Jerome. What history tells of this second war is this. Ptolemy Physcon had contrived to expel Ptolemy Philometor from share in power, and Antiochus made this an excuse for marching on Egypt. He wished to be king of Egypt (1 Macc. i. 16). By sea (near Pelusium) and land he was successful against Ptolemy Physcon, successes which opened to him all the fortresses except Alexandria, in which Physcon had taken refuge. At the same time Antiochus pretended friendship for, and made offers of peace to, Ptolemy Philometor (*v.* 27). The hollowness of the friendship and peace became apparent after a while to Philometor, who, meeting deceit with deceit, eventually came to terms with Physcon; and the two brothers united in opposing their common foe.

The difficulty connected with the application of the verses to the second war is frankly confessed by Wiederholt; "according to the prophet, the king attacked by Antiochus is one and the same person with the king who sits with him speaking lies;" but he insists that this is not really the case. He accounts for the statement in the text as marking the difference between a prophet and a historian. A historian would take care to speak of *two* brothers; and had a forger been at work on this pasaage he would have done the same; but the prophet Daniel was not bound by such restrictions. The veil which covered the future was only partly raised, and the events of the future overlapped each other

and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain.

† Heb. *their hearts.*

27 And both these kings' †hearts *shall be* to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end *shall be* at the time appointed.

28 Then shall he return into his land with great riches; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant; and he shall do *exploits*, and return to his own land.

29 At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

30 ¶ For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall

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and interlaced. Under the general and not specially definite term "king of the south" he, as a prophet, recorded what history proved to be rival brothers.

27. *And both these kings' hearts*, &c.] Lit. "And (as for) these two kings, their hearts," &c. The reference is to the kings of the north and of the south generally, or to the king of the north with one of the brother kings against the other; or to the action of Hyrcanus II. against Aristobulus (Rashi); it is not to the two brother kings of the south. What is meant is clear enough:—deceiver against deceiver—mischief and lies against mischief and lies; but it (the plan) shall not prosper: cp. the LXX.

yet the end shall be at the time appointed] Cp. *v.* 24 with prospective reference to *vv.* 29, 35, 40. "*The* time appointed" arrives when God wills, (*a*) in the incursions to the south on the part of the king of the north (*vv.* 29, 40), which have an "end" (*v.* 45): and (*b*) far beyond such temporal events—in the time of trouble which issues in the "time of the end" (xii. 4). Such particular applications of the words, as the fulfilment of the threescore weeks (Rashi; cp. ix. 25), or the subjection of Israel to the Romans (Aben Ezra), are interesting as a caution not to insist too particularly upon any precise specification of what is purposely left general.

28. *his heart shall be against the holy covenant*] The words introduce again to notice the people of the Jews, and characterize the line of conduct followed by Antiochus Epiphanes towards them. From the beginning of his reign he had allowed and encouraged infringements of their rights and exclusiveness. His own bent was towards Hellenism; and the surest way to his favour was in religious matters to decry the laws and ceremonies of Moses, and in civil matters to encourage the gymnasium and other foreign introductions (2 Macc. iv. 10, &c.). The patriotic Jews were compelled to witness the scandal, and gnash their teeth over what they had no power to prevent. Onias III. had been removed from the high priesthood by the underhand dealing and bribery of his brother Jason. Jason, three years later, had to make way for Menelaus, who bribed Antiochus still higher, contrived to have Onias murdered, plundered the temple, and then transferred the blame from himself to the Jews who had risen to defend their sanctuary and had appealed against him for his sacrilege! This rising was magnified into a political movement and used as a means of fostering Antiochus' anger against the patriots of Jerusalem. Antiochus had hardly reached Egypt in his second expedition (B.C. 169) before the rumour flashed through Judæa that he was dead. Jason seized the opportunity, and dashing at the city took Jerusalem with a handful of men (1000), but failed in his object of obtaining again the high priesthood. The news of the revolt reached Antiochus, and inflamed with fury a mind already evilly disposed. He chose to consider this new rising a political movement of the gravest importance rather than an act of sacerdotal ambition. "With a great multitude he went up against Israel and Jerusalem;" for three days wholesale massacre was permitted. He "entered proudly into the sanctuary," despoiled the temple of its vessels, and then, "speaking very proudly" of these exploits, returned into his own land to Antiochia (cp. 1 Macc. i. 20, &c.; 2 Macc. v. 1—21). This is the event supposed to be alluded to by the prophet in the text.

29. *it shall not be as the former, or as the latter*] The new or third expedition shall be planned, but not as at the first time shall it be at the second (Luther, Zunz, cp. the orig. in Josh. xiv. 11; Ezek. xviii. 4), *i.e.* no success similar to the first shall attend him. This is the explanation usually given. If the translation of A.V. (cp. Greek versions) be preferred, the "former" will refer to the success in *v.* 24, the "latter" to that in *v.* 28. The third expedition would never have results similar to those in the two former cases. This expedition was undertaken to break up the fresh alliance between Philometor and Physcon. Its results have been stated in the note to *v.* 25.

30. *For the ships of Chittim*, &c.] (See nn. on Gen. x. 4; Numb. xxiv. 24.) The allusion is explained by the LXX., ἥξουσι Ῥωμαῖοι (cp. Vulg. venient trieres (et) Romani). In 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5, the Chittims

be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.

31 And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that ‖ maketh desolate.

32 And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he ‖ corrupt by flat-

‖ Or, *astonisheth.*
‖ Or, *cause to dissemble.*

are Macedonians, and the title is consequently narrowed here by some commentators to that people; but the limitation is not in accordance with Biblical usage (see reff. above).

he shall be grieved] Perhaps better (as Theod., ταπεινωθήσεται) "he shall be humbled;" see introductory note to *v.* 25. It was humiliation as well as grief to Antiochus to have to bow to the command of the Roman Senate. He left Egypt and vented his spleen ("he had indignation") against the laws ("the holy covenant") and that people who could not oppose him. The brevity with which the progress and result of this third expedition—so pregnant with loss of honour to Antiochus—is described or alluded to, is perhaps due to the fact that the prophet needed to record it only as the sign of the times which should tell the Jews that the day of their trial was coming. What was before in Antiochus' "heart" against them (*v.* 28), what he had purposed but deferred out of conscious strength that he could at any time carry out his purpose, now found vent in action (*v.* 30 seq.).

them that forsake the holy covenant] (cp. *vv.* 14, 32) *i.e.* the "wicked men," the "king's friends," "who forsook the holy covenant and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief" (1 Macc. i. 11—15, ii. 18). It was by the aid of these renegade Jews that Antiochus would carry out his purposes (see foll. verses, 31—35).

31. (Cp. viii. 13, ix. 27, xii. 11.)

arms shall stand on his part] The masc. form for "arms" here instead of the usual fem. (*vv.* 15, 22) is explained by Rashi of the princes and mighty ones who were sent to Jerusalem. They would be "on his side" (LXX. παρ' αὐτῷ), or, because taking their orders from him, be considered to be ἐξ αὐτοῦ (Theod.).

the sanctuary of strength] So Theod.: lit. "the sanctuary, the strength." The word rendered "strength" is in *v.* 10 rendered "fortress;" hence some have supposed here an allusion to the fortifications which were placed round the temple after the exile (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 60, vi. 7); but the rendering of the old versions is more satisfactory, implying as it does (cp. LXX. τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ φόβου) the *spiritual* and ancient conception of the sanctuary or temple as the dwelling-place of Him Who was Israel's rock, fortress and strength (cp. Pss. xviii. 3, xxxi. 3).

The historical illustrations of these verses (30—35) usually adduced are these (cp. 1 Macc. i. 29, &c.; 2 Macc. v. 24, &c.). "After two years" Antiochus sent "that detestable ringleader" Apollonius to Jerusalem with an army of 22,000 men, and under general orders to slay the male adults and sell the women and children. Apollonius, "pretending peace," waited till the sabbath-day, and then "fell suddenly upon the city and destroyed much people." He transformed the holy city into a "stronghold" for himself and his soldiers, "shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it." In the autumn of the same year (B.C. 167) the edict was issued which formally forbad to the Jews the exercise of their religion and their national customs. The temple was polluted, the "abomination of desolation set up upon the altar," and idol shrines were erected throughout the land.

The occupation of Jerusalem had made the Jews powerless to resist. Antiochus thought that by destroying the religion of the Jews he should also destroy the ground of their hatred to himself personally and to his "strange laws" and introductions. While some "consented to the religion of Antiochus, sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath," patriots like the sons of Mattathias, Eleazar and the "seven brothers," fought, conquered, or suffered death rather than flinch from their faith. Few histories are more spirit-stirring than the history of the struggle for religious liberty and political independence fought by the "little" handful of men against the armed legions of Antiochus. From the day that Mattathias struck to the ground the Jew who had dared to sacrifice to idols, till the day when the "lion" Judas Maccabæus practically secured respect for his people by the defeat of Nicanor, the attention of the reader of the books of the Maccabees is fascinated by a "valour" which never would acknowledge defeat, by a "cheerfulness" which was inspired by prayer and the consciousness of a just cause.

32. This verse explains what will be the consequence of the actions foretold in *v.* 31 on two classes of the people of Israel: (*a*) "those who do wickedly against the covenant,"—a description applicable to those who have sunk lower than simply "forsaking the covenant" (*v.* 30), —shall he by his flatteries seduce to hypocrisy and heathenism. They will sink lower and lower, till by the persuasion of flattering words,

teries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do *exploits*.

33 And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, *many* days.

34 Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

35 And *some* of them of understanding shall fall, to try ‖them, and to purge, and to make *them* white, *even* to the time of the end: because *it is* yet for a time appointed.

‖ Or, *by them.*

36 And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself,

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promises and rewards (cp. 1 Macc. i. 43, ii. 18), they will become openly impious. (*b*) the "people who know God" shall be the more "fully resolved and confirmed;" they would "do" (keep the law, Rashi), and choose death rather than profane "the holy covenant" (1 Macc. i. 62, 63; 2 Macc. vi. and vii.), or like Mattathias and his sons "flee to the mountains" and there raise the war-cry "zeal for the law and the covenant" (1 Macc. ii. 27, 50).

33. *they that understand*] *i.e.* the wise (as in xii. 10), *οἱ συνετοὶ λαοῦ* (Theod.), the "docti" (Vulg.) among the people (cp. i. 4, 17, ix. 13, 25). In O. T. phraseology wisdom and understanding are correlative with piety and the fear of God (Ps. xiv. 1; Job xxviii. 28). The "many" instructed intimates that the larger proportion of those tempted and tried will resist the "flatteries;" a fact confirmed by 1 Macc. i. 62.

they shall fall] The "they" is referred by Theod. and others to "they that understand," but this must be taken with the reservation adduced in *v.* 35. Others refer "they" to "the people." The probability is that both classes are included. The dreadful deaths in 1 Macc. i. 57, 60, 61 are illustrations of the ferocity predicted.

34. *they shall be holpen with a little help*] "Little" in comparison with the help actually wanted, yet readily granted by such patriots as Mattathias and his sons (1 Macc. ii. 2 seq., iii. 2 seq.); and "little" in comparison with the help which should "at the time appointed" be afforded to "the wise" and "they that turn many to righteousness" (xii. 3). Wiederholt (p. 608) points out that the choice of the word "little" is a strong proof of the genuineness of this passage. No Jewish writer, who had been a contemporary of the Maccabæan princes or had lived after the events for which they had been so celebrated, would have described the glorious battles and struggles for freedom or the splendid victories of Judas and his brothers by the term "little" (see note and reff. under *v.* 31).

many shall cleave] In those Maccabæan periods when a gleam of success followed upon the "help," "trimmers" were to be found, who from interested motives "cleaved" to the victorious Jews, and deserted them as soon as the tide turned (1 Macc. ii. 44, iii. 5, vi. 21, vii. 6, ix. 23).

35. *some of them of understanding shall fall*] *i.e.* (as in *v.* 33) "by the sword," &c.; though it is probably implied that even some of these shall "fall" in the sense of denying the Lord God of their fathers (cp. Theod. *ἀσθενήσουσιν*). Either way, the martyr's death of some (*e.g.* 1 Macc. i. 57, 60; Heb. xi. 36—38), or the bitterly repented denial of others (cp. the parallel case of St Peter, Mark xiv. 31; John xxi. 15—19), was the "trial" (the purging as gold and silver is purged), the "purging" (the purifying and cleansing), and the "making white" (the result of the whole process of purification), which found a fulfilment in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and an end at his death; but which —being typical of events repeated since that time in the history of the Christian Church, and still repeated in the lives and deaths of the "faithful,"—shall only find perfect fulfilment in the end of time (cp. Rev. iii. 4, 5, vi. 11, vii. 14, xix. 8).

36—xii. 3. Cp. vii. 8, 11, 25; viii. 8 seq., ix. 26, 27.

36. *the king*] The def. article "*the* king," as well as the absence in Theod. of any fresh nominative to the verb "shall do," &c., intimates that the subject of this and the following verses is the same king of the north who has been spoken of in *vv.* 31—35. This is the opinion of many of the ancient and of the majority of modern commentators; and is certainly to be preferred to the view that an interval of time (long or short in accordance with the explanation) is to be placed between *vv.* 35 and 36, and "the king" understood to be Constantine the Great (Aben Ezra, Abarbanel) or the Roman empire represented by a royal person (Rashi, Calvin) or the New Test. Antichrist (Jerome, Luther, &c.). Accepting the opinion first named, it is at the same time quite permissible to consider the general outline of *vv.* 36—39 (hardly, all the details) applicable to others besides Antiochus Epiphanes. 2 Thess. ii. 4 (cp. also Matt. xxiv. 21) is an early instance in Christian times of the adoption of such a principle of application. The angelic communication to Daniel received

and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

37 Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

38 But †in his estate shall he honour the God of ‖† forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and †pleasant things.

39 Thus shall he do in the †most

† Heb. *as for the almighty God, in his seat he shall honour, yea, he shall honour a god whom, &c.*

‖ Or, *munitions.*

† Heb. *Mauzzim.* † Heb. *things desired.* † Heb. *fortresses of munitions.*

its first and nearest verification in the history of Antiochus, its last and fullest are yet to be "in the time of the end" (xii. 4).

the king shall do according to his will] A trait of this king as it was of the "ram" (viii. 4) and the "mighty king of Grecia" (xi. 3): "cujus regio, illius et religio."

he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods] *i.e.* "above every El"..."against El-Elim" (cp. ii. 47; Ps. ii. 1). Livy (XLI. 20) says of Antiochus: "in duabus magnis honestisque rebus fere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et *deorum cultu*" (see also Milman, 'H. of the Jews,' I. 457). It was characteristic of Antiochus that he should magnify himself above what he yet often honoured in the most ostentatious manner. If at Delos he erected numerous altars and idol-statues; if at Athens and Antioch he built splendid sanctuaries to Jupiter Olympius, assigning the temple at Jerusalem to the same patron deity, and that at Gerizim to Jupiter Defensor (2 Macc. vi. 2): he would yet plunder the rich temples if his finances were low or the mere lust of spoil impelled him (1 Macc. vi. 1, &c.; 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c.; Polyb. XXVI. 10). The choice of the very primitive word "El"—the old Semitic name for the deity which appears in pre-historic times, the "Ilu" of the Babylonian—is not without significance as an undesigned note of correctness of expression on the part of the Babylonian prophet who wrote down the revelation.

till the indignation be accomplished] *i.e.* till God's anger should be turned away from Israel (Rashi): cp. Isai. x. 23, 25.

37. *regard the God of his fathers*] Better (as Gk. versions) "the gods of his fathers." If Niebuhr's view of Antiochus' policy be correct—"his plan was to Hellenise everything" ('Lectt. on Anc. Hist.' III. 453)—the explanation of this phrase, as far as Antiochus is concerned, is that he set aside the Syrian gods in favour of the Greek Pantheon (cp. 1 Macc. i. 43, 44). Yet, not for "any god," not even for the highest—Zeus—had he "regard:" "he magnified himself above all," gods or men. The difference (in *vv.* 36 and 37) between he "spoke marvellous things against the God of gods" and he "had no regard for the god of his fathers" should be noted. The latter is an accurate description of a mind which measured such gods at their true worth; the former that of a mind which blasphemed Him Whom it feared. He "proudly thought of himself as if he were God" (2 Macc. ix. 12); he allowed himself to be so addressed by the Samaritans (Josephus, 'Antiq.' XII. 5. 5).

the desire of women] The meaning of this phrase is still an open question. The old versions and commentaries understand it literally, with such minor variations as lawful conjugal union, or sensuality. Some modern writers, remarking that the phrase comes in between the mention of "gods of his fathers" and "any god," prefer to take it as a mode of describing a goddess, and select the Nanæa of the Syrians, or the Anaitis (Diana) of Elymais. There can be no question of the existence of such worship (cp. Jer. vii. 18), whether or not one and the same deity was worshipped in different Eastern countries under the name of Baaltis, Astarte, Ishtar, or Aphrodite; and therefore the phrase addressed to one who would consider it from a Babylonian point of view, may well reflect the degraded sensuality which—under the name of a religious duty—was practised at the shrine of Beltis. Ewald prefers a male deity here and understands the words of Tammuz, Adonis. The idea conveyed by the whole verse—indifference to or utter defiance of everything divine or human—remains unaltered whichever opinion be preferred.

38. *in his estate shall he honour the God of forces*] "In his" (*i.e.* the king's) "estate" is to be taken in the same sense as in *vv.* 7, 21 (LXX. here and in *v.* 21 is the same); and does not require the introduction of a novel application "on his pedestal," nor the meaning "in the place of" the dispossessed god. "The god of forces" (or, better, "fortresses," see marg. read. and cp. *vv.* 7, 10, 19, 24) is probably a general and purposely indefinite title (cp. 1 K. xx. 23, 28). Critics, unable to find a Syrian god expressly so called, have however taken it variously as a synonym for Mars, or Jupiter Olympius, or Jupiter Capitolinus, or Melkarth (the Heroules of Tyre).

strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge *and* increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for †gain.

† Heb. *a price.*

40 And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

41 He shall enter also into the ‖† glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

‖ Or, *goodly land.* † Heb. *land of delight,* or, *ornament.*

42 He shall †stretch forth his hand

† Heb. *send forth.*

Theod., Vulg., and Luther take the original word as a proper name (*e.g.* Μαωζείμ: see marg. transl.). In such conflict of opinion, it is best to leave the title with no other restriction than this: it was that of some god distinguished from the "god whom his fathers knew not," another god equally undefined. The meaning is practically: He will honour war, brutal force, and that power which a fortress represents; a mode of speech thoroughly intelligible to one like Daniel conversant with a polytheistic system so elaborate and yet so individualistic as that of Babylon. On such deities he will lavish his spoil, gold, silver and "pleasant things" (as in x. 3, ix. 23, x. 11: perhaps jewels).

39. The sense according to the A.V. is, By the help of this strange god—the god whom his fathers knew not—he shall do (exploits), gain and occupy strongholds: the glory of this god will be thereby increased; and they who join with him in acknowledging and glorying in this god will be rewarded: "rule over many" will be allotted to them, and land as a reward (or "price," marg. read., wages: not as Vulg. "gratuito").

40—45. The most probable reference of the "king of the north" and of the war alluded to in these verses is to the king whose history was begun in *v.* 21, and to the third Egyptian war. A purely typical reference to "Antichrist" is unsatisfactory; the assumption of a fourth Egyptian war, unknown to the writer of the first Book of Maccabees or to Josephus or to the early historians, is not less so.

The opening words, "at the time of the end," recall *vv.* 27, 29. Verses 30—39 form a section introducing and describing specially the king's actions to the people of God, consequent upon his comparative want of success. Verse 40 takes up again the statement of *v.* 29, and expands it with reference to the Egyptians and some of the causes which led him to and from their country. When the Romans had compelled Antiochus to give up his conquests in Egypt they left him unmolested. During his lifetime they ignored his non-observance of treaties and his defiance of the limits which had been placed upon the numbers of his elephants and ships (Niebuhr, 'Lectt. on Anc. Hist.' III. 455). This left him free to persecute the Jews and carry his arms into the East. The angelic communication does not exhaust the details of those events (cp. the brevity of *v.* 45), but states the fact.

40. *come against him like a whirlwind... enter into the countries*] The first phrase (cp. Hab. iii. 14) is a forcible rendering of the word in the original, and points both to the fury which the attack would excite and the impetuosity with which it would be met. The "countries" alluded to would probably be those between "the north" and "the south," *i.e.*—following (chiefly) the coast-line—Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine.

41. "The glorious land," *i.e.* Palestine (*v.* 16, viii. 9), is beautifully paraphrased by LXX. "My land"—as if God Himself were the speaker, or the angelic speaker was to be counted as God's representative. The "many" is by A. V. (LXX.) explained rightly of the countries alluded to in *v.* 40. Such conjectures (by slight alterations in the original) as "ten thousands" or "Rabbis" are unnecessary, even if unaccompanied by any wish to discover in the expression an indication of lateness of composition.

the chief of the children of Ammon] Lit. "the firstlings" (cp. Jer. xlix. 35; Amos vi. 1), which some commentators take also to imply allusion to Rabbah, the chief city of Ammon. Some difficulty is associated with this verse. In 1 Macc. iv. 61, v. 3—8, Edom and Ammon—if not allies to Antiochus—are enemies to Judas Maccabæus and the patriotic Jews. It might therefore be expected that they would not require "escape" or "deliverance" from the hand of the king of the north. The word "escape" has, it is true, been taken in this sense:—"These shall escape his fury and anger in consequence of their hostility to his and their common antagonists." But a more natural interpretation is as follows: Any invader on his way to Egypt through Palestine would leave untouched the tribes to the east of the Jordan, especially if rapid progress were his object (see St Jerome, in loco).

The phrase "Edom and Moab and...Am-

also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

43 But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his steps.

44 But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45 And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas

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mon," as spoken by the angel to Daniel, is in itself of value as an indication of date. Writers state that in post-exilic times Moab's name ceased to be mentioned as an independent nation or tribe, and that the Moabites had become merged into the surrounding Arabs by the times of the Maccabees (see Zöckler, and cp. Blau, 'Altarabische Sprachstudien' in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' xxv. p. 565). This being the case, the mode of using the name here is what was to be expected from the contemporary of Ezekiel, &c. (cp. Ezek. xxi. 20, 28, xxv. 8, 9, 11; Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 21, xlviii. pass.); there is no question as to the existence of the people during the exile. It should be observed that the prophetic signification usually attaching to the mention of these tribes, viz. their antagonism to "the chosen people," is probably intended here also (cp. in add. to the above reff. Ps. x. 10, cxxxvii. 7; Isai. xi. 14, xxv.; Lam. iv. 21, 22; Ezek. xxxv., xxxvi. 5; Mal. i. 1—3); and the whole passage is therefore rightly taken to have a further and more forward application than the time of Antiochus. If the enemies of God "escape" now their punishment, it is not to be for ever. Even if —as *v.* 41 is pressed by some to signify—they are found, as occasion and policy suggest, on God's side and exposed in common with the faithful to persecution, yet in the end their real motives and conduct will be made clear; "some shall awake to shame and everlasting contempt" (xii. 2).

42. *the land of Egypt shall not escape*] So most authorities, seeing in the expression a contrast to what is said of Edom, &c. (*v.* 41), and a terse mode of describing the punishment coming upon Egypt. Theod. gives another and (in its way) interesting meaning: γῆ Αἰγύπτου οὐκ ἔσται εἰς σωτηρίαν; the land of refuge and of help should be Egypt no more.

43. *treasures...precious things*, &c.] The word translated "treasures" is an ἁπ. λεγ., and specially refers to what is hidden and laid by. The nature of the invasion, and the plunder which fell into the hands of the king of the north, is made more emphatic by this casual hint. Theod. and Luther, neglecting the present division of the Hebrew text, read "precious things of Egypt and of the Libyans and of the Ethiopians;" but the A. V., following the LXX., is supported by most modern commentators. The Libyans and Ethiopians ("Cushim") are spoken of here as allies to Egypt (Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5; Nahum iii. 9). These were the nations usually so considered in Daniel's time. Had the sentence been composed in the Ptolemaic or Maccabæan period, the writer could hardly have omitted the far more important help which Cyprus afforded to Egypt.

Since the time of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt (B.C. 725—665), the mutual help which Egypt and its neighbours could render to each other had been more closely felt; and though interrupted now and then, the princes of the Saite dynasty (B.C. 650—527), such as the Lybian Psammetik—by matrimonial alliance —and Amasis, found it to their advantage to act together; though their united forces, powerless against the kings of Persia, were equally so against this inroad of the "king of the north."

at his steps] *i.e.* figuratively, "among his followers" (LXX. ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ αὐτοῦ), cp. a similar figure in Judg. iv. 10, v. 15. The Libyans and Ethiopians in common with the Egyptians would own the king of the north their master.

44. *tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him*] Porphyry (quoted by Jerome) defines this to be the news which led Antiochus Epiphanes to attack the resisting Aradii and lay waste the entire littoral province of Phœnicia, whence he went eastwards against Artaxias, king of the Armenians. There is nothing impossible or improbable in this statement; but it is open to the objection which attends his remark on *v.* 40; it is unsupported by historians; and his description seems to have been suggested by the passages in Daniel. Hence critics prefer to see predicted here the last journey eastwards of the king (B.C. 166; 1 Macc. iii. 37, vi. 1 seq.; cp. 2 Macc. ix. 2 seq.; Josephus, 'Antiq. Jud.' XII. 9; Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 8; Appims, 'Syr.' XLV., XLVI.).

45. *he shall plant...in the glorious holy mountain*] The analogy of *vv.* 16, 41 and viii. 9 leaves it without doubt that reference is here intended to the Holy Land and the holy mountain of the temple. The geographical expression "between the seas" is to be understood from a Babylonian point of view. It is not a poetical plural (cp. Job vi. 3), descrip-

‖ Or, goodly. † Heb. mountain of delight of holiness.

in the ‖ glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

CHAPTER XII.

1 Michael shall deliver Israel from their troubles.
5 Daniel is informed of the times.

AND at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation *even* to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

2 And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,

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tive of the Mediterranean, or expressive of the Dead Sea to the east and the Mediterranean to the west; but an allusion to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

the tabernacles of his palace] The original of the word "palace" (appadan) is by Theod. (Ἔφαδανῶ), Vulg. (Apadno) and Porphyry (Apedno), made a proper name and placed by the last named "inter duo latissima flumina, Tigrim et Euphratem" (hence "between two seas"). The word is a transcript of the Persian apadâna "temple." In an inscription of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon, B.C. 405—361), translated by Oppert ('Expéd. de Mésop.' II. p. 194), apadâna is the word used to describe the palace built at Susa by his great-grandfather Darius Hystaspis. Daniel used a word which was understood in his time; but the significance of which was lost by the Maccabæan period. If the reference be considered primarily to Antiochus Epiphanes, the action described would be an allusion to what was done at Jerusalem in the course of his progress northwards and eastwards; leaving it to be inferred (as may or may not be implied in the last clause of *v.* 44) that *that* planting of his tent would not be unaccompanied by acts with which his name is associated.

yet he shall come to his end] Or, "and," &c., *i.e.* to his death (better than "to his portion," Theod., or than "ad summitatem ejus," Vulg.). The suddenness of the death is reflected in the abruptness of the clause. The prophecy breaks off unexpectedly. The words by no means necessitate that the "end" should take place where the "tent was planted" (*i.e.* in the Holy Land). In the angelic communication the events which preceded that "end" are not detailed; the fact of the "end" is alone predicted. Antiochus Epiphanes did not die in the Holy Land, but probably in the Persian town of Tabal (cp. 1 Macc. vi. 4, 8; 2 Macc. ix.; Joseph. 'Antiq.' XII. 9; Polybius XXXI. 11). There were "none to help him" (cp. 2 Macc. ix. 28). The Jewish and Roman historians agree that his end was miserable. While hastening homeward, after a repulse before a rich temple in Persia, and full of fury at the disastrous news which had reached him from Palestine, he was seized with an incurable illness. A comparison of the simple pathos of the writer of the narrative in 1 Macc. with the dramatic exaggeration of the later second book furnishes sufficient details while illustrating the growth of popular traditional history. The most "brilliant" of the Syro-Macedonian kings died in the mountain-town, consumed in mind by a loathsome ulcer, afflicted in mind by horrible apparitions and remorse of conscience (Milman, 'Hist. of Jews,' II. 9; Palmer, p. 146).

Some critics, however, press the sequence of the words, "yet he shall come to his end," to imply that no interval of time or events is to be admitted between the clauses of the verse. The words cannot, in their opinion, apply to Antiochus, but have a further meaning: they point onwards to that end when not only such as Antiochus but Antichrist—the last representative of the world-power against the divine—"shall come to his end and there shall be none to help him" (cp. Ezek. xxxix. 4; Zech. xiv. 2, 3).

CHAP. XII. 1. *And at that time*] The "and" connects this closely with the preceding verse (xi. 45). The interference of Michael (once before exercised, cp. x. 13, 21) in behalf of "the children of thy people" is announced as synchronous with the events hinted at in xi. 40—45.

a time of trouble, &c.] The words should be studied by the light thrown upon them by such passages as Exod. ix. 18, 24; Joel ii. 2; Jer. xxx. 7; Matt. xxiv. 21; while the "deliverance" is foreshadowed and illustrated by vii. 18, 22, 26, 27, ix. 24, seq. The "deliverance" is not wrought absolutely by Michael; he is but a means in God's hands, one who "ministers unto the ancient of days" (vii. 10); it is the act of "one like a Son of man" (vii. 13, 14), with whom Michael is not to be identified.

written in the book] Cp. vii. 10, *i.e.* the list of those who shall "awake to everlasting life" (*v.* 3), whose names are in "the book of life" (Phil. iv. 3).

2. *many of them that sleep in the dust*] Lit. "sleepers of (in) the earth's dust;" an expression descriptive of sleeping in death (cp. Ps. xiii. 3; Job iii. 13; Jer. li. 39, 57, and the N.T. κοιμώμενοι, Acts vii. 60). The word "many," where "all" might have been

[a] Matth. 25. 46. John 5. 29. some to everlasting life, and some to shame *and* everlasting contempt.

[‖] Or, *teachers.* [b] Matth. 13. 43. 3 And they that be ‖ wise shall [b] shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

4 But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, *even* to the time of the end: many shall

expected, has been considered a difficulty by modern (not by the older, *e.g.* Rashi) commentators, and has been variously explained. It has been said to refer to the "many" in xi. 33; to the "many" (out of the all) who shall be alive at the last day; to stand for "all" (Greek versions, πολλοὶ, as equal to οἱ πολλοὶ, πάντες); or to be expressly used as limiting the "many" to the people of Daniel. Very much depends upon the application adopted. The verse refers primarily to the same great events which have hitherto been considered (see note at end of *v.* 3). In the fierce contest for liberty many Jews would die staunch and true, many would be faithless and trimming. In the hour of resurrection they would awake to the reward "life" or "shame." This primary reference acquired, as time passed on, a larger and later reference to the last and general resurrection of the dead, a reference assigned to it by our Lord Himself (see marg. references). Aben Ezra's opinion that the words are "many out of," &c. *i.e.* "a few," is peculiar to himself, though grammatically defensible.

everlasting life...everlasting contempt] "Life" and "shame" are nouns in the plural; as if to add intensity to the thought: cp. for the expressions Isai. xxvi. 19 and lxvi. 24; John v. 29 and Rev. xx. 14.

3. *they that be wise*] It is to be regretted that the A. V. has not retained here the translation given in xi. 33, 35 ("they that understand"), or replaced the words in these verses by those used here. The reference is in both cases to one and the same class of persons. "They have their reward," whether they lived in the times of persecution referred to in xi. 35, or are to be accepted as types of all "understanding" ones who shall suffer for righteousness' sake.

shall shine, &c.] The imagery would come home to one so familiar both with scriptural and Babylonian parallels as Daniel. That clear, unruffled sky, beneath which his life had been spent, had taught his Casdee predecessors and preceptors the astronomical and astrological lore which had made them famous, and inspired a polytheistic creed which had made them infamous. The very "firmament" or "heaven" was a deity of the highest rank; his "brightness" the splendour of the chief of the gods. The "stars" and planets were the true exterior manifestations of that divine being, acquiring lustre from him and merging it once again in him. But Daniel's Jewish training had taught him how to purge and elevate these conceptions; that "firmament" was God's creation (Gen. i. 6; Ps. xix. 1); its "brightness" a testimony to His greatness (Exod. xxiv. 10; cp. Ezekiel's conception, i. 22 seq.); the "stars" were of God's "ordinance," their number "told" by Him, their names "called" by Him; "in their courses they fought" against His enemies and "made obeisance to" His servants (Ps. viii. 3; Gen. i. 16; Ps. cxlvii. 4; Judg. v. 20; Gen. xxxvii. 9).

The words to Daniel were afterwards applied by our Lord Himself to the "righteous" (Matt. xiii. 43), and the imagery became sanctified to Christian use (1 Cor. xv. 40; Rev. ii. 28).

they that turn many to righteousness] *i.e.* they who by the example of their own righteousness cause others to be righteous (cp. Isai. liii. 11). This is truer to the context (xi. 33, 35, xii. 10) than Theod.'s "and out of the many righteous (they; *query*, "the wise"?) shall be as the stars," &c.

To whom and to what do these verses (1—3) refer? The primary application seems clear. The phrases "at that time," "a time of trouble," "the wise" or "understanding ones," closely connect these verses with the previous chapter (xi. 40). Therefore if the latter portion of chap. xi. refers primarily to events connected with the last days of Antiochus Epiphanes, the opening verses of chap. xii. may be taken to refer to the same period.

But it is felt that this application is true in *general* outlines only. It is inadequate to illustrate the details, and insufficient to exhaust the spirituality, of the verses. Hence it is rightly conceived that the divine communication here made to Daniel was intended to be applicable for all times of persecution; and the passage—read by the light which our Lord has thrown upon it (cp. Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.)—is replete to the Christian mind with thoughts of resurrection and judgment.

4. *shut up the words, and seal the book*] Cp. viii. 26. The "words" are the words of the whole revelation (x. 1 seq.), and "the book" the same limited section (cp. ix. 2; Jer. li. 63; Neh. i. 1). Some prefer taking "the book" to mean the entire "book Daniel," but the former view is preferable. The charge to the prophet is one of caution, not of absolute reservation; they only should see the words who were fit to see them (Aben Ezra).

run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

5 ¶ Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the
[1] Heb. *lip.* one on this side of the [1]bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.

[c] chap. 10. 5. [1] Or, *from above.* 6 And *one* said to the man clothed in [c]linen, which *was* [1]upon the waters of the river, How long *shall it be to* the end of these wonders?

7 And I heard the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, when he [d]held up his [d] Rev. 10. 5. right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that *it shall be* for a time, times, and [1]an half; and when [1] Or, *part.*

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many shall run to and fro] The A.V. translates literally (cp. Jer. v. 1; Amos viii. 12; Zech. iv. 10; 2 Chro. xvi. 1); metaphorically the phrase means "to read through earnestly and thoroughly" (cp., as regards the result, Theod.'s "until they should be taught"). By so doing the knowledge of such earnest readers would be increased, whether they were to be found in Daniel's day, in our own, or in the future.

5. *other two*] *i.e.* different from the angel who had been speaking (x. 4, &c.), and was yet to speak (*v.* 7). Who these are we are not told; it is mere conjecture—quite Rabbinical in cast though not in origin—to suppose that they were the guardian angels of the countries on each side of the Tigris, or angels summoned to be witnesses to the oath (*v.* 7, after the analogy of Deut. xix. 15; 2 Cor. xiii. 1, &c.), or Gabriel and Michael, or angels of inferior rank, or the "saints" (viii. 13), &c.: "hæc figmenta sunt hominum, textus auctoritate destituta" (Geier). It is advisable to refer to the same domain of conjecture the wonderful application which some have elicited from the word here translated "river." That word—a different word from that used in x. 4—is one usually applied to the Nile; hence—according to some—the angel "which was upon the waters" is the guardian-angel of Egypt (and the compiler of the book of Daniel an Egyptian); or there is a subtle allusion to smiting of the waters of the powers of the world as of old the waters of the Nile were smitten. Not only do Hebrew lexicographers furnish proofs that the word is not to be limited to the Nile (see Gesenius and Fürst, s. v.), but acquaintance with cuneiform discovery and philology shews it to be Accadian, a source from which Assyria and Babylonia borrowed much (see Sayce, 'The Origin of Semitic Civilization,' 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. p. 308).

6. *And one said*, &c.] *i.e.* one of the "other two" (Aben Ezra). The LXX. and Vulg., by reading "I said," make the questioner Daniel himself.

How long, &c.] *i.e.* Until when is the end of the wonderful things foretold? These "wonders" are those already alluded to (xi. 30 seq. Cp. viii. 24, xi. 36).

7. *he held up his right hand and his left hand*] The action of holding up *one* hand is (poetically) asserted of God Himself (Deut. xxxii. 40; Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 20, 23), and of Moses and Aaron (Exod. viii. 6, xiv. 26, 27). The uplifting *both* hands is an attitude both of prayer and of adjuration, strongly significant of emphasis and feeling (cp. Pss. xxviii. 2, lxiii. 4, cxxxiv. 2; Lam. ii. 19).

and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, &c.] For the title cp. iv. 31; Deut. xxxii. 40 (whence it has passed to Rev. x. 6). A similar title has ever represented the "feeling after God" among heathen people: cp. the ἀείζωος θεός of the Schakka Inscription, and the Πτολεμαῖος αἰωνόβιος of the Rosetta stone (Zöckler).

For the period cp. vii. 25; here it has an addition which defines more precisely the leading event of that period: *e.g.* "all shall be finished."

when he shall have accomplished, &c.] The general sense is clear: the time of the end shall be when the "scattering" (cp. Isai. xi. 12, xxvii. 9; Jer. xiii. 14, li. 20, 23) or the dispersion of the holy people is finished (cp. Theod.); but the meaning of certain expressions and the application of the passage is much disputed. The word rendered "power" (lit. "hand," cp. LXX. χειρῶν, Vulg. manus) is by some taken in the sense of "part;" but "power" (Rashi) has much the more support from analogous phrases, and the sense "part" is evidently preferred for its adaptability to a certain explanation. The "scattering the power" is taken to mean that the power (of the holy people) shall be utterly crushed. This would of itself be of little comfort to the listening prophet, and is quite opposed to the view taken by the earliest commentators (see Theod.).

As regards the application, it is natural to find in the words a reference to an end to the troubles which in Daniel's vision had gathered so thickly about the holy people. Hence such passages as 1 Macc. v. 23, 45, 53 seq.; 2 Macc. viii. seq., which tell how the Maccabee brothers Simon and Judas brought back again (B.C. 169) to the land of Judæa their captive fellow-countrymen ("part" of the holy people), supply a partial accomplishment of the verse. But it would be

he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these *things* shall be finished.

8 And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what *shall be* the end of these *things?*

9 And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words *are* closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

10 Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

11 And from the time *that* the daily *sacrifice* shall be taken away, and † the abomination that ‖ maketh desolate set up, *there shall be* a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

12 Blessed *is* he that waiteth, and

† Heb. *to set up the abomination, &c.*
‖ Or, *astonisheth.*

utterly to misconceive the further and spiritual depths of the divine revelation,—utterly to ignore the hopes and aspirations of the prophetic writings (cp. Isai. xi. 12; Jer. li. 20 seq.; Joel iii. 5 seq.; Amos ix. 11, &c.)—utterly to pare down to the most barren literalness other thoughts in this chapter (*vv.* 2, 3, 10)—if this temporal and partial fulfilment were considered exhaustive. What came true in the Maccabæan period has yet to receive its last and highest verification in the day when the scattering of God's people and their "tribulation in the world" shall be for ever "accomplished."

8. *I understood not*] Specially, "the time, times, and a half" (LXX., Rashi); and generally, the whole answer.

what shall be the end of these things?] Lit. the issue, the after-part (cp. "the latter," x. 14), that which shall be the last of these things—"wonders" and words and prophecies—before *the* end come (Theod. *τί τὰ ἔσχατα τούτων;*). "The end" here is not the same word as "the end" in *v.* 6, and its prophetic use and significance should not be neglected (cp. x. 14; Gen. xlix. 1; Num. xxiv. 14; Isai. ii. 2; Micah iv. 1). The LXX. gives an interesting variation from, or paraphrase of, the present Hebrew text: "I said, 'Lord, what is the solution of this word, and what are these parables?'"

9. The angel's reply is not to be understood as discouraging. "Go thy way" is neither equivalent to "die," nor to "do not stand here expecting an answer;" but a phrase said kindly (Theod. reads here and *v.* 13, *δεῦρο*), and intended to comfort the prophet. Daniel had been already charged (*v.* 4) to shut up the words, &c.: he is now told—in answer to his question (*v.* 8)—that God had done this; the opening and unsealing would be in God's time; and in that assurance he was to rest (*v.* 13).

10. A verse which has been freely reproduced in Rev. xxii. 11, and which is a reflection of the thought of xi. 35, the order being reversed; but the action of which is not to be confined to "the time of the end." "Many"—from Daniel's time—would pass through "purification," and "being made white" meet with "trial" beyond; "many" are doing so this day; it will be the lot of "many" so long as the present order of things continues. But if they are "wise," "understanding ones" (cp. v. 3, xi. 35), "they *shall* understand," a promise which was also the answer to Daniel's remark, "I cannot understand" (*v.* 8).

11, 12. *a thousand two hundred and ninety days...the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days*] The allusions to the "daily sacrifice" and the "abomination" are evidently to the same as have been mentioned in xi. 31 (cp. viii. 13). Most commentators have therefore referred these verses to the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes. The numbers, however, attached to the "days" here have been as great a crux interpretum as the number 2300 attached to the "days" in viii. 14. A few points alone seem clear; *e.g.* (*a*) that the 1290 days of *v.* 11 are included in the 1335 days of *v.* 12, the angel dwelling on the "blessedness" of him who should come to the forty-five days in excess of the 1290; and (*b*) that the 1290 and the 1335 days start from the same beginning or terminus a quo. Difficulties begin when the effort is made to specify what is the end or the terminus ad quem. Are the 1290 days identical with the "time, times, and a half" (xii. 7, vii. 25), and both with the 2300 half-days or 1150 days? Is the terminus ad quem of the 1290 days the rededication of the temple by Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 164: 1 Macc. iv. 52)? is it the death of Antiochus Epiphanes? or is the number mystical and symbolical? Again, is the terminus ad quem of the 1335 days the date of Antiochus' death? or the arrival of the news of that death? or the arrival of the letter sent by Antiochus' son? or also a mystical and symbolical number? These and similar questions have been raised, defended, and contested with an ability which induces the greater perplexity the more the solutions proposed are examined. The reader is asked to accept entirely new modes of arithmetical calculation, and of handling historical dates and personages. Hence, there is good reason for the conclusion which many of the best commentators have already adopted—that it is impossible at present to explain satisfactorily the passage

cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

13 But go thou thy way till the end *be:* [1]for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.

[1] Or, *and thou, &c.*

in question. Babylonian discovery may, at some future time, shed light upon the prophet's use of numbers and mode of expressing time. The very difficulties which encompass the question are perhaps among the most forcible proofs of the authenticity of the composition. "Daniel's question" (*v.* 8), says Calvin, "was not prompted by mere curiosity, yet he obtained not the answer he sought: God wished him indeed to know and understand part of what was foretold; but part also was to remain 'sealed' till the time of full revelation should come."

13. *thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot,* &c.] *i.e.* thou shalt rest in the grave (Isai. lvii. 2) when the end of thy life has come, and shalt have part in the kingdom of the saints of the Most High (cp. vii. 18, 27; Rev. xx. 6). That the words contain a reference to and a belief in the resurrection is self-evident (see Excursus at end of chap.): his "lot" would fall to him in the heavenly Canaan.

"Blessed are they that" work and "wait" like Daniel: they shall "enter into the joy" of their Lord and "rest and stand" in His presence "at the end of the days." Amen.

Excursus on the Belief in the Resurrection.

It has been argued that ideas on this (to the Christian) great doctrine were unknown till the Babylonian period; and that they could not have been moulded into the shape presented by the book "Daniel" till after long contact with Mazdean Eschatology. According to Nicolas[1], the doctrine "did not come suddenly into existence; its roots penetrate deeply into the past;" yet its development did not take place till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and then only through the school of the Pharisees. Cuneiform discovery, more perhaps than anything else, furnishes a critical refutation of such positions.

Of the numerous and various opinions upon the origination of this doctrine, one, in former times held in much esteem, has now well-nigh ceased to be entertained. It can no longer be pretended that the doctrine was the product of the speculative spirit of the later Jewish schools of Palestine. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body existed to some extent among the "chosen people" long before the captivity of Babylon. Debatable texts, if incapable of proving that that doctrine was fully and definitely held, do yet bear witness to the currency of the opinion. They prove, at least, that the idea of a resurrection was not repugnant to the feelings of the ancient Hebrew, but rather coincided with expectations fostered by his belief in God's redemptive mercy. For example, the words which Daniel is supposed to have written under the inspiration of the Zoroastrian creed, are in perfect unison with the declarations of Isaiah two centuries earlier. If the Prophet of the Captivity points onward to the eventful hour when "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake" (xii. 2), the prophet of the reign of Ahaz had already declared that "the Lord shall swallow up death in victory" (Isai. xxv. 8); language reft of ambiguity by the further explanation, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust... for the earth shall cast out her dead." Few can read such words, or the well-known passage of Daniel's contemporary, Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1—14), without feeling the utter inadequacy of such an explanation as the following: "These passages express in reality but the promise of deliverance to the children of Israel. Such an event seemed, in the natural course of things, for ever impossible; and to mark its impossibility, it is compared to the resurrection of the bodies of the dead[2]." The Christian does well to believe that it was Christ and not Moses Who brought "life and immortality to light;" but he also believes that Israel could not have sojourned in Egypt 400 years without knowing what the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead' declared on this subject, and that there must have been a meaning attaching itself from the very first to the phrase "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." He Who spake as never man spake commented upon it, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living" (St Luke xx. 37).

The theory, offered in the place of this, is based upon the incorrect supposition that the writer of the Book of Daniel was a Palestinian Jew who borrowed from Mazdeism; and that such Mazdeism was not possible to the Jews of Palestine till the Maccabæan era[3].

The proof of this latter supposition rests on the following grounds. It is asserted that none of the ancient writings of the Zendic literature

[1] 'Des doctrines relig. des Juifs,' p. 330, &c. This writer is quoted as a representative of the opinions of this school. His language is never tainted by personalities or abuse.

[2] Nicolas, pp. 313, 314.

[3] Nicolas, p. 345.

contain the doctrine[1]. The passages of the 'Vendidad' which Anquetil Du Perron rendered "till the resurrection," required and have received correction; Burnouf[2] has proved them incapable of such a translation. This has thrown discredit upon the antiquity of the belief among the Persians, and consequently, it is added, among the Jews. But the still later researches of Haug, Windischmann, and Spiegel have proved that not only is the doctrine found in the 'Zend-Avesta,' but also in a developed state, details and names being freely given[3]. In the 'Zamyâd Yasht,' a composition referred by Haug to about the fifth century B.C., there is celebrated the praise of "a mighty brightness peculiar to the Kavis" (or the chiefs of the Iranian community in ancient times);—a brightness considered essential for causing the dead to rise at the end of the world. The 'Yasht' contains two passages on the subject of the doctrine. The translation of the second is as follows: "This splendour attaches itself to the hero who is to rise out of the number of prophets, and to his companions, in order to make the life everlasting, undecaying, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, for ever vigorous, full of power, at the time when the dead will rise again, and imperishableness of life shall exist, making the life lasting by itself. All the world will remain for eternity in the state of purity; the devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the religious men in order to kill them; and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction." The doctrine here enunciated presupposes a prior existence in a less-developed state; and its origin is therefore rightly placed far before the age of the captivity. Though in the still earlier Gâthas the belief in the resurrection is thought by some to be not stated in so many words, yet a phrase is there used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of the resurrection and the restoration to life of all that had once lived. "Let us be such as help the life of the future," is the prayer of Zoroaster in the 'Gâtha Ahunavaiti[4];' the reason being added, "the wise-living spirits are the greatest supporters of it." Out of the phrase with which this passage opens, a substantive expressing "perpetuation of life" has been framed, by which, in all the later Zend books, the whole period of resurrection and palingenesis is understood[5]. It is in this sense that the Çpenta Armaiti is invoked in the 'Vendidad[6]' to restore "at the happy time of perpetuation of life the seeds lost, and make of them a pious Zoroastrian who knows the Gâthas, the Yaçna, and the divine conversations." "From these direct proofs," concludes Professor Haug, "there can be no doubt that this important doctrine is a genuine Zoroastrian dogma, which developed itself from Zarathustra Spitama's sayings. It agrees wholly with the spirit and tendency of the Parsee religion. All life of the good creation, chiefly that of man, the bodily as well as the spiritual, is a sacred pawn entrusted by God to man, who must keep clean the body from impurity and the soul from sin. If death destroys the body (in its natural course) it is not the fault of man, who falls to an inexorable fate; but it is considered as the duty of God, Who is the preserver of all life, to restore all life that has fallen to the prey of death, to destroy this arch-fiend of human life, and make the life everlasting. This is to be done at the time of the grand act of resurrection:" a process described in detail in the 'Bundehesh[7].'

If then this doctrine dates among the Persians as far back as Zoroaster's own age, it was, as a mere matter of historic possibility, quite within the power of a learned exile of the captivity to become acquainted with the tenet of his liberator[8]. Nothing, on that ground, is opposed to Daniel's presumed

[1] Id. p. 342.

[2] 'Journ. asiat.' Vol. x. p. 7 sq.; Spiegel, 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' Vol. I. pp. 260, 61; 'Avesta,' I. pp. 15, 248, n. 2; Hardwick, II. p. 425.

[3] Haug, 'Die Gâthas d. Zarathustra,' Erst. Abth. p. 109, 112, Leips. 1858; 'Essays,' &c. pp. 195, 6, 224; Windischmann, 'Zor. Stud.' pp. 231 sq.; Spiegel, 'Avesta,' III. p. lxxv.; 'Erân. Alterth.' II. pp. 158 sq.

[4] 'Yaçna,' XXX. 9; Haug, 'Die Gâthas, u.s.w.' pp. 9, 109—12, where the translation is in Latin. 'Essays,' &c. pp. 143, 266. Spiegel is more positive; "die Gâthas spielen deutlich auf diese Lehre an." 'Erân. Alterth.' II. p. 158.

[5] "Frashô-kereti," from the phrase "frashem keranao ahûm:" the word "frashem" has been derived from two roots: "nach der ersten heisst das Wort Frage, Befragung; nach der zweiten fortdauernde Herrschaft oder Fortdauer überhaupt." Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation agrees with the latter; so Justi. ('Die Gâthas,' p. 109.)

[6] Fargard XVIII. 51.

[7] Ch. xxxi. Westergaard, pp. 70—7; Justi, pp. 40—43. See the details in Excursus on Messiah, at the end of chap. vii.

[8] Franck, 'Études,' &c. p. 288. "Quand on songe que le livre de Daniel a été écrit au plustôt à la fin de l'exile de Babylone, c'est-à-dire dans le temps où Zoroastre accomplissait sa mission, on ne saurait douter qu'il ne se soit inspiré de la religion des Perses, qui compte au nombre de ses dogmes fondamentaux...la resurrection universelle." In his other work, this author guards himself from misconstruction by affirming strongly that the "*source* of the fundamental doctrines" common to these creeds "must be carried much higher" than the age of the captivity. 'La Kabb.' p. 359 sq. M. Franck's opinion upon Zoroaster's *date* is that of the day in which his work was published. That date is still a matter of uncertainty (Spiegel, 'Erân. Alterth.' I. 673 sq.).

knowledge of it. But it is now no longer necessary to account for that knowledge on the grounds hitherto considered. A writer of the Babylonian period, such as Daniel is asserted to be, would learn as much, if not far more, concerning the great doctrine under question from the Babylonian belief than the Mazdean.

It is hardly necessary to defend Daniel from the charge, — what he knew he borrowed. No one now maintains this of even the later Jewish doctors. Nicolas[1] can discover indications only that Mazdeism exercised a certain influence upon Judaism in the formation of this doctrine. The main element at work was undoubtedly not external but internal agency. In fact, all charge of borrowing, whether of Jew from Babylonian or Persian or of Babylonian or Persian from Jew, is unworthy of real criticism. "In both these religions," says Haug[2], "identical doctrines sprang up independently." Historically speaking it can no longer be counted an impossibility that the period of the captivity should have been selected as the fittest season for inculcating divine lessons distinguished from, though not opposed to, those communicated in earlier times.

It is impossible[3], as it would be dishonest, to deny that striking parallelisms do exist between doctrines preserved in the extant sacred literature of the Hebrew, the Christian, the Babylonian, and the Persian; but when a truly ancient relationship does so present itself, it is not to be explained on the hypothesis of the derivation of the one from the other, but by the truer and deeper cause of original unity. This theory is now regarded by many writers of our own and other countries as that which furnishes the key to genuine affinities; these are products of the original truth which Hebrew, Babylonian, and Persian alike inherited from the fathers of the human family. "If a truth," said a great Cambridge professor[4], "less developed in the Mosaic system, be found without derivation from the Israelites among the adherents of Zoroaster, it is not therefore to be concluded that the authority of the ancient revelation is in jeopardy. The most reverent regard to the inviolable sacredness of that truth, with which the father of the promised seed and his descendants were peculiarly entrusted, consists well with the belief in the preservation of much original truth elsewhere. And if such is found in nations most infected with polytheistic error, much more may it be well conceived to have existed in one by which the grosser forms of idolatry were ever held in peculiar abhorrence; a nation whose greatest prince is signally honoured by divine prophecy in being named as the future restorer of God's people to their ancient seat, and whose sages were summoned from afar, before the great and wise of Israel, to adore the infant Redeemer." Christians see neither scandal nor contradiction in admitting "strong historical resemblance[5];" they protest only against counting such resemblance inexplicable save on the supposition of conscious imitation on the part of the Jew; imitation, be it remembered, always aggravated in insolence by the affixing to it a supposititious title of some chosen servant of God.

The belief of the Babylonians and Assyrians in the existence and immortality of the soul, in resurrection, in a future life, and in heaven and hell, is no longer disputed[6]. In the Accadian "magic" the portraiture is as sombre and insufficient as in the mythological documents of the Chaldæan-Babylonian epoch. The priests and professors saw "life and immortality" in a glass darkly; they knew little or nothing of that spiritual consolation and purer spiritual bliss which are reflected in the revelation to Daniel (xii. 3), and which were brought to "light" by Him Who abolished death (2 Tim. i. 10).

The twelfth and last tablet of the flood series of legends speaks thus of hell and heaven: Hades is

"the house of the departed, the seat of the god Iskaka;
the house from which is no exit;
the road, the course of which never returns;
the place, within which they long for light;
the place, where dust is their nourishment and their food mud.
Its chiefs, like birds, are clothed with wings.
Light is never seen, in darkness they dwell."

Heaven, on the contrary, is

"the place of seers...wearing crowns, who from days of old ruled the earth.
To whom the gods Anu and Bel have given renowned names.
A place where water is abundant, drawn from perennial springs.
The place of chiefs and unconquered ones;
the place of bards and great men;
the place of interpreters of the wisdom of the great gods[7]:" &c., &c.

The notion of heaven here is that of a place

[1] p. 346.
[2] 'Essays,' &c. p. 2.
[3] Hardwick, II. p. 408.
[4] Mill, 'On the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels,' pp. 128, 9.
[5] This is Schlegel's phrase, 'Philosophy of History,' pp. 173, 4, quoted by Hardwick, II. p. 403, n. 2.
[6] Oppert, 'L'Immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens," pp. 3 sq.; Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 153 sq., 176, and Index; Fox Talbot, 'On Religious Belief of the Assyrians,' in 'Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' I. II.; G. Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' pp. 183, 4, 205, 219—21.
[7] G. Smith, 'A. D.' p. 202.

for the strong, the great, and the successful among men; that of hell—reproduced in almost identical language in the descent of Ishtar to Hades[1]—is that of an abode of the weak and unsuccessful, faithless wives and faithless husbands, disobedient children, slaves and captives.

The tablets further speak of a god—the god of destiny (Oppert), Namtar (Lenormant)—who gives Ishtar drink of the waters of life and so releases her from Hades[2]; or of the god Hea, who similarly releases Heabani and raises him to heaven[3]; or of the god Silikmoulou-khi, who possesses the same power[4].

This tablet-teaching on the doctrine was open to the "wise men" of the Babylonians in Daniel's time. It needs no proof how immeasurably superior in spirituality is the truth revealed to and recorded by the inspired prophet.

[1] See Oppert, p. 8; Smith, p. 220. Differences in the interpretation of certain words do not affect the general conclusion.

[2] Oppert, p. 20.
[3] G. Smith, pp. 201, 221.
[4] See note on p. 268.

HOSEA.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
Hosea's Name, Origin, and Sphere of Ministry	398
Period of his Ministry	399
Contemporary History of the Northern Kingdom	401
Relation of the Contents of the book to the History	402
How far predictive	405
Relation to the centre of the Theocracy	406
Temperament of Hosea	407
Style	407
Relation to the Sacred Canon	408

Hosea's Name, Origin, and Sphere of Ministry.

THE name of Hosea (in LXX. Ὡσηέ; Rom. ix. 25, Ὡσηέ; in the Vulg. Osee) is properly Hoshea, "salvation." It is the same as was originally borne by Joshua (Num. xiii. 16; Deut. xxxii. 44), and in Hosea's own time by the last king of Israel (2 K. xv. 30). Nothing whatever is recorded of his father Beeri (ch. i. 1, note); nor indeed of the prophet's own personal history beyond the statement in ch. i. 1, of the time of his prophetic ministry; for the account of his relations with Gomer given in the three first chapters is in all probability purely parabolical; see note on ch. i. 2.

A tradition, dating far on in the Christian era, assigns Hosea to the tribe of Issachar; making him a native, either of a place, otherwise unknown, which is named as Be'elmoth[1], or Belemoth[2]; or as Beth-shemesh[3], which is mentioned Josh. xix. 22. These statements appear to be of no great authority. There is, however, substantial ground supplied by internal evidence for the conviction, that he was a native of the Northern kingdom. Thus: Repeated topographical notices betoken a personal familiarity with the country: cf. ch. v. 1, vi. 8, 9, xii. 11, xiv. 5, 6. The prophet's view seems naturally to restrict itself to Israel. There are frequent notices, it is true, of Judah; but when such occur, they have the air of being of an incidental character, as if they related to matters lying outside the main interest of the speaker. "The land" (ch. i. 2) is the land of the Ten Tribes. The commonwealth which is imaged by Gomer and her children, "your mother" of ch. ii. 2, is the commonwealth of the Northern Confederacy. The "king and princes," the "priests," the "people," all belong to Israel[4]. No open definite reference is once made to Jerusalem, or to its sovereign and court, or to its temple, or to the evils whether religious or civil which clustered round the southern capital. Throughout we are given to feel, that the Israel of the Ten Tribes is at once the home of the prophet's heart and the proper sphere of his activities.

"Indeed" (as Ewald observes), "it is precisely this circumstance which constitutes the essential peculiarity of this book, giving it, viewed as a historical document, no ordinary importance, and

[1] Scholion prefixed to the Commentary of Ephraim Syrus.

[2] Pseudo-Epiphanius 'de Prophetis,' cap. xi.; Isidor. Hisp. 'de Vita et Ob. Sanc.' cap. xli.; cited by Wünsche.

[3] Jerome, 'Comm.' in Os. i. 1.

[4] The passage in ch. iii. 5 refers to another order of things altogether, in the far-off future.

by reason of which it stands unique[1] among all the prophetical scriptures; namely this, that it is the *Ephraimite* Book of Prophecy, the most genuine and the innermost utterance there of the Divine voice; not merely an utterance which makes itself heard over the Northern kingdom, but one which is wrung forth by the Spirit out of that kingdom's own bosom; at the proper juncture, when its last mortal throes were already drawing on, now before it should be too late, out of its very midst to judge and condemn it. Amos, it is true, has also much to say respecting this kingdom; but Amos does not belong to it by birth or home, neither does he write in it alone, nor for it alone; while every sentence of Hosea makes us feel, that he had not merely once upon a time made this kingdom a passing visit, as Amos did, but knows it with the inmost consciousness of his heart, and follows all its deeds and efforts and fortunes with the emotions of such a profound sympathy, as is only conceivable in the case of a native-born prophet of the country[2]."

Our view on this point, however, would not be complete, if we did not take into account the religious sympathy which no doubt subsisted, as between the idolaters of the two several kingdoms, so also between the better minded in both. This fellow-feeling among the pious made it natural, that the prophet should occasionally, even while in reality dealing with his own people, yet dart forth expressions of longing or of regret, of hope or of fear, in respect to his fellow-servants of Jehovah in Judah. Such we find to be the case, particularly in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters; and on one or two occasions, such expressions of interest in Judah take even the form of exhortation or threatening addressed to Judah. But such passages do not warrant the inference, that, originally, the prophet's mission extended beyond Israel. Their form is probably to be regarded as a poetical or rhetorical figure of style, such as is usual even in the most inartificial compositions, being a natural outcome of the endeavour after effectiveness and point. It is, nevertheless, yet further open to us to surmise, that even though in the first instance, and in its oral utterance, the prophet's word was addressed to his own countrymen, yet when with Israel all was over, and Hosea was collecting his prophesyings in a written form into a book, he was then led to add slight touches here and there, through having in his view such readers as he might hope to find in the kingdom which still survived.

[1] This observation may require to be somewhat qualified in view of the Book of Jonah.

[2] 'Propheten,' Vol. I. p. 172, 2te Ausgabe.

The Period of Hosea's Ministry.

Hosea is stated in the introductory verse to have prophesied "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel." According to the dates given in the margin of our English Bible, Uzziah commenced his long reign of fifty-one years about the year 810, and Jeroboam II. ended his (of 41 years) in the year 784; the two kings thus reigning contemporaneously about twenty-six years. Hosea, we must suppose, commenced his ministry somewhere in the latter part of this period; about 790 according to the same chronology. The other extremity of its duration brings us into the reign of Hezekiah; probably (see p. 405) to a time somewhat later than the capture of Samaria, which took place 721. By this computation we gain for its duration a period of more than seventy years. It was probably much less than this[3]; but even if it were thus protracted,

[3] The chronology given in the margin of our A.V. rests, for the most part, upon numerical statements in our present Hebrew text, which are themselves, in several instances, incapable of being harmonized with one another, without the aid of various conjectures, either of interregnums or of coregnums or of repeated accessions, for which there is no evidence except their convenience for this purpose (see 'Dictionary of Bible,' Vol. I. pp. 324 and 900): and it has now become in a serious degree discredited by the records of Assyrian history which have lately come to light. This subject came under notice above (Vol. II. 480) in the Introduction to the Books of Kings. More recently, it has formed the subject of a brief 'Chronologischer Excursus' appended by Dr Schrader to his valuable work, 'Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.' Dr Schrader (p. 299) exhibits the discrepancies

it would be easy to find among our own clergy, and among our recent bishops, men who have acted as ordained ministers about as long.

between the chronology of Kings [as interpreted by Usher] and that of the Assyrian monuments, in a brief table, which slightly modified may stand thus:

Assyrian Monuments.	Usher. Period of reign.
Ahab. 854. Battle in which Shalmaneser II. defeated Ahab and Benhadad ("Benhidri") of Damascus (cf. Schrader, p. 97; Ménant, 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' p. 112; Rawlinson, 'Anc. Monarchies,' II. p. 103, 3rd ed.). Benhidri mentioned last 843 (Mén. p. 115; Schr. p. 103).	918—898.
Jehu. 842. Shalmaneser fought with Hazael, and received tribute of Jehu (Schr. p. 107; Mén. pp. 100, 104; Rawl. pp. 104, 105).	884—856.
Uzziah. 738. In conflict with Tiglath-Pileser IV. (Smith, 'Assyrian Discoveries,' p. 275; Rawl. p. 130; Mén. p. 145, compared with Schr. pp. 114—119).	810—758.
Menahem. 738. Bringing tribute (with Rezon) to Tiglath-Pileser ("Pul" (?) 2 K. xv. 19; Sm. p. 278; Mén. p. 146; Schr. p. 120; cp. Rawl. p. 123).	772—761.
Pekah. 734. Mentioned in fragment of Tiglath-Pileser (Sm. 285; Schr. p. 145).	759—739.
Hoshea. 734. Made king by Tiglath-Pileser (Schr. p. 145; Sm. pp. 286, 7).	730—721.

It is a consideration of very great weight in estimating the comparative authority of the Hebrew and Assyrian chronologies, that for the latter we have now in our hands the very, original inscriptions, as they were inscribed in the reigns of the several kings whose doings they record; and that we have moreover seven copies of the Assyrian "Canon of Eponyms," answering to the consular lists of Roman chronology and the lists of Eponymal Archons in Athenian, giving the Eponyms year by year. The four first of these copies (as we learn from Mr Smith's notice of Lepsius's treatise, 'Ueber den chronologischen Werth der ass. Eponymen,' in the 'North British Rev.' Vol. LII. pp. 220, 221) merely give the names of the Eponyms, followed in some cases by the title "King of Assyria," when the king himself filled the office; the other three give not only the names, but also the titles of all the Eponyms, and the principal events which happened during their periods of office. The whole period embraced is from the Eponymy of Vul-nirari II. king of Assyria B.C. 911, to that of Akhi-ilan (end of copy 3) B.C. 649. The earliest copies which we possess were written in the reign of Sennacherib. Schrader, pp. 308, &c. gives some of these lists, beginning with B.C. 893: we have them also in Ménant, annexed to the annals of each reign. In many cases, the inscriptions of the kings, particularly of Shalmaneser II. (Mén. pp. 108, &c.), name the Eponym ("Limmu") of the year the events of which they record; the inscriptions and the canon thus confirming one another. On the other hand, the numbers in the Books of Kings were, as mentioned above Vol. II. p. 480, in all probability originally given simply in numeral letters, which might easily get corrupted in copying, and which, having thus got into confusion, may be reasonably suspected of having been manipulated, in order to bring them into mutual agreement, by the "Great Synagogue," after the Restoration. A scheme of chronology therefore which was founded solely upon these data, must, in view of conflicting data furnished now from other sources, submit to be modified; and this is a task which at present invites the attention of Biblical scholars. A scheme has been recently propounded by Herr Neteler in the Tübingen 'Theologische Quartalschrift' for 1874 (pp. 389, &c.) which appears to merit careful attention. This makes the interval between the death of Jeroboam (749) and the accession of Hoshea (709) to be 40 years instead of 54, thus considerably lessening the length of Hosea's prophetic ministry.

If a student of Scripture feels disposed to resent any assault made, from the ground supplied by the Assyrian records, upon the system of biblical chronology which we have been accustomed to use, as if it were an assault made upon the original chronology as it first came from the pen of the sacred annalist,—which it is very evident it may not in the least be,—he may feel reassured by considering the very substantial and important confirmation of sacred history in general which the Assyrian monuments afford. This has been amply illustrated, in reference to very many instances throughout the Old Testament, by Dr Schrader in the body of his work above referred to. In reference to the history of Kings, he writes in the 'Excursus' as follows: "Apart from the chronological statements, the history of the Bible is throughout authenticated; only some small instances of inexactitude have we had to notice; *e.g.* as to what *seems* the name of the captor of Samaria; see on 2 K. xvii. 6; as also the name of Pul = Tiglath-Pileser; see on 2 K. xv. 1, 17, 19. This holds good especially in relation to the contemporaneity of certain particulars. In the Bible, Ahab and Benhadad appear as contemporary princes: Shalmaneser II. in his inscriptions presents them to our view together. Jehu and Hazael appear in the Bible as contemporaries; so in the monuments. Uzziah and Menahem reign according to the Bible at the same time, only Uzziah is the older of the two: exactly so do the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser exhibit Uzziah and Menahem as contemporary rulers, but make earlier mention of the former than of the latter. According to the Bible Ahaz and Pekah reigned at the same time, after the latter of whom Hoshea ascends the throne: in correspondence therewith, Tiglath-Pileser in his latest inscription, composed some half year before his death, mentions Jahukhazi

Contemporary History of the Northern Kingdom.

The period of Ephraimite history, with which Hosea's ministry was contemporary, was of a character to afflict the mind of any God-fearing patriot in the highest degree. The short gleam of prosperity which marked the reign of Jeroboam II. was immediately and abruptly followed by a gloom of utter collapse. Much obscurity rests upon the history at this time. Some think they discern a period of anarchy following upon Jeroboam's death; which, however, others (as Ewald and Rawlinson) are unwilling to admit. But presently out of the obscurity gigantic public crimes emerge into distinct view in quick succession. Zachariah mounts his father's throne to be very shortly after thrust down and murdered by Shallum; who in his turn after a single month's tenure of power is dethroned and put to death by Menahem. Menahem, it is stated, reigned ten years, and was able to bequeath his power to his son Pekahiah; but the force, or rather (see 2 K. xv. 16) ferocity, of character which distinguished him, was in all probability softened by no such politic wisdom as might have redressed the disorders of the commonwealth. It was then that the tottering monarchy was assailed, by an Assyrian army for the first time appearing in Jehovah's own land; and Menahem was fain to save himself from being dethroned, in favour probably of some competitor, by presenting the Assyrian king (or pretender[1]), who is named "Pul," with an enormous sum of money, which he could only raise by a grinding assessment levied upon all his wealthier subjects. After again paying tribute to the king of Assyria, in the person of Tiglath-Pileser, unless "Pul" was the same king (Rawlinson, *ut supra*, p. 130), Menahem it is true died in his bed; but the reign of his son was cut short by violence in its second year; he was murdered by Pekah, one of his military officers. Again in this reign had the Ephraimite kingdom to endure one, or, more probably, two invasions of Assyrian armies led by Tiglath-Pileser; the first, mentioned 2 K. xv. 29 (where cf. note), stripping of its population a considerable portion of its northern territory. It was now fast verging to utter extinction. During his reign, which is stated to have lasted 20 years, Pekah sought to strengthen his power by forming an intimate alliance with heathen Syria; trampling under foot all ties of national relationship and all reverence for the ancient theocracy, he joined with Rezin, in not only depriving the Southern kingdom of its important seaport of Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, which was made over to Syria, but in besieging Jerusalem itself, with the purpose of dethroning David's dynasty and substituting as king a creature of their own (Isai. vii.). But the enterprize only resulted in Ephraim's further enfeeblement. Pekah had to witness the frustration of his schemes and the overthrow and slaughter of Rezin by the intervention of Tiglath-Pileser; who, further, in an invasion, which took place towards the close of Pekah's reign, tore away from the kingdom of Israel the inhabitants of the then thickly inhabited trans-Jordanic districts (1 Chro. v. 26), and compelled Pekah himself to repair to the dismantled capital of his late ally, and make his personal submission to the Assyrian conqueror, there holding his court to receive the homage of his vassals. The crimes and disasters of this reign likewise were closed by a scene of murderous treason;

of Judah as his tributary, and elsewhere records the accession of Hoshea after the death of Pekah. The coincidence of the Assyrian and Biblical accounts respecting the conquest of Samaria is perfect. The statements of the Bible and of the cuneiform inscriptions respecting Sennacherib's expedition and the invasion of Judea correspond, integrating each other in the manner most to be wished. What is told in the Bible respecting Manasseh's relation to Assyria and the destruction of No-Ammon, gains from an inscription at once its authentication and light in respect to the chronological arrangement, &c." (Schrader, pp. 303, 304.)

The history and chronology of this period, as presented by the Assyrian inscriptions, are stated in a popular form by Mr G. Smith in his little work, 'Ancient History from the Monuments: Assyria.' S. P. C. K. 1875.

[1] See Canon Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' Vol. II. p. 123. Schrader, pp. 121—133, argues strongly for the identification of Pul with Tiglath-Pileser.

Pekah, the assassin of his master, himself perishing under the sword of another usurper, Hoshea[1].

This new sovereign is described in 2 K. xvii. 2, as "doing evil in the sight of the LORD, but not as the kings of Israel that were before him;" but in what respects he was less evil is not stated. Perhaps the difference in his favour lay only in his not proving so actively defiant of the dictates of national and theocratical feeling as some of them, *e.g.*, most recently, Pekah, had been. Possibly also there were witnessed in his reign some of those nugatory efforts to propitiate the wrath of Jehovah, which Hosea refers to in his fifth and seventh chapters (ch. v. 6, 15; vii. 14); but there being no real, deep-searching reform, the comparatively lesser degree of Hoshea's evil-doing could be of no avail for averting the utter ruin which was close impending, and which nothing could avert, but such a general and hearty submission to Jehovah as was now hardly to be hoped for. About the year 727 Assyrian armies, under a new sovereign Shalmaneser IV., who was at this time engaging in a long warfare with Tyre, overran the northern portions of Hoshea's dominions with such a menacing display of overwhelming power, as compelled him to bring in the tribute, which on the accession of this new lord-paramount he seems to have at first withheld. Then some three or four years passed, and Tyre yet held out; upon which the party in Ephraim, which had aforetime leaned towards Egypt, prevailed upon Hoshea to adopt their favourite line of policy. It is probable, that Egypt possessed a constant attraction to the feelings of Israelites, in being already the home of numerous emigrants[2], who had fled thither from the distractions of both the Hebrew kingdoms, and who would serve for convenient channels of intercommunication. And at this particular juncture, the vigorous and successful rule of So (Seveh, Shabaka), of the Ethiopian dynasty of Egypt, might seem to promise efficient support. Accordingly, the king was induced to compromise himself by secret engagements to the Egyptian court, and to again withhold his tribute from his Assyrian suzerain. But it was an unavailing policy, which only precipitated ruin. Shalmaneser became apprised of the vacillation of his vassal, and in 724 promptly summoned him, as Ewald plausibly conjectures, to appear before him in person. Hoshea, unprepared for resistance, was compelled to obey; and on presenting himself before him was cast into chains by the incensed monarch, and thenceforward wholly disappears from our view "as a bubble upon the face of the water" (Hos. x. 7). Assyrian armies now overran the remaining parts of the Ephraimite territory, and (in the seventh year from Hoshea's accession) sat down before the capital. With the same despairing resolution, as the Jews afterwards displayed at Jerusalem, both in its first siege by Nebuchadnezzar and again in its second by Titus, did now the Ephraimites, in their last remaining but strongly situated fortress, endure the horrors of a siege protracted through two years or more. The captor of Samaria was Sargon, who here appears as replacing Shalmaneser, either already, possibly as co-rex, on the throne of Nineveh, or at least in the command of the army. This was the last convulsive throe of the expiring kingdom; crushed and helpless, the country of the Ten Tribes had to submit to such successive deportations of its population as it suited Sargon's convenience to make, and gradually came into the occupation of heathen settlers.

[1] Again Usher's chronology, in the endeavour to make the numbers given in our present Hebrew text agree together, interpolates upon mere conjecture a season of anarchy: but Hoshea, who at all events appears at length as sovereign, is expressly named as taking the lead in the destruction of his predecessor and it is only natural to suppose that at the same time he seized possession of his throne. This inference is sustained by an Assyrian inscription. Schrader, p. 143.

[2] See Canon Cook's 'Inscription of Pianchi Meramen,' Introd. p. 15.

Relation of the Contents of the Book to the History.

Such, viewed in its secular aspects, was briefly the history of Ephraim during the time of Hosea's prophesying. It is the story of a short period of brilliant successes and prosperity, followed by rapid,

headlong decadence and ruin. Indications of this abrupt transition from great prosperity to disaster are apparent in the tone of his prophecies themselves. "The beginning of the Lord's converse with Hosea," which is given us in the three first chapters, stands in marked contrast with what we read in the succeeding chapters. This first portion beyond doubt dates with the time of Jeroboam: the words, "yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (ch. i. 4), shew that Jehu's dynasty still occupied the throne. In these three chapters we have, it is true, reiterated and most distinct predictions of times of disaster (to be followed by restoration to Jehovah's favour); but they are comminations of future evils with no reference to present troubles. The commonwealth is exhibited as at present in full enjoyment of "her bread and her water, her wool and her flax, her oil and her drinks" (ch. ii. 5): she is revelling in idolatrous festival; clad in festal attire she is going after "her lovers," the idol gods, especially Baal, to whose love she thinks she owes her blessings (ch. ii. 11, 13). Not a syllable here breathes of present sorrow. The prophet emphatically denounces, that if she will persist in her idolatries (and it is almost taken for granted that she will) sorrows are coming: she shall suffer the entire loss of all her secular blessings (ch. ii. 3, 9), and of all her religious institutions and of her monarchy itself (ch. i. 4, iii. 4); it is even darkly and indirectly hinted that she shall go back to Egyptian captivity (ch. ii. 14, 15): but as yet all these sorrows lie in the future and are threatened only in case of her persistent idolatry (ch. ii. 2, 3). The sole subject of rebuke here is Israel's unfaithfulness to Jehovah her Husband in worshipping other gods: the existence of this unfaithfulness, its chastisement, and its removal. But in the subsequent chapters, the disorders, which are rebuked, are set forth in greater variety and in a much more promiscuous manner. Immoralities of all kinds in private life (gross uncleanness, drunkenness, lying, perjury, dishonesty), and public crimes (murder, burglary, highway robbery, treason against the sovereign, regicide), are topics superadded here to the constantly recurring denunciation of infatuated idolatries, heathenish practices, and looking to heathen states for protection. In the former portion we recognize the presence still of a strong government, which curbs lawless excesses, though assenting to and encouraging fatal sins against the theocracy: in this latter portion, the restraint of this controlling power being in a great degree withdrawn, private sins and public crimes come to the foreground, and riot in unabashed anarchy. Ephraim's condition, as represented in Hosea, is, both morally and politically, precisely what we might have inferred it would be from the history.

If we search further for internal evidence, shewing agreement or disagreement with the statement of Hosea's era given chap. i. 1, we meet with references to repeated acts of regicide (ch. vii. 7, "They are all hot as an oven, and have devoured their judges; all their kings are fallen"), and of unwarranted transfer of the sovereign power (ch. viii. 4, "They have set up kings, but not by me"). These tally well with an era during which Zachariah was deposed and murdered by Shallum, Shallum by Menahem, Menahem's son Pekahiah by Pekah, and Pekah by Hoshea.

Gilead is twice referred to; viz. ch. vi. 8, "Gilead is a city of them that work iniquity and is marked with bloody foot-tracks," and again ch. xii. 11, "Is there iniquity in Gilead?" The former of these two passages is supposed by many, and not without probability, to point to the help which Gileadites gave to Pekah, in murdering Pekahiah, when with the king, no doubt, many others were also butchered. The latter refers to a prevalence of idolatry in that district. Both of them however indicate a date prior to the closing part of Pekah's reign; for it was probably then that the Assyrians swept away the inhabitants of Gilead as is stated in 1 Chro. v. 26. (See note on 2 K. xv. 29.)

Mention is repeatedly made of the tendency shewn by Ephraim, and indeed by Judah as well, to look to Assyria for assistance. Thus: (*a*) ch. v. 13, 14: "When Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then went Ephraim to Asshur and he [Judah] sent to king Jareb: yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound; for I will be to Ephraim as

a lion, &c." (*b*) ch. vii. 11, 12: "Ephraim is like a silly dove without sense: they call to Egypt, they go to Asshur: wheresoever they go, I will spread my net upon them, I will bring them down." (*c*) ch. viii. 9, 10: "They are gone up to Asshur, a wild ass roaming solitary; Ephraim hath hired lovers. Yea, though they have hired among the nations, now will I gather them," &c. (*d*) ch. xii. 1: "Ephraim feedeth on wind, and chaseth the east wind: they do make a covenant with Asshur, and oil is carried into Egypt." Of these four passages, two, which refer to Asshur only, viz., v. 13, 14 and viii. 9, 10, must be prior to the time, in which Hoshea had brought down upon him Asshur's wrath as is related in 2 K. xvii. 4. They describe such trafficking with Asshur for his friendship as was of a voluntary kind; and therefore do not fit in with Hoshea's relations with Asshur at all; for it appears from 2 K. xvii. 3, 4, that this king did not of his own free will court Asshur's favour, but even at the first only paid tribute when he found himself unable to refuse it. The passage (*d*) might possibly be supposed to describe Hoshea's relations with Assyria, provided we construe the latter part of it thus: "though they make a covenant with Asshur [to be his subjects], yet oil is carried into Egypt [in soliciting an alliance with that kingdom]." But this identification of time is resisted by what has been already observed upon in *v.* 11 respecting Gilead; for in Hoshea's time Gilead no longer lay within the scope of prophetical rebuke.

The case probably stood thus. Situated as both Ephraim and Judah were between the two hostile monarchs of Assyria and Egypt, and liable, as the history shews, to be overrun by one as well as by the other, those of their politicians who did not hold fast by the theocratic principle of leaning upon Jehovah—and these no doubt formed the vast majority in both kingdoms—would naturally be divided, either by predilections and corrupt motives, or by honest views of national expediency, into two parties—an Assyrianising party and an Egyptianising party; and of these two factions now one and now the other would gain the ascendancy. While therefore we may understand v. 13, 14 and viii. 9, 10 to point to applications actually made to Assyria, we may understand vii. 11, 12 and xii. 1, not so much of measures of policy actually carried out, *i.e.* of embassies actually despatched either to Assyria or to Egypt, as of that hankering after such measures which was entertained by the two several parties, by which in the prevailing unbelief nearly all the Ephraimites were comprised.

In the latter part of Pekah's reign, that prince would be anxiously looking about for some means of protecting himself against Assyria, then coming down upon him with her full force; while also at that time the Ethiopian Shabaka, who may be supposed to have already become master of Lower Egypt, may have been known to be not disinclined to entertain schemes of further conquest towards the North-East. These circumstances would stimulate the activity of the Egyptian party, here referred to in Hosea (vii. 11, 12) for the first time; and thenceforward that party continued to divide public sympathy down to the very end of the monarchy, and at the last precipitated its ruin.

We are now enabled to understand the historical bearing of one other passage in the book relating to this point, viz. xiv. 3, "Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses; neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy." If this passage referred solely to Assyria, there would be a difficulty in assigning the time, in which the prophesying containing such a passage could have been spoken. Its place in the book naturally leads to the conclusion, that this prophesying was the latest of those which Hosea has recorded, and that it belonged to the reign of Hoshea and the commencement of the reign of Hezekiah. But, at that time, Asshur must have ceased to appear to Ephraim as a power to trust in; neither, again, (to refer to another interpretation which might possibly be given to the passage,) could Ephraim, when suffering so much from that power, have been prompted by the prophet to use its name, as a general term, to denote any possible heathen ally; as if it were, "No Asshur of them all shall any more be our hope." The difficulty is solved, if we take the next clause, "we will not ride upon horses," to

point to succours drawn from Egypt. For it was from Egypt that Palestine was wont to be supplied with horses (cf. Deut. xvii. 16; 1 K. x. 28); and when a very little later Sennacherib tauntingly offered to Hezekiah the gift of two thousand horses, if only he on his part could supply riders for them (2 K. xviii. 23, 24), he probably referred to an expectation which he supposed Hezekiah was indulging, that Egypt would afford him some help of that kind. We may therefore infer, that in these words now before us Ephraim is prompted to express her determination, thenceforward to look for help neither to Assyria nor to Egypt, as in her alternating policy of unbelief she had hitherto been doing, but solely to Him in whom the utterly helpless may find a Father's love and protection. Viewed thus the passage presents no difficulty in the way of our supposing ch. xiv. to contain a prophesying addressed to Ephraim shortly before her final overthrow.

There are two very distinct predictions of coming events, which seem by their very absoluteness and particularity to betoken the nearness of the things foretold. One is in ch. x. 5, 6, where it is foretold that the Beth-el calf shall be carried to Assyria as a present to the king (see note *in locum*). The other, relating to the destruction of the capital, is in ch. xiii. 16: "Samaria shall find out her guiltiness; for she hath rebelled against her God: they shall fall by the sword: their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their women with child shall be ripped up." As these predictions must have been made before the events referred to, and since (as we have seen) chap. xiv. in all probability dates at some time prior to the middle of Hoshea's reign, and chap. xii. at some time prior to the latter years of Pekah's reign, chap. xiii. may very well be assigned to the beginning of the reign of Hoshea.

Endeavours have been made (as by Maurer and Hitzig) to assign the several portions of the second part of the book, beginning with chap. iv., yet more exactly to their respective dates in Ephraim's history. But, beyond what has now been brought forward, there appear to be no probable data for any chronological distribution. We have seen in the contents of the book sufficient tokens of the probable truth of the chronological statement in chap. i. 1, in respect to both the beginning and the end of the term there defined; for the three first chapters, beyond all reasonable doubt, contain a prophesying delivered in the reign of Jeroboam II.; and the two closing chapters prophesyings uttered in the earlier part or towards the middle of Hoshea's reign, that is, about the time of Hezekiah's accession.

If, however, hesitation is still felt in reference to the time at which the closing prophesyings were originally delivered, there is no reason whatever for doubting, that it was in Hezekiah's reign that Hosea collected those of his prophesyings which he saw fit to select, in the written form in which we now have them. Events had now, in Ephraim's total overthrow, but too mournfully authenticated, both the truth of his moral teaching and the Divine origin of his predictions. The closing verse, ch. xiv. 9, is evidently an epilogue, in which the prophet, now speaking as an author, draws out the moral of his whole book, in a tone of deep pathos justifying the ways of God in the procedures of His providence. By Jehovah's dealings with Ephraim, Hosea's own patriot-heart had been wounded to its very core; but none the less will he both himself recognize, and also have others recognize, the truth, that, as always so also there, God was holy, just, and good. It seems impossible to resist receiving this impression from the closing words; impossible therefore to refuse to admit, that Hosea was discharging his prophetical ministry, though not orally yet as an author, as late as in the reign of Hezekiah; doing so after even some interval had elapsed since the capture of Samaria; such an interval as would allow space for his feelings of indignation and grief to soften down, and the aged seer to become able to review the past with a calm and deliberate eye.

How far predictive.

The Book of Hosea exhibits the usual character of prophetic discourse in being mainly homiletic rather than predictive. The style, it is true, very often assumes the form of prediction; but this form is probably for the most part adopted,

rather as an engine of persuasion, than as an absolute foretelling of what was about to happen. But there are exceptions to this: there are passages in the book, which cannot be resolved into mere homiletic warning, or even into the mere forecasting by a thoughtful mind of what might be anticipated from the general principles of the theocracy. See ch. i. 7, with note, and the third chapter, where see note on the 4th verse. With this instance before us, of the Divine Spirit's manifested prevision of future history, we feel warranted in interpreting as absolute prediction also the above-cited references to the fate of the golden calf and to the capture and sack of Samaria. No doubt this latter, like Jonah's prediction of the overthrow of Nineveh, might have been neutralized by repentance; but, nevertheless, that the future would but for Israel's repentance take such a shape as is there declared, only Divine Prescience could affirm.

Of strictly Messianic prediction we have very little. The passages ch. i. 11, ii. 15—23, iii. 5, xi. 10, 11, xiv. 4—8, describe a state of things, in which the glories and felicities of the theocracy should be fully restored; and these we have good reason to regard as relating to the Christian dispensation. In fact, the passage ch. iii. 5 connects this time very explicitly with "David their king," *i.e.* the king of reunited Israel. But while this, as we now perceive, is a clear reference to the great "Son of David," it still would not of itself have sufficed to define to the prophet's hearers the Person spoken of, as being one individual representative of David's dynasty. See notes on the passage. With respect to the Messianic reference which we may recognize in ch. xi. 1 and ch. xiii. 14, the reader's attention is requested to the observations found under these passages.

Relation to the Centre of the Theocracy.

An interesting subject of reflection is presented by the position which Hosea as a prophet holds, in relation to David's dynasty and to the temple at Jerusalem. Though he certainly predicts a time—a then far distant time, evidently—in which all Israel should serve one king, and that king a representative of David, yet nowhere does he enjoin it upon the Ten Tribes, as their now present duty, that they should return to their allegiance to David's throne, or point to their present attitude of secession from that allegiance as a sin. Nowhere, again, does he summon them to abandon their *schismatical* worship (although he denounces its *heretical* form, as calf-worship) or call upon them to repair to the place which "the Lord had chosen to make His name dwell there." On the contrary, as he recognizes the function of the king, so he also recognizes the established priesthood (comp. 1 K. xiii. 33) as being a priesthood of Jehovah's, only threatening it with rejection in case of their abusing their position for the furtherance of sin (ch. iv. 6). It is particularly striking to observe, that when he has occasion to refer to the Assyrian invasion as approaching to assail Judah, he does not name Jerusalem, but indicates the capital only under the term "Benjamin" (v. 8).

It is worth while to compare Hosea's manner in dealing with these matters, with that of Amos his contemporary, who in the position which he holds as a rebuker of the Northern confederacy the most nearly approaches him. The keynote of the prophet of Tekoa is sounded in his very first words: "The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem." Adopting this as his standpoint, Amos rebukes the hypocritical worship at the temple of Jerusalem (ch. v. 21—23, ix. 1), as well as the worship of Bethel (ch. iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5, 6); his function of preacher embracing the one kingdom as completely as the other (ch. vi. 1). On the other hand, Hosea has nothing whatever to do with the worship of Jerusalem; all that he has to say to Jehovah's servants in Judah is to warn them against leaning like Ephraim on foreign alliances, and against defiling themselves with the cults of Samaria. Moreover, while the prophet of Ephraim appears indirectly to tolerate the worship and priesthood of the Northern kingdom, as being, with whatever corruptions, still the worship and priesthood of Jehovah, Amos visits Beth-el with messages of Divine judgment, which deal with its services as being only sin; messages which caused him to be regarded by its priest-

hood (ch. vii. 13) as being as uncompromising an adversary of the "king's chapel" as "the man of God" from Judah, who visited Beth-el a century and a half before in the days of the first Jeroboam. We seem to have before us, on the one hand, an ecclesiastical Conformity, with prophets, resolved to allow of no departure from the rule first prescribed; and on the other, a Dissidency possessing its prophets as well, from Elijah downwards, who, owning a Divine call, do however tolerate evils of form, which now the Providence of God alone seemed able to remove, and insist only upon the essential duties, of casting off all image-worship and idolatry, and of cultivating mercy and "the knowledge of God."

Temperament of Hosea.

The spirit of Hosea as indicated by his prophesyings was of a sanguine temperament, easily roused to ardent emotion. It shews itself as such in all the several moods of feeling, which the objects presented to his view successively excite in his mind: they are marked by a general characteristic of intensity. For example, the displeasure which he feels at Israel's sin in departing from her God to worship Baal, clothes itself in the form of a loving husband's feelings towards a grossly adulterous wife; feelings, which are perhaps at once the most mixed, and the most harrowing, which it is possible for a man to experience. Not only is this representation given in the formally conceived parable with which the book opens, but it recurs again and again; Hosea thus giving the key-note to the many passages, in which the prophets who came after him have adopted and sometimes amplified the same image. The resentment roused within him by the vices and crimes of the Northern nation is one of passionate anger; anger which in one remarkable passage finds it a righteous punishment, that the population should cease any longer to reproduce itself (ch. ix. 14). But his indignation is not the hard-hearted censorship of a Roman satirist: the same mind, which is apt to flame forth in loathing abhorrence and fierce wrath, is ready at any moment to melt into the tenderest mood of compassion. No father (ch. xi. 1) feels more anguish in punishing his rebellious child, than the prophet testifies in the name of his God with reference to rebellious Israel. And on the other hand, how deep is the complacency, how strong the yearning desire, with which he goes forth to meet any signs of nascent repentance! The compass of all literature supplies no passages of more thrilling pathos, than those which are thus drawn forth from the soul of Hosea. But in truth the heart of this prophet seems to beat in sympathy with the Heart of the Jehovah who sent him. We see here no Hebrew zealot coming forth in fierce relentlessness to execute vengeance on ungodly transgressors; this is not at all Hosea's spirit: his is rather the spirit of one who feels and speaks in unison with his God; at once loathing where He loathes, resenting where He resents, and also loving as He loves; relenting, compassionating, forgiving, as He relents, compassionates, forgives. As Umbreit observes: "In this intimate and oftentimes absolutely immediate blending together of the fire of Divine Righteousness with the light of Eternal Love, is found the proper and peculiar focus of Hosea's spirit." In this sense too are the words of our prophet (ch. ix. 8) true, when applied to himself: "the watchman is with his God."

Style.

The Book of Hosea naturally falls into two divisions; a shorter one, taking up the three first chapters; and a longer, comprising the remaining eleven. The former is shewn by internal evidence to have been composed early in the prophet's ministry, "the beginning of the Lord's talking with Hosea;" and its style is in many respects diverse from that of the other part. The thoughts here proceed in a more clear and continuous course of development, presenting but little of those sudden transitions of topic, and of that extreme ruggedness and obscurity of expression, which characterize the second portion. The second division, on the other hand, has the appearance of having been compiled by the

author out of utterances and fragments of discourses which orally had been delivered by him at different times throughout the remainder of his long ministry. It is natural to suppose, that the arrangement was made in part upon a chronological principle; and no evidence has been substantiated leading to an opposite conclusion. But his readers can feel also in his work of compilation the presence of an æsthetic judgment, which knew how to dispose the materials at hand according to a plan, and so as to form them into one connected and harmonious whole. After presenting a succession of diversified topics,—rapid delineations of crime, ejaculatory utterances of rebuke, or abhorrence, or invective, or commination, intermingled with pathetic invitations to repentance, and with appeals to proofs of Jehovah's love to Israel shewn in their past history,—the prophet at length from a stern denunciation of coming wrath and utter ruin subsides, through a remarkably sweet and most poetical description of the relations which would obtain between Israel penitent and her reconciled Lord, into an epigraph of solemn and sublime reflection not untinged with melancholy. We have in this a consummate outcome of native artistic skill.

In the utterance of his thoughts, Hosea appears often impeded by the intensity of his feelings, depriving him for the moment of that mastery over the instruments of expression, which at times he proves himself capable of in a very high degree. His sentiments clothe themselves readily with emphatic, burning words; but the general style is marked by extreme abruptness, by sudden turns in the persons addressed, by sudden turns in the phase of feeling, by sudden twisting about of one and the same image to express different ideas, and by a curt brevity, which often makes his words more to resemble riddles than just expositions of thought. His vehemence of feeling not unfrequently appears to struggle as it were with words, trying to force them to do more than words can be fairly supposed capable of doing. In consequence, there is a ruggedness of diction, with a frequently recurring obscurity, which repels most readers from all except some few favourite passages. In all these respects, we may detect a strong resemblance between the second part of Hosea, and those portions of St Paul's Epistles, as in the Galatians and Second Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the apostle confronts occasions which especially excite his feelings.

It is characteristic of Hosea's writings that there is very little to be found in them of that formal adjustment of language into parallelism, which is generally proper to Hebrew poetry. If parallelism is occasionally strongly marked, as *e.g.* in ch. iv. 5, 10, 12, 14, v. 13, 14, vi. 4—6, xi. 8—12, xiii. 14, &c., it yet does not appear to have been with this writer an habitually constraining law of composition. The prophet's spirit seems too apt to be absorbed by the excitement of passionate feeling, to have at all times leisure for such artistic arrangement, or for the full play of æsthetic sensibility. Neither does the arrangement of passages appear often to follow a strophic disposition. Ewald it is true has in his translation ("Propheten") cast the prophesyings into this shape; but the grounds for such arrangement, though sometimes recognisable, as *e.g.* in the fourth chapter, are for the most part far from obvious.

One figure of language, the use of which is perfectly compatible with an intense excitement of feeling, recurs in Hosea frequently,—that which is called *paronomasia*. We often find here one word drawing after it another evidently suggested by similarity of sound. This is a feature of style which commonly defies reproduction in translation, and which therefore cannot be observed by the reader of our English version: but the expositor sometimes finds, that attention to it furnishes him with an important clue for the determination of the exact sense of a passage.

Relation to the Sacred Canon.

The Book of Hosea, of a date and of an authenticity, which are both unquestionable and in fact unquestioned, is a witness of the utmost value for previous portions of the Old Testament. A number of allusions put it beyond all lawful doubt, that Hosea in the eighth century before Christ had in his hands

a Hebrew literature identical with much which we possess at the present hour.

In respect to Genesis, we perceive allusions, probably to Adam's sin in Paradise and his expulsion therefrom, in ch. vi. 7; to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha, Admah and Zeboim in ch. xi. 8; to the promise of the multiplication of the holy race as sand in Gen. xxii. 17 and xxxii. 12, in ch. i. 10; to Jacob's birth, his service with Laban, his wrestling with the angel, and the second vision at Beth-el, in ch. xii. 3, 4, 12; to the words of Jacob's blessing of Ephraim in ch. xiii. 15.

Exodus is alluded to, not merely in the general reminiscence of Moses and of the deliverance from Egypt which, occuring repeatedly, may, however, admit of being regarded as belonging to the great traditions of the national history, but verbally; in ch. i. 11, compared with Exod. i. 10; perhaps in ch. ii. 17, compared with Exod. xxiii. 13.

The curse denounced in Leviticus, ch. xxvi. 14 ff., and in Deuteronomy, ch. xxviii. 15 ff., is plainly referred to in ch. vii. 12.

Numbers is referred to in the citation of the sin in the matter of Baal-peor in ch. ix. 10.

Deuteronomy is cited verbally in ch. iii. 1, compared with Deut. xxxi. 18; in iv. 4 (according to the received text), compared with Deut. xvii. 8—13; in ch. v. 10, compared with Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; in ch. v. 11, compared with Deut. xxviii. 33; in ch. v. 15, compared with Deut. iv. 29, 30; in ch. vi. 1, compared with Deut. xxxii. 39; in ch. xiii. 6, compared with Deut. viii. 12, 14, xxxii. 15, 18; in ch. viii. 1 ("eagle"), compared with Deut. xxviii. 49.

Joshua is cited in ch. ii. 15, compared with Josh. vii. 2, 24.

Judges is recognized in the reference to Gibeah, which occurs twice (ch. ix. 9, x. 9). And the manner in which it is referred to, taken in conjunction with the reference to Baal-peor, makes it incontestable, that the prophet had in the main the same accounts in his hands as we have: in searching back into the history of the nation for parallels to what he feels to be the enormous wickedness of Israel in his own time, he fastens upon the atrocity of Gibeah in the Book of Judges, and upon the sin of Baal-peor which stands so conspicuous in the history of Moses:—these, and none but these; because these stand out the most into view in the history which he had in his hands, as also they do in the history now extant.

The history of Samuel is alluded to in ch. x. 5, xiii. 10, 11; while ch. iv. 6 is a re-echo of 1 S. xv. 26.

The relation of the Book of Hosea to the religious and political condition of Israel at the time, as well as to the course of foregoing events leading down thereto, furnishes a naive and incontrovertible corroboration of the truth of the history which we have in the two Books of Kings; for the history is in exact accordance with all that we read in this contemporary production, and in no respect diverges therefrom. Thus while Hosea cannot be represented as referring to those books, which in fact were not then in existence, being later compilations from annals then only in course of formation, we yet can see that there are materials before us for constructing a series of "undesigned coincidences," forming a body of independent evidence strongly confirmatory of the Hebrew records.

In respect to other books of sacred Scripture, the correspondence of Hos. viii. 14 with Amos i. 4, 7, 10, 12, ii. 2, 5, and again of Hos. iv. 15 with Amos v. 5, viii. 14, is very remarkable. It prompts the surmise, that as these two prophets were certainly contemporaries, and as Amos bore a commission to Israel as well as to Judah, one of the two had in some way become acquainted with the prophesyings of the other; as also, on a comparison of Isai. ii. 2 ff. with Micah iv. 1 ff., we are led to surmise in reference to Isaiah and Micah.

There are, further, instances in which utterances of Hosea appear to have been taken up, and in some cases are even interpreted for us, by subsequent prophets. Thus, his junior contemporary Isaiah, in ch. i. 22, 23, borrows and enlarges Hos. iv. 18; and a Psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 3), who probably was likewise a junior contemporary, cites and gives the just application of Hos. ii. 18. Jer. xxx.

9, xxxi. 12—14, may be compared with Hos. iii. 5, with which also we must group Ezekiel xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 23, 24, and Zech. ix. 17. Jeremiah xxxi. 31—34 may be compared with Hos. ii. 19, 20, and Jer. xxxi. 27, 28 with Hos. ii. 23. Hosea ii. 3, 8 in like manner appears in an enlarged form in Ezekiel xvi. 4, 17, 37, 39. Zechariah xiii. 2 is perhaps a reminiscence of Hos. ii. 17; also Jer. xii. 4 and Zeph. i. 3 of Hos. iv. 3, and Jer. iv. 3 of Hos. x. 12.

HOSEA.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Hosea, to shew God's judgment for spiritual whoredom, taketh Gomer,* 4 *and hath by her Jezreel,* 6 *Lo-ruhamah,* 8 *and Lo-ammi.* 10 *The restoration of Judah and Israel.*

THE word of the LORD that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, *and* Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

2 The beginning of the word of the LORD by Hosea. And the LORD

CHAP. I. 1. *The word of the* LORD *that came unto Hosea*] The verse forms a heading to the whole book. Comp. Joel i. 1; Micah i. 1; Zeph. i. 1. The speaker implied in the term "word" is not the prophet, but Jehovah. Cp. Gen. xv. 1, 4; Jer. i. 4, 11. The verse claims for the whole book the authority of Divine inspiration.

the son of Beeri] The identification of "Beeri" with "Beerah," mentioned 1 Chro. v. 6, as carried away by "Tilgath-pilneser," is resisted both by the difference of form and by the chronology. Rabbins here inferred that Beeri was likewise a prophet, because his name is here given as Hosea's father; but the inference has no solid basis.

in the days of...king of Israel] During the reigns of the four kings of Judah here named, there reigned over Israel Jeroboam II., Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea. The whole space of time thus marked out must, according to the chronological statements in Kings, have been more than sixty years; while that latter part of Jeroboam's reign, which overlapped the commencement of Uzziah's, could not have exceeded twenty-five. The most probable reason why no other of the above-named kings of Israel is mentioned, besides Jeroboam, is to be sought in the distracted condition of the kingdom after that prince's death. The period was so much characterized by regicidal usurpation and possibly intervals of anarchy, that the short reigns of the six or seven men who successively emerged out of the confusion into the position of royalty seemed to afford no satisfactory basis for chronological reference. This, therefore, is sought in the reigns of David's dynasty, notwithstanding that Hosea was in all probability a subject of the Northern kingdom until it was destroyed, and that his ministry was exercised with reference to that kingdom only. On the other hand, Jeroboam is named, both because of Hosea's connection with Israel, and also, perhaps, to determine the date of the prediction in ch. i. 4 as delivered before the event to which it refers. For the event there foretold took place in that part of Uzziah's reign, by which he survived Jeroboam. It is the more obvious supposition, that this verse was prefixed by Hosea himself; but if it was not, it has, at all events, the sanction of that Jewish tradition on which the last revision of the sacred text was based. The mention of the name of Hosea's father, otherwise unknown, betokens an acquaintance with Hosea's personal history, which, though not decisive, yet somewhat favours the supposition that Hosea was himself the writer. But either supposition suffices to accredit its statements against any of the feeble objections which have been made to them; and in particular against those most precarious divinations of historical references in the prophecies themselves, on the ground of which it has been attempted to bound the close of Hosea's ministry by the reign of Menahem.

2. *The beginning of the word of the* LORD *by Hosea*] Rather, "The beginning of that which the Lord spake with Hosea," or, "of the Lord's talking with Hosea." The phrase, "spake with Hosea," in the Hebrew is somewhat peculiar: it seems to denote the internal converse which the Divine Spirit held with one who was intended to impart the communications he received to others. Compare in the Hebrew Num. xii. 8; Hab. ii. 1; 2 S. xxiii. 2; Zech. i. 9, &c. The whole sentence, "The beginning...Hosea," is put as the heading of the prophesying which immediately follows, down to the end of the third chapter.

This prophesying is thus pointedly put forward as "the beginning of the Lord's talking with Hosea," for the purpose probably of shewing, both that the graphic exhibition here given of the unfaithfulness, the chastisement, and the ultimate repentance of Israel was accordant with his subsequent discourses throughout his long ministry; and, further,

said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms: for the land hath committed great whoredom, *departing* from the LORD.

3 So he went and took Gomer the

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that this key-note of all was struck in the reign of Jeroboam II., when the prosperity of the Northern kingdom gave as yet little presage of that coming ruin, which the prophet was commissioned to denounce.

And the LORD] The conjunction "and" is used frequently to commence a book or a section. See note on Jonah i. 1.

Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms] "Wife of whoredoms," that is, characterized by whoredom. So "a contentious woman" in Prov. xxvii. 15 is lit. "a woman of quarrels;" "bloody man," Ps. v. 6, lit. "man of bloods;" "a man of sorrows," Isai. liii. 3; and often. It is plain that the course of proceeding enjoined upon Hosea, whether in reality or in prophetic fiction, is *related* solely with reference to a symbolical meaning. It follows that our interpretation of the terms in which it is described must, wherever there is any ambiguity, be determined by the light thrown upon them by the objects symbolized. The "wife of whoredoms," therefore, cannot describe a woman heretofore grossly licentious, and henceforward a chaste wife; for though Israel before her marriage with Jehovah had been a spiritual harlot (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14; Lev. xvii. 7), yet Hosea nowhere refers to this in the subsequent prophesying; but dwells exclusively on her infidelity to Jehovah as Jehovah's *wife*. The "wife of whoredoms" must consequently denote a woman who might be expected to prove an unfaithful wife. The "children of whoredoms" for a like reason means, not offspring already born of this woman as the fruit of licentiousness—which supposition is further excluded by the absence of any subsequent reference to such—but the offspring which she would bear after her marriage. And they are so designated, partly, perhaps, because their mother's profligacy would make their legitimacy appear doubtful, but, probably, much more, because the several phases of Israel's state which they symbolized were results, which should not properly have accrued from the theocracy.

for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the LORD] Or, **for the land hath utterly gone a whoring from following the Lord**, lit. "from after the Lord," as Num. xiv. 43; 2 K. xvii. 21, and often. Cp. the use of "after" in 1 K. xi. 2, 4, 5. The connection of thought seems to be this: "Go, take for thy wife one who will prove a common prostitute, making thyself thus like Me as married to this nation; and then see what will be the results of such a connection." The sequel shews what the results would prove: the nation should be ruined in Jezreel; should cease to be regarded with affection; should cease to be Jehovah's people. The principal design is to announce prophetically the disastrous consequences which would flow from Israel's unfaithfulness to her God.

Some, both in ancient and in modern times, have understood the first three chapters as giving an account of actual occurrences in Hosea's personal history. A larger number of critics have felt the difficulties attending upon this view to be so great, that they have preferred to regard the relation, either as that of occurrences successively presented in vision, or as a simply imaginary narrative invented to give the prophetic announcement a more graphic and impressive form. We have examples of what appears to be merely imaginary narrative in 1 K. xx. 39, 40, xxii. 19—22; Ezek. ii. 9—iii. 3; Zech. i. 8—21; Amos vii. 1—9. In these and other like cases, it is immaterial, in reference to the inspiration of such passages, whether we suppose the seer to relate occurrences in which he in vision had seemed to himself to be taking part, such as is taken by St Peter in the vision related, Acts x. 11—16 —which supposition will certainly not apply to 1 K. xx. 39, 40—or whether we suppose him to be simply relating a feigned story, designed by himself, and readily understood by others, as an apologue conveying prophetical instruction. In the former case, the inspiration would attach more conspicuously (though of course not exclusively) to the presentation to his mind of the vision which is recorded; in the latter case, as in the parables of our Lord, to the exercise of invention in constructing the story. For a fuller statement of the reasons which recommend this latter mode of explaining the whole passage see Note below.

3. *Gomer the daughter of Diblaim*] Either "Gomer the daughter of Diblaim" was, as several Jewish commentators suppose, the name of some notorious harlot, which name is here made use of (in the same way as, for example, "Babylon" in Rev. xvii. 5) to denote one of similar character; or "Gomer" and "Diblaim" are both significant words, chosen with particular reference to their import. This significance has been variously construed; but the most commonly received view is, that "Diblaim" means "cakes of rich compressed figs" (see Tristram, 'Nat. H. of B.' p. 352), being a dual form of a noun, of which we have the singular 2 K. xx. 7, and the plural 1 S. xxv. 18, "cakes of figs"

daughter of Diblaim; which conceived, and bare him a son.

4 And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little *while*, and I will †avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of †Heb. *visit.*

(A. V.). As the name of a man, its form resembles "Ephraim." But it may be the name of a place, like the town "Almon-diblathaim," Num. xxxiii. 46, on the Moabite stone "Beth-Diblathaim." Since in ch. iii. 1 "grape-cakes" (in A.V. "flagons of wine") symbolizes idolatry as gratifying the sensual tastes of its devotees, it is probable that "fig-cakes" is used here with a similar allusion to the self-indulgence of idolatrous celebrations. "Gomer" is a noun, from a verb which means "to perfect or accomplish" (Ps. lvii. 2), or "come to an end" (Ps. xii. 1, vii. 9); and thus probably signifies "consummation," "coming to an end;" comprising (it may be) in one both the notions which belong to the verb, the perfecting of vicious character with the coming to an end in ruin. *Consummation*, the wife of ("Hosea") *Salvation*, appears a suitable combination to represent Israel as the wife of Jehovah.

which conceived, and bare him a son] Whatever inference might be drawn from Gomer's character, the form of expression here employed does not of itself give any reason for supposing, as some do, that the child is marked as illegitimate; cp. Gen. xxi. 2 and Exod. ii. 1, 2. Several Hebrew MSS., however, omit the "him;" as also Jerome and some copies of the LXX.; but the parallel of Exod. ii. 2 still holds good.

4. *Call his name Jezreel*] Each one of the three children represents Israel viewed in some particular phase, which is described in the name given to the child. The point in this instance is, that Israel is now regarded no longer as "Israel," *Prince with God*, but as "Jezreel," the home of murders and idolatries; where Ahab and Jezebel had lived, whose crimes had merited the sanguinary retribution inflicted by Jehu. (On the city and valley of Jezreel cf. notes on 1 K. xviii. 46, xxi. 1.) That the child is so named imports that Israel, as ruled over by the house of Jehu, had become no better than Jezreel had been, full of idolatry and bloodshed. The *paronomasia* appears more striking in the Hebrew: if the one name is given as "Israel," the other would, according to analogy, be given as "Izreel" (in three syllables).

for yet a little while] This prophecy was, as we suppose, delivered towards the close of Jeroboam's reign. Zachariah, who succeeded him, was assassinated six months after his accession; and in about fifty years later or less the Northern kingdom was entirely broken up.

and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu] **I will visit.** Jezreel figures prominently in the history of Ahab and his family, whether as doing or as suffering. There Naboth was iniquitously put to death; there was Naboth's vineyard (see 2 K. ix. 25); there Joram died of his wounds, and Ahaziah was mortally smitten, and Jezebel met her ghastly fate; and "all that remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men and his kinsfolks and priests," did Jehu there slaughter: thither also, as to the central point of bloody nemesis, were brought the heads of the seventy princes of Samaria: not to speak of the accessory carnage of Ahaziah's brethren and of the worshippers of Baal at Samaria (2 K. chh. ix. and x.). "The blood of Jezreel" may therefore be understood in two ways: (1) It may be taken, as it is by most, of the terrible massacres by Jehu. See on this view a striking note of Dr Pusey. But the fact that Jehu, in the general course of conduct which he then pursued, acted under a Divine commission (2 K. ix. 6—10), and with the Divine approval (2 K. x. 30), forms a strong objection to this interpretation. However much "his zeal for Jehovah," which was probably not altogether insincere, may seem marked to our eyes by cruelty and lust of power, yet since his unsparing execution of the Divine wrath upon the house of Ahab was rewarded with the promise, that his family should sit upon the throne to the fourth generation, it cannot be fairly regarded as the cause of his dynasty being at the last extinguished. (2) The "blood of Jezreel" is rather that blood-guiltiness of Ahab, which brought such terrible retribution upon Ahab's house, comprising both Naboth's murder, which was so especially regarded in Jehu's work of vengeance (2 K. ix. 25, 26, 36, 37), and also that whole course of bloody persecution of Jehovah's worshippers (1 K. xviii. 4; 2 K. ix. 7) as well as, no doubt, other oppressive tyrannies, of which Jezreel, as the court-residence of Ahab and Jezebel, had been the centre. But now the guilty works of Jezreel were being reproduced by the dynasty of Jehu himself; and therefore, though Jezreel was no longer, so far as is known, the royal residence, yet Hosea, in accordance with his custom of designating more recent objects by ancient names, and not without a certain tinge of solemn irony, denounces, that the "blood of Jezreel," which had been visited by Jehu upon the house of Ahab, should in turn be visited upon the house of Jehu itself. Enormity of crime like that of Jezreel would bring down like bloody vengeance. The consideration of Matt. xxiii. 35, 36 and Luke xi.

Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel.

5 And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.

6 ¶ And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And *God* said unto him, Call her name ‖ Lo-ruhamah: for † I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; ‖ but I will utterly take them away.

7 But I will have mercy upon

‖ That is, *Not having obtained mercy.* † Heb. *I will not add any more to.* ‖ Or, *that I should altogether pardon them.*

47—51 further suggests the thought, that Jehu's dynasty, persisting in the criminality which had marked the house of Omri, inherited, and that too in accumulated measure, the Até of that house. They were "filling up the measure" of their predecessors.

It must be allowed that the history of Kings does not distinctly tax the princes of Jehu's dynasty with the worship of Baal; but the contemporary testimony of Hosea leaves no doubt that the court, as well as the people, was deeply infected, both with the worship of Baal, and also with the oppressive tyranny which had marked the house of Omri. See chh. ii. 8, 13, iv. 1, 2, 18, v. 1, 2.

and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel] *i.e.* the royal sovereignty over Israel, as 1 S. xv. 28, "the Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day." The overthrow of Jehu's dynasty is here connected with the cessation of the Northern kingdom, which, however, in actual fact took place some forty or fifty years later. The former event was not only a presage of the latter, since like and indeed increased criminality would infer even a greater catastrophe, but also paved its way by the frightful disorders, political and civil, which thence ensued. It was the beginning of the end. Cp. ch. iii. 4, "without a king."

5. *at that day*] *i.e.* when I punish the house of Jehu and destroy the kingdom of Israel. The context does not determine the point of time more precisely.

I will break the bow of Israel] The bow was the warrior's strength, and in general the symbol of power (Gen. xlix. 24; Job xxix. 20). When the warrior's bow was broken, he stood defenceless, at the mercy of his adversary. Cp. 1 S. ii. 4; Ps. xviii. 34; Jer. xlix. 35.

the valley of Jezreel] The vale of Esdraelon extended, in one direction, from Carmel to the river Jordan on its issuing forth from the sea of Galilee; and, in the other, from the hill-country of Galilee to that of Ephraim. It had its name from the town of Jezreel at its south-eastern verge under the mountains of Gilboa. This large and fruitful valley was the mustering place of the Midianites (Judg. vi. 33) in the time of Gideon, and of the Philistines (1 S. xxix. 11) when they defeated Saul on the mountains of Gilboa; and here also Josiah fought his fatal battle with the Egyptians (2 K. xxiii. 29). Many an invading army also has since made it its camping-ground. The prediction is commonly thought to point to some battle or series of battles to be fought in this valley; and in this view a historical hypothesis has been constructed, out of somewhat precarious materials, which will come under notice at ch. x. 14. It is possible that the passage points forward to some such reverses as Ephraim sustained in Tiglath-Pileser's invasion B.C. 733, when Megiddo and Dor on the coast are specified in Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions as having been made tributary (Rawlinson's 'Anc. Mon.' Vol. II. 132); but it deserves also to be considered whether the words are not to be taken mystically rather than literally. "The valley of Jezreel" may denote that field of idolatrous and criminal activity, in which Israel's every endeavour, political or military, was destined under Divine providence to meet with frustration and disaster. For Hosea's mystical use of proper names see ch. ii. 14, 15, vii. 16, ix. 3, x. 9, and notes; especially note on ch. ix. 3.

6. *daughter*] The sex possibly indicates, as Jerome supposes, defencelessness; its mention certainly adds force to the denunciation implied in the name given to the child: the wrath must be stern and unrelenting indeed, which has no pity upon a defenceless girl.

Lo-ruhamah] *i.e.* either "Uncompassionated," taking *ruhamah* as an abbreviated participle; or, "She-is-not-compassionated," taking it as a finite verb. The verb denotes that compassionate yearning, στοργή, which, *e.g.*, a mother feels for her offspring, as in Isai. xlix. 15; whence, while the LXX. has οὐκ ἠλεημένη, St Paul (Rom. ix. 25) has οὐκ ἠγαπημένη. The birth and naming of this child mark a further phase of the Northern kingdom: it is now presented in the character of a daughter who by her own shameless profligacy has utterly lost her father's affection.

for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away] Rather, **for I will no more have compassion upon the house of Israel that I should verily pardon them.** This interpretation, which in the main is that given in the margin of A. V., is more favoured by the Hebrew idiom than that which is given in the text. See Note below. There is so close an affinity between the notions of yearning love and forgiveness, that the mention of one very

the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.

8 ¶ Now when she had weaned Lo-ruhamah, she conceived, and bare a son.

9 Then said *God*, Call his name ‖ Lo-ammi: for ye *are* not my people, and I will not be your *God*. ‖ That is, *Not my people.*

10 ¶ Yet the number of the chil-

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naturally introduces the thought of the other. Heretofore Jehovah in His affectionate love to Israel had many a time pardoned or condoned their defection from Him: but now His compassion was wearied out. So Targum, Rabbins cited by Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Gesenius, Wünsche and others, named in the Note below.

7. *But I will*, &c.] **But upon the house of Judah I will have compassion.** This specification of Judah clearly shews, that the "Israel" of *v.* 5 is the Northern kingdom.

and will save them by the LORD *their God*] The use of the noun instead of the pronoun ("by mine own self") is plainly emphatic and no mere Hebrew idiom. It points to a miraculous intervention. As Judah, in contrast to Israel, owned and worshipped Him as their God, so He would make it manifest that He, their faithful God, was no dead idol but the Almighty Eternal. Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 29.

and will not save, &c.] Or, "and I will not save them by bow and by sword and by war, by horses and by horsemen." Since these were the things which the Northern kingdom made its trust, Jehovah, not without derision, puts them one and all aside, as being altogether immaterial when *He* chooses to work. It is a hint of warning to Israel, as well as an assuring promise to Judah. "Battle," or, rather, "war," denotes all the resources of warfare; large armies, brave soldiers, skilful generals, abundant *matériel*, &c. The exhaustive enumeration is after Hosea's manner: ch. ii. 5, 11, 22, iii. 4, iv. 13. Here it prompts the reader to ask, "By what then?" But he is left in suspense: he must wait and see in the event what the means of deliverance was to be. The three first particulars are specified again, ch. ii. 18, "I will break the bow and the sword and the war." In the seventy-sixth Psalm, written in all probability in commemoration of Sennacherib's overthrow, the words in *v.* 3, "there brake he the arrows of the bow, the shield, and the sword, and the war," seem to rehearse these two passages in Hosea, and to indicate, therefore, that the Psalmist found in that deliverance a signal fulfilment of the promise here given. Among the numerous references to that remarkable interposition of Divine power which are found in the former part of the book of Isaiah (chaps. i.—xxxix.), those in ch. x. 33, 34, and ch. xxxi. 8, will serve still further to illustrate the bearing of Hosea's words. And following, as this verse does, upon the denunciation of Israel's ruin, effected by the Assyrian kingdom so shortly before the destruction of Sennacherib's army, we are irresistibly led to see in this emphatic promise of Judah's preservation, to be brought to pass without ordinary instrumentality, a direct reference by the prophetical Spirit to that particular event. But the restoration from Babylon, and, again, Christ's Redemption, may also, each of them in its place, be regarded as typical fulfilments of the same general promise. Comp. Isai. lii. 10—12, and also Isai. lix. 16—20, lxiii. 3.

8. *Now when she*, &c.] Lit. "And she weaned Uncompassionated, and conceived and bare a son." The reference to the weaning (see note on Gen. xxi. 8) implies an interval of three or four years between the birth of the second child and this. The delay perhaps points to the reluctance with which Jehovah proceeded at length to the final act of judgment. Meanwhile, Gomer's continued profligacy images forth Israel's impenitence.

9. *Call his name Lo-ammi*] Rather, **Call his name Not-my-people.** This describes a third phase of the Northern kingdom which was to result from her spiritual adultery. Not merely would Jehovah withdraw His affection and His yearning of heart: He would also cast her off utterly.

and I will not be your God] Rather, **and as for me, I will be none of yours.** In the Hebrew the form of expression is the same as Song of Sol. ii. 16, "My beloved is mine, and I am his." So Isai. xliii. 1; Ezek. xvi. 8. "I will be yours" would have been a tenderer way of expressing what is elsewhere expressed by "I will be your God." "Ye:" this abrupt address to the people in the second person gives the announcement a startling emphasis.

10, 11. These verses and ii. 1 are by different authorities connected with the context in different ways. Some, as that Hebrew text which is followed by A. V., together with the Greek versions, Luther, and Calvin, join the first two verses with the foregoing part of chap. i. and the third with chap. ii. Some Hebrew copies, again, join all three verses to the next chapter. So Mendelssohn and Hitzig. A third arrangement, which is followed by Jerome, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Dr Pusey, Keil, Wünsche and others, connects all three verses

dren of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; [a] and it shall come to pass, *that* [1] in the place where it was said unto them, Ye *are* not my people, *there* it shall be said unto them, *Ye are* the sons of the living God.

[a] Rom. 9. 25, 26.
[1] Or, *instead of that.*

11 [b] Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be

[b] Jer. 3. 18. Ezek. 34. & 37.

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with the preceding. The three verses in sense certainly hang together, all alike describing the period of restoration. It is a recommendation of the third arrangement, that thereby the two first chapters form two sections which in sense stand symmetrically parallel to each other. The first section (i. 2—ii. 1) gives the account of the birth and import of the three children symbolical of sin and woe, closing with the promise of the reversal of the threatening thus conveyed. The second (ii. 2—23) renews the denunciation of Israel's sin and punishment, proceeding through a description of the process of reconciliation to the same goal of the reversal of the children's names.

10. A sudden transition, similar to that which is here made, from threatening to promise, we have again in ch. iii. 5 and ch. xi. 8—11.

Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be] Or, rather, **And it shall come to pass that the number of the children of Israel shall be**, &c. The Hebrew has here, in the beginning of the verse, the same form of expression as we find again in the middle of it, and in ch. ii. 16, 21, iv. 9, and very often. Since, as in Isai. ii. 2, the formula here introduces a new sub-section of prediction, it is unnecessary to assign to the conjunction "and" the sense of "yet."

the number of the children of Israel shall be, &c.] The prophet looks forward to the time, when the promise given of old to Abraham and to Jacob (Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12), and fulfilled in the palmy days of the theocracy under Solomon (1 K. iv. 20), should again be fulfilled in that restored state of the theocracy when Israel and Judah should once more be under "one head" (*v.* 11). The "Israel" here mentioned, as appears from the next *v.*, is the "Israel" of *vv.* 4, 5, 6 and 11. In *v.* 7 "Judah" is alone the object of "mercy:" in that future time of theocratic felicity, "Israel" shall again take her place, as a people beloved of her God, side by side with the sister kingdom, under one common king.

in the place where it was said unto them] Others render, as in the margin, "instead of its being said unto them." But in the many passages in which the phrase "in the place that" occurs in the Hebrew Bible, not once can it be shewn to signify "instead of." The "place" referred to in the present instance is not to be restricted either, as some suppose, to the Holy Land, or, as others, to the land of captivity. In what place soever they should have heard the stern sentence of rejection, there their turning to Jehovah would instantly reverse the sentence, and at once bring to the penitents the happiness of adoption to be God's children.

there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God] Or, rather, **there shall it be said unto them, Sons of the living God.** In those happy days they shall be hailed with a designation marking a Divine adoption;—one which was not hitherto the ordinary designation of even God's peculiar people. This surely is a description of Christian blessedness. Comp. Rom. viii. 16.

the living God] The true, personal God, endued with infinite power, either as here to bless, or to destroy. The term, which frequently recurs, is always used with this significant reference. Comp. 1 S. xvii. 26; 2 K. xix. 4; Jer. x. 10; Hebr. iii. 12, xii. 22; and often.

St Paul (Rom. ix. 25, 26) quotes this passage, together with that in ch. ii. 23, in illustration of God's free mercy shewn alike to Jewish and to Gentile converts (*ib.* v. 24). He does not however (so far as appears) cite it as a definite prediction of the call of Gentiles, but as establishing the principle, that the privileges of the Messianic theocracy, to which the prediction plainly points, were in all cases the free gift of God to those who in themselves had no title to them,—those, who were hitherto Not-my-people. Comp. Rom. iii. 23, xi. 32; Eph. ii. 3—5. A similar use is made of Hosea's words by St Peter (1 Pet. ii. 10).

When we consider that the historical continuity of the theocracy, even when passing into its later development, is continually indicated in the N. T. (as *e.g.* in Gal. iii. 29; Rom. xi. 17—24; 1 Pet. i. 1), we feel warranted in identifying that countless multitude of "children of Israel" of which the prophet speaks, with that "multitude which no man can number, of all nations" (Rev. vii. 9), which was to be aggregated to the "sealed" from all the tribes of Israel, to form what St Paul (Gal. vi. 16) calls "the Israel of God."

11. *Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together*] Here a remarkable addition is made to the prophetical picture: the two kingdoms into which all Israel had been split should now be reunited. This is also distinctly predicted elsewhere; as by Hosea's younger contemporary, Isaiah, the prophet of Judah (Isai. xi. 12, 13); and later by Ezekiel in his vision of Two Sticks

gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great *shall be* the day of Jezreel.

(Ezek. xxxvii. 15—28, where see note). See also Jer. iii. 18, l. 4, &c. Kimchi, cited by Wünsche, remarks: "And this will come to pass in the gathering together of the Captivity in the days of the Messiah; for unto the Second Temple there only went up Judah and Benjamin who were carried captive to Babylon, and the children of Judah and the children of Israel were not gathered together at that time." Besides, as Wünsche adds, the words *can* only be referred to a later period. The theocratic monarchy of David and Solomon was viewed as the type of that most perfect form of the theocracy, towards which the prophetic Spirit was continually directing the hopes of the pious; and this could not be realized till the disruption existing amongst the tribes had been healed.

appoint themselves one head] "Head," as in Num. xiv. 4 (A. V. "captain"); 1 S. xv. 17. If they are represented as "appointing to themselves one head," it must be understood with the limitation specified in Deut. xvii. 15, "Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose." "Dum credimus Evangelio, quasi voluntariis suffragiis Christum in regem eligimus" (Calvin). *Where* the Head of reunited Israel was to be sought, is indicated ch. iii. 5, "Seek the Lord their God and David their king." Comp. John x. 16, xi. 52.

come up out of the land] Or, **go up**, *i.e.* out of the land in which they shall be captives. We have the same phrase in Pharaoh's words, Exod. i. 10; and for the use of the verb "go up" comp. Exod. xii. 38; Num. xxxii. 11; and often. Israel and Judah conjoined together are to re-enact the history of the Exodus. True, we have not as yet had in Hosea any specific mention of Israel's going into captivity; but this has been implied in *vv.* 6 and 9, and is afterwards definitely expressed in ch. viii. 13, ix. 3. Hosea repeatedly speaks of Judah as sharing in Israel's punishment (ch. v. 10, 12, 14, vi. 4, 5, 11, x. 11, xii. 2); but the more complete disclosure of Judah's future does not fall within the scope of Hosea's prophesying. The subsequent unfolding of Divine revelation justifies the conclusion, that it is a spiritual exodus which God here promises His people, issuing in a journey to the heavenly Canaan (Hebr. iv. 3). But perhaps there is likewise contained in the words a promise to the natural Israel, of a restoration to their own land.

great shall be the day of Jezreel] Or, "the day of God-will-sow." "Jezreel" has by some been taken in this passage to mean a place, but in all other passages in which the expression "the day of so and so" occurs—and they are very numerous—the name added is never that of a place but always of a *person*, who on that "day" stands conspicuously forward for doing or suffering something especially remarkable. If a place or city appears in any case to be named, it is only by a personification. In illustration, see Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Obad. 12; Job xviii. 20; Isai. ii. 12, ix. 4; Phil. i. 6. The name "Jezreel" admits of a twofold interpretation; either "God will sow," *i.e.* scatter, or "God will sow," *i.e.* make to grow. The latter is the sense here; as also it was (no doubt) the sense in which it had been originally applied to the place so called, pointing to its remarkable fertility. Hosea's eldest son in the parable was so named with reference to the city of Jezreel and its abominations, with which Israel had become identified. But now it was the Lord's purpose to reverse the sentence which had been pronounced upon Israel. With this view, the names of the other two children "Not-my-people," and "Not-compassionated," are changed (ch. ii. 1) into "My-people" and "Compassionated." But the name of the eldest did not need to be changed, but only to be read in a better sense. And this is here done. Israel should still be "Jezreel;" but no longer as identified with the crimes of the royal capital, but as the people whom "God would sow;" for when He should bring them again out of the Egypt of their captivity, He would sow them unto Him in their own land, planting them therein permanently and making them to prosper. Cp. ch. ii. 23 and note. Thus Rosenmüller, Horsley, Hengstenberg, Dr Pusey and Wünsche. "Great," *i.e.* glorious, marked by astonishing operations of Divine power.

NOTES ON CHAP. I. 2, 6.

2. That we have, in these first three chapters, not a relation of actual occurrences, but rather a narrative of merely imaginary occurrences, is rendered in a high degree probable by the moral incongruity which would have been exhibited, if Hosea had married, and for years kept in his bosom, a woman of persistent and notorious unchastity. Such an example of tolerated and cherished immorality would, in its effect upon others, have far outweighed any denunciations of vice which the prophet might utter by word of mouth; and sanctioned, as it must have been, by Divine authority, would have served greatly to inflame the moral contamination of the time. If indeed Gomer's infidelities had been openly rebuked by signal judgments alighting upon her, her case might *then* have seemed one held

forth as a warning; but there is no punishment inflicted upon her, either in herself or in her children: only names are given to her children, indicative indeed of Divine displeasure, but of displeasure not against her, but only against the nation.

In corroboration of this view, of the relation being one of feigned events, we may point to the entire absence of any such incidental traits as would have been indicative of its being real history: in every particular, the relation seems exactly adjusted with reference to the prophetical lesson which is founded upon it: thus betokening the plastic hand of apologue, and not the subserviency to real facts proper to a historian.

We may further observe, that the supposition of Hosea's marriage being an example of acted prophecy (*sermo propheticus realis*), is clogged by the difficulty, that symbolical action, to be impressive, would require to be transacted in a brief space of time, so as to present a complete picture at one view, accompanied by its word of exposition. The designed effect would be lost in a transaction going on through a series of years and offering no entire scene to the spectator. Not till the whole facts were at the last gathered together with the exposition annexed (as in this prophesying), could the lesson taught by them have been apprehended. The *sermo realis* as observed during its action, would have been in itself ineffective: it was the entire narrative alone that could give the lesson. And as the narration would do this just as graphically and effectively if the story was an imaginary one, as if the events had been real, the supposition of their reality is as superfluous as it is embarrassing.

It is no valid objection, that the absence of any express intimation of the story being either visionary or fictitious necessitates a literal interpretation. The parables of our Lord are, in general, likewise in their relation unaccompanied by any express intimation of their fictitious character; as, *e.g.* those of the Good Samaritan, Dives and Lazarus, the Sower, the Husbandmen and the King's Son. Or, to take one instance from the prophets, in Isai. vi. there is no formal indication of the narrative being other than one of actual, outward, sensuous experiences (for of course the words "I saw" in *v.* 1 no more mark the occurrence as visionary than the words "I heard" in *v.* 8); and yet it is evidently a vision throughout. Comp. also Jer. xxv. 15—33. In fact, the minds of prophets were generally understood to be so familiar, when under the prophetic afflatus, with the visionary or the imaginary, that men would naturally take what fell from their lips bearing the character of narration, not as literal statements of real occurrences, but as being simply forms in which the prophetic spirit was for the occasion clothing its communications to make them more graphic and impressive. With respect to the general subject of such prophetical symbolism, consult Note on *v.* 24 at end of Ezek. iii.

The notion of the narrative being literal is favoured by some Jewish commentators, by Cyril and Theodoret, and (incidentally) several of the fathers, by Cornelius à Lapide, Grotius, Horsley, Hofmann, Dr Henderson and Dr Pusey. It is rejected by the Chaldee Paraphrast, Aben Ezra, Dav. Kimchi, Maimonides, and other Jewish critics; by Jerome; by Luther, Calvin, Pococke, Gill, Hengstenberg, and most recent commentators, including Keil and Wünsche.

6. The rendering, "I will no more have compassion that I should verily forgive them," is justified (1) in respect to the sense given to אשא להם by Gen. xviii. 24, 26; Num. xiv. 19; Ps. xcix. 8; Isai. ii. 9; (2) in respect to the use of כי by Gen. xl. 15, "I have done nothing that they should put (כי שמו) me into the dungeon;" Gen. xx. 9, 10; Job vi. 11, vii. 12, 17, x. 5, 6, xv. 14, xxi. 15; Isai. xxxvi. 5; Ps. viii. 4, xliv. 19 ("though" A. V.); 2 K. viii. 13, xviii. 35. In all these passages, cited by Gesenius in his 'Thesaurus' (in voc. כי B. 2 b), כי, though in effect it is *consecutivum*, as Gesenius describes it, yet in reality is always ὅτι, never ἵνα, and to explain its full force requires to have supplied before it some such words as, "to explain" (*or* "to warrant"), "the fact, hope," *or* "belief (that so and so has happened *or* shall happen)." As *e.g.* Ps. viii. 4, "what is man to warrant the belief that thou art mindful of him?" Job vi. 11, "What is my strength, to warrant the assertion that I am to hope?" In like manner here: "I will never again have compassion on them to warrant their presumptuous hope that I shall indeed forgive them." So it is taken here by Targum, Kimchi, Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, Simson, Mendelssohn, Keil and Wünsche. The rendering in the text of A. V., "but I will utterly take them away," (so Arab. ap. Merx[1], Luther, Stier, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and Dr Pusey), is resisted by the preposition in להם. If we take נשא in the sense of "take away," we must render thus, "for" (or "but"), "taking away I will take away unto them;" *i.e.* as Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and Dr Pusey give it, "whatever they have got." But even this would be saying too little, considering the future which actually awaited them. Ewald's rendering "how much less pardon them!" as a free translation gives the just interpretation of the words, which literally run thus; "that forgiving I should forgive them."

[1] This translation bears the name of Saadia; but Schroeter ap. Merx, 'Archiv,' p. 20, gives reasons for believing that it was not really written by Saadia. It will henceforward in these foot-notes be cited as "Saadia."

CHAPTER II.

1 *The idolatry of the people.* 6 *God's judgments against them.* 14 *His promises of reconciliation with them.*

‖ That is, *My people.* ‖ That is, *Having obtained mercy.*

SAY ye unto your brethren, ‖ Ammi; and to your sisters, ‖ Ruhamah.

2 Plead with your mother, plead: for [a] she *is* not my wife, neither *am* I her husband: let her therefore put away her [b] whoredoms out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts;

3 Lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was [c] born, and make her as a wilderness, and set her like a dry land, and slay her with thirst.

[a] Isai. 50. 1.

[b] Ezek. 16. 25.

[c] Ezek. 16. 4.

CHAP. II. 1. *Say*, &c.] "Say ye unto your brethren, **My-people**, and to your sisters, **Compassionated**." The prophet, taking leave of the imagery of the parable, here resolves it into the things signified. He prophetically invites all Israelites to entertain and express the delightful consciousness, that all around, themselves therefore as well, are the objects of God's love. "My-people," a masculine noun, and "Compassionated," a feminine, are here treated as representing severally the collective body of male and of female Israelites. The two severally, and here in combination, express the state of grace to which the whole people of Israel shall be restored. "Jezreel" having been dealt with in the preceding verse, the three phases into which Israel had been resolved, and which were presented by the three children, "Jezreel," "Uncompassionated," and "Not-my-people," now appear run up together into one, presenting a one, integrated, and restored people of God.

2—23. This forms a connected passage, repeating in a clearer form the import of the mysterious signs given ch. i. 2—ii. 1. We have to notice a change in the manner in which the figure of a marriage is treated. It is here no longer "Hosea" and "Gomer:" Jehovah comes forth into view as Himself the husband arraigning Israel as His faithless wife. In *vv.* 2—5 we hear the loud outcry of the justly exasperated husband, utterly renouncing the adulterous wife with her children. In *vv.* 6—13 is set forth the misery with which she shall be chastised, and by which she shall be brought, like the prodigal son (Luke xv. 17), to know her sin. In *vv.* 14, 15, we have her return from Egypt to Canaan, and in *vv.* 16—23 her happiness in her own land.

2. *Plead with your mother, plead*] *I.e.* chide and expostulate, as Gen. xxxi. 36. The prophet urgently calls upon all who in the Northern kingdom still remained firm in their allegiance to Jehovah (comp. 1 K. xix. 18) to come promptly forward, and make an earnest and public protest against the idolatry and wickedness which so widely prevailed. "Mother," comp. Isai. l. 1.

she is not my wife, neither am I her husband] The obligation of the marriage-tie which binds Me to her is already dissolved: unless she repents, there is nothing to hinder her being driven utterly away.

her whoredoms out of her sight] Or, rather, **her shameless harlotries from her face**, *i.e.* the leering and effrontery of her looks. Cp. Jer. iii. 3. The specification immediately after of "her breasts" shews that "her face" is likewise to be taken literally, and not as in A.V. The phrase possibly refers also to the meretricious use of nose-rings (cp. *v.* 13), eye-paints, and the like. The Hebrew nouns for "harlotries" and "adulteries" are not those commonly employed, but unusual intensitives.

her adulteries from between her breasts] The comparison of Song of Sol. i. 13 suggests the true interpretation: adultery is lodged between her breasts, because the adulterer lies there. In illustration of the general image of the verse, comp. Jer. iii. 1—11.

3. *strip her naked*] Bereave her of all; wealth, population, her land; putting her as a nation to shame.

set her as in the day that she was born] The language is probably nothing more than a description of utter destitution. Cp. Job i. 21. If it contains a reference to the infancy of the Israelitish nation in particular, we must understand it of her misery when under bondage in Egypt and of her homeless and destitute condition immediately after she had been led out of Egypt into the wilderness. Cp. ch. xii. 9, and note. Ezekiel (ch. xvi. 4—6) more fully developes this image of Hosea.

as a wilderness...like a dry land] Compare the opposite images Isai. lviii. 11; Jer. xxxi. 12.

slay her with thirst] As a wanderer in the parched desert. The association of ideas in this verse is worthy of notice. Israel is to be stripped naked as when she was born: this brings to recollection her early history in the wilderness (Jer. ii. 6), and leads to the second image of her being made like a dry land; this in turn suggests the miserable condition of a traveller in the hot desert, and introduces the third image, "I will kill her with thirst." Commentators have confused the passage by referring it either to the famine at the siege of Samaria, or to a plague of dearth.

4 And I will not have mercy upon her children; for they *be* the children of whoredoms.

5 For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give *me* my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my †drink.

† Heb. *drinks.*

6 ¶ Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and †make a wall, that she shall not find her paths.

† Heb. *wall a wall.*

7 And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek them, but shall not find *them:* then shall she say, I will go and return to my first

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4. Though in form of construction the verse is independent, yet in sense it carries on the sentence depending upon the "lest" of *v.* 3.

her children...children of whoredoms] These are not to be identified with Gomer's three children, who, as has been seen, represented simply phases of the whole nation. They are rather individual Israelites, who were almost universally idolatrous. In their individual capacity they were become objects of Divine displeasure, "children," or "sons of whoredoms," *i.e.* devoted to idols, and therefore disowned by God as His children. It is probable that the Jews whom we read of in John viii. 41 alluded to this very verse.

5. *she that conceived them*] Or, **she that carried them in her womb.** The redoubled assertion adds emphasis: "they are in very deed and truth a *harlot's* children." By "their mother" must be understood the commonwealth acting in her authorized leaders, such as magistrates, priests, prophets.

for she said] Without disguise; in answer to remonstrances; as Jer. ii. 25, xxii. 21.

I will go] Or, **Go I will**, or "Let me go." The form of the Hebrew verb expresses intense wilfulness.

after my lovers] *i.e.* "the lovers that I fancy." By "lovers" are meant paramours, as Jer. xxii. 20, 22; Ezek. xvi. 33, 36, 37, xxiii. 5, 9. The word in the Hebrew is the participle of a conjugation, which is either causative (which would give us the sense of "wooer") or intensitive. Though Ezekiel applies this figure to the Assyrians whom Israel would fain make her allies (ch. xxiii. 5, 9), yet the comparison of *vv.* 12, 13 of this chapter leads us to identify the "lovers" here spoken of with the "Baals" and other idols to whom these infatuated devotees ascribed the worldly gifts which they enjoyed. See Jer. xliv. 17—19.

water] A blessing more precariously enjoyed in those countries than among ourselves, and prized in proportion. Comp. Isai. xxxiii. 16.

mine oil and my drink] Rather, **drinks**, as in the margin of A.V. "Oil" was valued both for anointing and for food (1 K. xvii. 12; Ezek. xvi. 13). The "drinks" comprised wine, beer, fermented liquors made from dates, mulberries, and dried raisins. See Tristram 'Nat. Hist. of B.' p. 412. The triple enumeration denotes food, clothing and luxuries.

6. *Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns*] With a sudden flash of indignant pathos, the adulteress is in this clause herself directly addressed; before and after, she is spoken of in the third person. "I am putting a thorn-fence across thy path, so as to prevent thy going that way any more." Compare Prov. xv. 19; Job iii. 23. The tangled growth of the particular species of thorn here mentioned, in Hebrew *sîr* (one of eighteen different species of thorns or prickly growths mentioned in the Hebrew Bible: see Tristram, 'N. Hist. of B.' pp. 423, &c.), is illustrated by Nahum i. 10, "folden together as thorns." The notion of "hedging" is used Job i. 10; Isai. v. 5, in a different sense, to express protection.

a wall] Or, rather, perhaps, "her wall," that is, the wall that shall hem her in (Lam. iii. 7, 9). The meaning of the *v.* is, I will place her in such circumstances that it shall be impossible for her to go on making offerings to her idols; she shall have no means for doing it: and she shall be forced also to see the futility of such worship.

7. *follow...seek*] The verbs are in the intensitive conjugation; "follow eagerly;" "seek diligently." In her distress, idolatrous Israel shall try every means which her superstition suggests as proper for propitiating her idols. If these devotions could be followed by the renewal of her prosperity, she would deem that her gods had restored to her their favour, that she had "found them." But no such result shall ensue: there shall be nothing to beguile her into the belief that her idolatries have brought her any good.

I will go and return] Or, **Let me go now and return.** The sense of misery and helplessness shall be so complete as to force her to reflect how differently it is with her now from what it once was; and these reflections shall by-and-bye bring her to more genuine repentance. Her language at present is hardly that of penitence, such as we have in Jer. iii. 20—25: she is only as yet casting about to be rid

husband; for then *was it* better with me than now.

8 For she did not know that I gave her corn, and † wine, and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold, ‖ *which* they prepared for Baal.

9 Therefore will I return, and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof, and will ‖ recover my wool and my flax *given* to cover her nakedness.

10 And now will I discover her † lewdness in the sight of her lovers,

† Heb. *new wine.*
‖ Or, wherewith *they made Baal.*
‖ Or, *take away.*
† Heb. *folly*, or, *villany.*

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of her misery. The stage of feeling is precisely that indicated in Luke xv. 17. The prophet's delineation stops short at this stage for the present, because he has not yet done with the description of Israel's punishment.

8. *For she did not know*] Rather, **And she,—she doth not know.** In the Hebrew, the pronoun added to the verb marks more emphatically her personality. "She, thoughtless, thankless one." The knowledge spoken of is the grateful acknowledgment of the heart, and not a mere intellectual perception; though indeed this last had also got to be wilfully obscured. The tense of the verb is the same as in Isai. i. 3, "Israel doth not know."

that I gave her corn, &c.] Or, **that it was I that gave unto her corn, and new wine, and fresh oil.** The same enumeration of the blessings of Israel's land is found in Deut. vii. 13, xi. 14, xii. 17, xiv. 23, xxviii. 51; Joel ii. 19. In all these passages, as here, the wine in the Hebrew is "new wine," and the oil "fresh (transparent) oil;" both of them as they come fresh from the natural growth.

and multiplied her silver, &c.] Rather, **and that multiplied silver and gold unto her, which they made into Baal.** Comp. Ezek. xvi. 17. The expression "made into Baal" is similar to that in Isai. xliv. 17. "The residue thereof he maketh a god," literally, "into a god." The scorn conspicuous in the phrase as employed by Isaiah may perhaps be detected also in Hosea. Baal being the favourite idol of those who forsook or corrupted the worship of Jehovah, small gold or silver images of Baal, or images of Baal overlaid with gold or silver plates, would be common, not only in places set apart to his worship, but even in private houses. Cp. ch. viii. 4. The worship of Baal was deeply rooted both among the former inhabitants of Canaan and among neighbouring nations, and was from early times perpetually infecting the Israelites. Cf. Judg. ii. 11, 13, iii. 7, viii. 33, x. 6; 1 S. vii. 4, xii. 10. The recognition of it by the state, which was introduced by Ahab, was for a while discontinued upon Jehu's accession; but the practice of it, ever rife among the people, seems to have soon again received the public sanction. The rendering "which they made into Baal" is sanctioned in the main by the margin of A.V., Targum, Vulgate, Aben Ezra, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, and Dr Pusey. The rendering in the text of A. V. is favoured by the LXX., Rashi, Luther, Horsley, Gill, Hengstenberg, Mendelssohn, Keil, and Wünsche. According to this, the prophet refers either to the preparation of images to Baal's honour, or to the use of gold and silver trinkets in his worship (comp. *v.* 13). A third view, that of Jerome, "which they offered unto Baal," is the least probable. A similar ambiguity attaches to a similar Hebrew phrase rendered in 2 Chro. xxiv. 7 "bestow upon Baalim."

9. *return*] The Hebrew verb so rendered sometimes expresses that one is proceeding to act in an opposite manner to that in which he has been acting before; as, *e.g.* in Jer. xii. 15; 2 K. xxiv. 1.

my corn...my wine...my wool...my flax] These things were Jehovah's own, to give or withdraw at His pleasure. A rebuke at once of their proud security and of their idolatrous delusions.

in the time...in the season thereof] Baulking, so to speak, the agriculturist of the fruits of his year's toil, when now on the point of grasping them. "The season," lit. "appointed time," as in 1 S. xiii. 11; 2 S. xxiv. 15. Though Jehovah had appointed a time for actually bestowing the produce, as at harvest, He would even then disappoint their hopes: whether it was to be by hostile invasions, or by blight in the growths, is not indicated.

recover] Margin, "or, *take away*," as the verb is rendered in Gen. xxxi. 9, 16; Ps. cxix. 43. As it ordinarily means "deliver," "recover" seems here the more exact rendering: what was Jehovah's own was in hands not entitled to hold it.

given to cover her nakedness] So Exod. xxviii. 42; Ezek. xvi. 8. Given by her Lord in tender consideration for her necessities.

10. The threatening which in *v.* 9 and again in *v.* 11 is literal, here passes into the parabolical. Whether personal exposure was the punishment of an adulteress, as some have supposed, or not, at any rate it is repeatedly denounced against states represented collectively as unchaste women; as Jer. xiii. 22, 26; Nahum iii. 5; though sometimes (without any reference to previous unchasteness) it seems simply to express degradation, as Isai. iii. 17, xlvii. 2, 3. The Hebrew word for "lewdness," found only here, means properly,

and none shall deliver her out of mine hand.

11 I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts.

† Heb. *make desolate.*

12 And I will † destroy her vines and her fig trees, whereof she hath said, These *are* my rewards that my lovers have given me: and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them.

13 And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith the LORD.

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as in the margin of our English Bible, "folly" or "villany," *i.e.* vileness; it appears to be put for "nakedness," with an implied reference to the loathsome self-dishonour to which Israel had abandoned herself.

in the sight of her lovers] Her idols shall, as it were, be reduced to look on, unable to help their guilty paramour in her distress. Jehovah would put disgrace alike upon her and upon them.

11. *I will also cause*, &c.] **And I will still all her mirth; her feast-day, her new moon, and her*sabbath, and every festival of hers.** At the rending away of the Ten Tribes, it seems to have been Jeroboam's intention that the Mosaic institute should be still observed, so far as was compatible with the independence of his kingdom. The Northern kingdom therefore no doubt continued, with whatever admixture of heretical or of idolatrous usages, still to keep the festivals of the Law. Merry-makings, which in those ages were among all nations connected with religion, would still keep their hold on the popular mind, whatever changes might take place in the religion associated with them. The "new moons" (see Num. xxviii. 11—15) and "sabbaths," here specified as observed by Israel in Hosea's time, are incidentally shewn in the history to have been kept up in the time of Elisha; 2 K. iv. 23, where see note. The "feast-days" were probably the three great celebrations (*chaggim*), viz. those of the Passover, of Ingathering, and of Tabernacles.

12. *And I will destroy her vines and her fig trees*] Or, rather, **And I will lay waste her vine and her fig tree.** "Lay waste," or, "make desolate;" bereave of all vigour and beauty, as by drought. Each Israelite's worldly happiness was expressed under the image of his enjoying his own vine and his own fig-tree; 1 K. iv. 25; Isai. xxxvi. 16; Micah iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10. The prophet attributes to Israel collectively that which properly belonged to each individual Israelite, as he has done in *v.* 9, "wool and flax given to cover her nakedness;" and in *v.* 13; compare also Joel i. 7.

my rewards] The Hebrew noun, found only here, is closely allied with that rendered "the hire" or "reward" of a prostitute in ch. ix. 1; Deut. xxiii. 18; Isai. xxiii. 17; Ezek. xvi. 34, 41; Micah i. 7.

forest] Unhedged, untended.

beasts] **wild beasts.** Cp. Ps. lxxx. 12, 13; Isai. v. 5, 6, vii. 23. The denunciation points to the literal devastation of the homes of the Israelites. Cp. Micah iii. 12.

13. *the days of Baalim*] *i.e.* **the days of the Baals**; days kept in honour of Baal, when, as is added, Israel put on her festal attire. "Baals" in the plural denotes Baal as worshipped under different characters, as "Baal-Berith," "Baal-Peor," "Baal-Zebub," and the like; as Zeus or Venus anciently in heathen countries, or the holy Virgin Mary in Roman Catholic lands, appears under different characters as worshipped in different places. Some critics think that "Baals" mean "the images of Baal;" the two meanings probably blended in one; the image of Baal in any particular place being the Baal of that place.

wherein she burned incense to them] Or, rather, **to whom she burned incense.** The Hebrew verb rendered "burn incense" includes, with the offering of incense properly so called, the burning also of sacrifices upon the altar, the offering going up in the *nidor* which exhaled from the burnt flesh or fat. Thus it is used in Lev. i. 9, 17, iii. 11, 16, &c., where it is rendered "burn." The words "sweet savour unto the Lord," which are sometimes added, indicate the connecting link of thought. Cp. Ps. lxvi. 15, "incense of rams."

her earrings] Rather, **her nose-ring.** The *nezem* means either "earring" or "nose-ring." As it is here in the singular, "nose-ring" seems the preferable rendering. See note on Gen. xxiv. 47.

her jewels] Or, **her necklace.** The *cheljah* only occurs here; but it is probably identical with the *chäli* of Prov. xxv. 12 (where likewise it is connected with the *nezem*) and of Song of Sol. vii. 1. The personal ornamentation here spoken of is not the mere finery of a holiday: it is the adulteress's self-decoration to attract lovers; *i.e.* it is designed to propitiate Baal. This is shewn by what follows.

and forgat me] **and me she forgat.** The addition of the phrase "saith the Lord,"

14 ¶ Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak [1] comfortably unto her.

15 And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope: and she shall sing there, as in the days

[1] Or, *friendly.* [†] Heb. *to her heart.*

of rare occurrence in Hosea, imparts especial gravity and solemnity to the accusation: emphasizing in particular the preceding "me," which itself is emphasized in the Hebrew by its position. "Me," her wedded Husband and Lord!

14. *Therefore*] This conjunction is repeatedly used to introduce a sudden transition from threatening to promise; Isai. x. 24, xxx. 18; Jer. xvi. 14, xxx. 16; Ezek. xxxix. 25. It is equivalent to "This being so," pointing back to the existence of circumstances which furnish an occasion and even a call for an especial interposition.

I will allure her] **I, even I will allure her.** The pronoun in the Hebrew is emphatic; as if it were, "I myself will come forward and take her case in hand." The verb rendered "allure," means "cajole," "wheedle," "overpersuade," "deceive." See Exod. xxii. 16; Judg. xiv. 15; 2 S. iii. 25; 1 K. xxii. 20; Prov. xvi. 29; Jer. xx. 10: in all which passages, as here, the clause which follows expresses the result compassed by such persuasion. As used here, the verb strikingly illustrates the difficulty which the Almighty has in persuading the guilty conscience to believe in His love.

comfortably] **comfortingly**, lit. "to," or rather "upon her heart," as Gen. xxxiv. 3, l. 21; Isai. xl. 2; and especially Judg. xix. 3. The Hebrew phrase indicates the consoling words as dropping upon the heart as soothing balm or refreshing dew.

To understand the prophet's meaning, we must bear in mind that he is referring to the ancient experiences of Israel: for that this is the case is clear from the references to "the valley of Achor," and to Israel's "coming out of Egypt," in the next verse. As "Egypt" mystically represents a state of captivity in general (see note on chap. i. 11), so also is it here implicitly pointed to as typical of that state of affliction with which Jehovah was preparing to punish Israel (*vv.* 6—13), and which did in actual fact comprise captivity in a foreign land, though this last is not here definitely mentioned. Again, Israel, when she was brought out of Egypt, was, before she was put in possession of Canaan, first conducted into the wilderness, and there brought into covenant with Jehovah, or "espoused" to Him (chap. ix. 10; Jer. xxxi. 2); and therefore we find Ezekiel (Ezek. xx. 33—38) making mystical mention of "the wilderness" to represent the process, by which in those future times to which he refers reconciliation was to be effected between the Lord and his banished people. Compare also Hos. xii. 9, "I will make thee dwell in tabernacles" (where see note). And although the passage cited in Ezekiel is more severe in its tone than the one before us, yet in general import it seems identical with it. For Hosea's meaning is this: When Jehovah shall judge that Israel has suffered enough (Isai. xl. 2, "received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins"), He will then by displays of His mercy and by promises of pardon lead her forth out of her bondage of sin and conscious guilt into a state of genuine repentance, thus "bringing her to Himself" (Exod. xix. 4), renewing His covenant with her (Exod. xx. and xxiv.; compare Jer. xxxi. 31—34), and espousing her to Him as His wife afresh. The "comforting speech" referred to is such as we read in chap. xiv. 4—7.

15. *give her her vineyards*] "Restore to her the vineyards of which I had deprived her." Cp. *v.* 12.

from thence] From the wilderness. After she has been truly humbled in repentance, she shall be led out of the wilderness back into her own land; for in no other way can she be restored.

the valley of Achor for a door of hope] The valley of Achor, near Jericho (Josh. vii. 2, 24), and part of the northern border of Judah (Josh. xv. 7), is specified in Isaiah (lxv. 10) as a pre-eminently rich pasture-ground; parallel in this respect with Sharon. It was memorable also as being the scene of Achan's sin and punishment, whose "troubling" of Israel gave to the place its name, which means "troubling" (Josh. vii. 25, 26). It was the place of Israel's first encampment after they had crossed the Jordan, where Joshua received encouragement to prosecute the conquest of the land, of which, in the capture of Jericho, he had only made a beginning (Josh. viii. 1). As the whole context shews that the prophet is thinking of the early history of Israel as furnishing imagery for the mystical description of her future restoration, his meaning here is probably this: Israel coming out of "the wilderness" shall take possession of the fertile pasturages of Achor as a prelude of her complete realization of Jehovah's promise to give her the whole land; in other words, shall receive tokens of her Lord's lovingkindness which will embolden her hope of attaining all that He had promised. Viewing the words thus, the order of specification ("her vineyards" first, and "the valley of Achor" after), leads us to identify these "vineyards" of Israel with those found east of Jordan; as,

of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.

16 And it shall be at that day, saith the LORD, *that* thou shalt call me [1] Ishi; and shalt call me no more [2] Baali.

17 For I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name.

18 And in that day will I make a [d] covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and *with* the creeping things of the ground: and I will break the

[d] Job 5. 23.

[1] That is, *My husband.*
[2] That is, *My lord.*

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for example, those of Sibmah, Heshbon, and Elealeh (Isai. xvi. 8, 9, 10); for these had been occupied by the Reubenites previously, under the conduct of Moses (Josh. xiii. 17, 19; Num. xxxii. 3), while they would also, perhaps, more readily occur to the mind of a prophet of the Northern kingdom than those of Eshcol and others which were on the slopes of Judah. It has, however, been supposed by many, including Keil and Dr Pusey, that he refers to the "trouble" which Israel experienced there; as if he meant: "Any valley of Achor in which Israel shall become an object of chastisement, will, however, through her perfected repentance, only prove a fresh door of hope, opening out into new successes and gifts of mercy." And in a writer so condensed and allusive as Hosea, such a reference may be very well supposed to form a part of his meaning. See Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Rashi, and Saadia Gaon cited by Wünsche.

she shall sing there] The joyous thankfulness shall then be renewed, which Israel felt in those early days of her history, when she first became a nation (cp. ch. xi. 1, "when Israel was a child;" Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 3), and which in those days was more than once expressed in song; see Exod. xv. 21 (cp. Rev. xv. 3); Num. xxi. 17. The verb rendered "sing" appears to have this sense also in Num. xxi. 17; 1 S. xxi. 11, xxix. 5; Ezra iii. 11; Ps. cxlvii. 7 (Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 1047). So Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Vulgate, Pococke, Dr Pusey, Wünsche, and others. "There," amid those scenes of delivering mercy.

16. *thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali*] Rather, **thou shalt cry unto me** (or, **call me**) **My husband, and shalt no more cry unto me** (or, **call me**) **My Baal.** For the verb "cry" or "call" cp. Jer. iii. 4. *Ish*, ἀνήρ, is one common word for "husband," as also *isshah*, γυνή, stands for "wife." *Baal*, properly "owner," "master," is often also used for "husband," as, *e.g.* in Exod. xxi. 22; Prov. xii. 4; xxxi. 11, 23, 28; Joel i. 8. In 2 S. xi. 26 the two terms are used convertibly: "when she heard that Uriah her (*ish*) husband was dead, she mourned for her (*baal*) husband." The meaning then is this: In those days Israel, owned by Jehovah as His mystical wife (Isai. liv. 5; Jer. xxxi. 32), being now at length wholly devoted to His love, shall so utterly loathe the thought of her former infidelity, that when as a wife she shall have occasion to speak of or to her husband, she shall no longer, as wives are wont to do, at one time say "my *ish*" and at another "my *baal*" indifferently, but always only "my *ish*." The most prominent thought is, not that of Israel's loyalty to her Lord, nor that of her consciousness of His conjugal love to her—though both of these lie under—but that of her consequent loathing of Baal. For the *form* in which the sentiment is clothed cp. Jer. xvi. 14, 15.

17. *Baalim ... remembered*] Rather, **the Baals...mentioned.** That is, I will make the very word *baal* a loathing to them, because they will remember that it was once used as the proper name of the different Baals respectively, which were worshipped in the land. See note on *the Baals* at *v.* 13. There is possibly a reference to Exod. xxiii. 13. See Josh. xxiii. 7; Ps. xvi. 4; Zech. xiii. 2, which last passage is perhaps a reminiscence of the one before us.

This verse, in which Israel is spoken of in the third person, following as it does the affectionate warning given to her in the preceding verse in which she is addressed in the second person, has the air of being as it were an explanatory comment addressed to a bystander.

18. *a covenant*] The parties between whom this treaty is to be struck are, on the one side, Israel, and on the other, wild beasts (lions, wolves, &c.), winged fowl (birds plundering corn; perhaps also locusts, caterpillars, &c.), and reptiles (serpents, scorpions, &c.): these are to be bound, as in the primeval paradise, to do no hurt to the people of Israel. Compare Lev. xxvi. 6. In Gen. ix. 2 we have a like exhaustive enumeration, with the addition of "the fish of the sea," which here would be out of place. For the notion of a "treaty," as thus applied, compare Job v. 23; Ezek. xxxiv. 25. The result is yet more fully and picturesquely described in Isai. xi. 6—9.

I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the earth] Or rather, **out of the land**, *i.e.* "the bow and sword of Israel's enemies I will break, and all war against her I will frustrate; and they shall no more be seen in her land." The passage is illustrated by the remarkably expressive note

bow and the sword and the battle out of the earth, and will make them to lie down safely.

19 And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in lovingkindness, and in mercies.

20 I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness: and thou shalt know the LORD.

21 And it shall come to pass in that day, I will hear, saith the LORD, I will hear the heavens, and they shall hear the earth;

22 And the earth shall hear the

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of triumph in Ps. lxxvi. (*v.* 3), written in Judah most probably, not many years later. See note on ch. i. 7. In neither passage does "battle" or "war" mean "weapons of war," but rather "the entire military equipment of invading armies." The verb "break" is applied to the three objects with a somewhat different modification of sense. The language in Ps. xlvi. 9 is more accurate. The A. V. gives "out of the earth," probably understanding the passage of the general prevalence of peace, as Isai. ii. 4. But as the context throughout directs our attention to Israel's happiness, and as the next clause describes in particular Israel's security, the ambiguous term *haaretz* is best understood of "the land of Israel."

lie down safely] Cp. Ezek. xxxiv. 25.

19. *I will betroth thee unto me*] The threefold repetition of these words, in this and the following verse, betokens the solemn joy, with which the Divine Bridegroom rests upon the thought of that future marriage. Though betrothal was the preliminary formality, and one which took place some time before the actual wedding, it yet was regarded as tantamount to marriage (Deut. xxii. 23, 24), and could only be nullified by the like process of divorce (Matt. i. 19; Deut. xxiv. 1). As a betrothal or a marriage was, of course, "for ever," the emphatic declaration before us implies, that the relation into which Jehovah would now enter with Israel should never again be broken up as it had been before, *i.e.* that her fidelity should be secured. This is explained by Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

in righteousness, &c.] All these characteristics, as well as that of "faithfulness" in the next verse, attach to Jehovah's own part in this transaction, and not to Israel's. The first pair, "righteousness and judgment," conjoined also in Ps. lxxxix. 14 (Hebr.), where likewise they are followed by "mercy and truth," and in Ps. xcvii. 2, point to the hatred of sin and the redeeming and purifying energy with which the Lord will effect the union (compare Isai. i. 27); as on the other hand the next pair, "lovingkindness and mercies," point to the tender and sympathizing love with which He will deal with a creature so greatly requiring forbearance. The New Testament revelation throws a clear and intense light upon the import of all this.

20. *faithfulness*] This marks not so much the sincerity with which the betrothal shall be plighted, as the fidelity with which the relation shall be maintained. Jehovah's unchangeableness guarantees the perpetuity of His bride's felicity.

thou shalt know the LORD] "The consciousness of what the Lord is,—how loving, holy, and almighty to bless,—shall be brought home to thee, and shall abide with thee;"—a consciousness produced by the Spirit of God (Jer. xxxi. 34), and fed by the actual experience of His love (ch. xiv. 3). Compare John xvi. 15.—There is another reading of the Hebrew text, not however so probable, viz. "And thou shalt know that I am Jehovah." The sense would in the main be the same.

21, 22. *hear*] *i.e.* **answer**, which is the proper sense of the Hebrew verb.

I will hear, saith the LORD, *I will hear*] The second "I will answer" is a resumption of the first, repeated on account of the short parenthesis. The first "I will answer" is not, as some suppose, a complete sentence, as in Isai. lviii. 9 "thou shall call, and the Lord shall answer," where "answer" is the same verb in the Hebrew: for there is nothing preceding it here to shew what is to be heard or answered.

In *vv.* 21, 22, there is plainly a contrast intended to *vv.* 9, 12. The prophet means, that not merely shall there be a covenant between Israel and the beasts of the field binding the latter not to hurt the former: all Nature shall be so at one with Israel, that she will make it her own importunate prayer to her God to enable her to meet Israel's desires. A complete chain of sympathetic intercourse is exhibited. Israel craves corn, wine, and oil; and asks their personifications to bestow upon her their gifts. Corn, Wine, and Oil, present in some degree already in the wheat, the vine, and the olive-tree, need the genial juices of the earth, for which accordingly they petition the ground. The Ground can do nothing without the fertilizing influences of the sky—rain, dews, sunshine, &c.—and addresses her prayer to the heavens. The Heavens again wait for the word of God (cp. Isai. lv. 10) commanding their agency, and solicit His interposition: and God hears their prayer. See the opposite imagery in Deut. xxviii. 23 ("iron" and

corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Jezreel.

23 And I will sow her unto me in the earth; and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy; and I [r] will say to *them which were* not my people, Thou *art* my people; and they shall say, *Thou art* my God.

[r] Rom. 9. 26. 1 Pet. 2. 10.

CHAPTER III.

1 *By the expiation of an adulteress, 4 is shewed the desolation of Israel before their restoration.*

THEN said the LORD unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved

"brass"—uncompliant to thy desires). Compare Ezek. xxxiv. 25—31. Tibullus's words to the Nile, "Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, Arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Jovi" (lib. I. vii. 25), give a small piece of Hosea's image.

Jezreel] The name returns to the favourable sense in which probably it was originally used. See note on ch. i. 11. As it originally pointed to the blessing resting on the *land* which "God-will-sow," so here, as in ch. i. 11, it describes the blessing resting on the *people* which "God-will-sow." The former unsavouriness of Israel, by which she had merited the name of "Jezreel" (i. 4) viewed as a charnel-house of guilt and blood, has passed away. Comp. the next verse.

23. *And I will sow her unto me in the earth*] Rather, **land**. The prophecy of this chapter (*vv.* 2—23) closes, in the same way as the prophecy chap. i. 2—ii. 1 does, with the reversal of the prophetic import of the names of the three typical children. First there is "Jezreel," which, in the former prophecy, chap. i. 11, is dealt with only by implication. The name, *God-will-sow*, needs not to be changed but only applied differently, and this here is explicitly done. "Israel is *God-will-sow;* for I will sow her unto me, *i.e.*, to be my very own, in the land of Israel." In Jer. xxxi., in which in verses 31—34 we have found the parallel to verses 19, 20 of this chapter, we have again in verses 27, 28 a prediction in which we seem compelled to recognize a distinct reference to, and enlargement of, this clause; for "unto me" is explained by Jeremiah's "I will watch over them, to build, and to plant." Commentators are divided in rendering the ambiguous Hebrew word *haaretz*, which may mean indifferently either "in the land" or "in the earth." That it may mean the former is plain from Gen. xiii. 7; Lev. xxvi. 6; Deut. iv. 25; Judg. xviii. 7; Ezek. vii. 7, and elsewhere; and that this is intended appears from *vv.* 21, 22, which evidently describe Israel as in Canaan. So Chaldee Paraphrast, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Keil and Wünsche.

and I will have mercy, &c.] Rather, **and I will compassionate Uncompassionated, and to Not-my-people I will say, My-people art thou; and he**, *i.e.* Not-my-people, **shall say, My God!** Thus we are brought back to the like reversal of the two younger children's names, Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi, that we had in the first verse of the chapter. But the prophet cannot rest there. Although he has already (*vv.* 16, 17) stated that Israel shall come to feel as she ought towards her God, yet he cannot refrain from making the statement again: with such complacency does he, or rather the Spirit which moved the prophet, rest upon the thought of the happy state of feeling to which Israel shall at last be brought.—On the use made of this passage in Rom. ix. 25, and 1 Pet. ii. 10, see note on ch. i. 10.

CHAP. III. 1. *Then said the LORD unto me*] The prophet resumes the parabolic narrative which he dropped at ch. i. 9.

Go yet] *i.e.* **again**, as in Zech. xi. 15.

love a woman] *i.e.* "give thyself to the love of a woman," as "love" is used in Judg. xvi. 4; 1 K. xi. 1. The antitype which the symbol is designed to shadow forth shews this woman to be Gomer; for if Hosea were now commanded to seek another than Gomer, it would suggest the thought that Jehovah was about to take another wife instead of Israel. "Again" also points back to the foregoing story; and since that story presents a licentious woman as Hosea's wife, we have already the very character which is here described. That a previously named woman is meant seems also indicated by the "her" in *v.* 2. A marriage with another would have been prescribed by a different form of expression, such as, "Go, take unto thee a wife;" comp. i. 2. The general term "woman" is selected, for the purpose of appending a description of her doings, and thus making the reference to Israel the more pointed.

beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress] The word rendered "friend" does not mean "paramour," as in Jer. iii. 1 where it is rendered "lovers," as if referring to some idol that Israel worshipped; but rather designates the husband, though not an exactly equivalent term to "husband," as in Jer. iii. 20 ("husband" A. V.). For (1) the whoredom of Israel is always ascribed to her own waywardness and never to the decoyments of false gods; (2) the clause followed, as it is, by "and an adulteress," would be without point, unless it describes the husband's love which she had broken away from. The word "friend" does not merely point to the love which her hus-

of *her* friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the LORD toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods, and love flagons † of wine.

† Heb. *of grapes.*

2 So I bought her to me for fifteen *pieces* of silver, and *for* an homer of barley, and an † half homer of barley:

† Heb. *lethech.*

3 And I said unto her, Thou shall [a] abide for me many days; thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for *another* man: so *will* I also *be* for thee.

[a] Deut. 21. 13.

4 For the children of Israel shall

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band once bore to her, but to the love which he has for her still. Even though Israel is, in one sense, "Uncompassionated," yet in another she is still regarded by her Husband with a yearning affection, a love which will not rest till she has been restored to her proper place as His wife.

who look to other gods] *i.e.*, while yet they are looking. Perhaps a reminiscence of Deut. xxxi. 18, "in that they are turned to other gods," in Hebrew the very same expression as here. The "who" of A. V. is adversative, as in Gen. xviii. 13, 27.

flagons of wine] Rather, **cakes of grapes**, *i.e.* "raisin-cakes." The Hebrew word *ăshishah*, rendered in A. V. here and elsewhere (2 S. vi. 19 *note*; 1 Chro. xvi. 3; Song of Sol. ii. 5 *note*) "flagons," is now generally believed to mean "cakes." See Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' Art. *Flagons*. We know that cakes of some kinds were used in idolatrous feasts. Comp. Jer. vii. 18, xliv. 19. These "raisin-cakes" may have been either cakes of compressed raisins, or cakes in the composition of which raisins or currants were used. Luscious sweetmeats used in idolatrous celebrations are here evidently referred to, in implied contrast to the severer meat-offerings of the Law, and as inducing the Israelites to prefer the worship of idols. They seem to symbolize the voluptuous and self-indulgent character of idolatrous rites in general. Gomer was the daughter of "Diblaim," "Fig-cakes."

2. *I bought her to me*] The peculiar Hebrew expression seems to mean "I arranged to maintain her for myself." See Note below. As Pococke and Dr Pusey understand it, Hosea, probably finding Gomer in destitution, undertook to give her an allowance sufficient to maintain her in decency, till she should be reinstated in the full position of a wife. This interpretation, and no other, accounts for both money and grain being given; the corn was for her main supply of food, and the money for other necessaries.

for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley] As in margin, **and for a lethech of barley.** The homer (equivalent to ten ephahs or a hundred omers) contained, according to one estimate, 86 gallons ('Dictionary of the Bible,' Vol. III. p. 1742), or 688 pints; and if the *lethech* was, as the Rabbins tell us, half a homer, we should have altogether above a thousand pints of barley, which would furnish bread enough for two or three years. This would quite meet the "many days" which were to be provided for.

This treatment of Gomer imaged forth the care which Jehovah would take of His people, even at the time when they should seem to be no longer the objects of His love. He would keep them in being, and provide for their necessary maintenance, though not in the honour or luxury of a nation enjoying His full favour; and this with a view to their being ultimately restored to the complete possession of their covenanted blessings.

3. *Thou shalt abide for me*] Lit. **shalt sit.** The same phrase in the Hebrew occurs in Exod. xxiv. 14 "tarry ye here for us," and Jer. iii. 2, "thou hast sat for them." It denotes remaining in inaction, to wait for another. Vulg., expectabis me. The next two clauses explain the kind of inaction meant.

many days] See note on *v.* 2.

thou shalt not be for another man] Rather, **thou shalt not be a husband's.** To supply "another," as in A. V., is to add a thought which is too material not to have been expressed if it had been meant. Compare Jer. iii. 1. The phrase denotes the marriage-relation, as Lev. xxi. 3; Ezek. xvi. 8. While Gomer was forbidden, and indeed by restraint prevented, from following her former licentious courses, she was also for the present not to be admitted to conjugal intercourse.

so will I also be for thee] *i.e.* abiding for thee; regarding myself as bound to thee though I do not approach thee for conjugal intercourse. But a better rendering probably is, "so will I also be to thee-ward," with the same general sense.

4. *For*] *Vv.* 4, 5 give the prophet's own inspired interpretation of the parabolic narration of *vv.* 1—3.

the children of Israel] The Ten Tribes appear to be mainly contemplated, as in the foregoing first two chapters. At the same time, the implication of ch. i. 11, together with other predictions referred to in the note on that verse, gives us to feel, that Judah is probably thought of as involved in the same circumstances.

shall abide] **shall sit.** The comparison of the use of the word in *v.* 3 shews that it

abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without † an image, and without an ephod, and *without* teraphim:

† Heb. *a standing, or, statue.*

5 Afterward shall the children of

here points to the suspension of all national activity. Cp. Isai. xlvii. 5, 8.

many days] The two or three years assigned for the disciplinary seclusion of Hosea's wife would form a considerable space in a woman's life. In a nation's life an answering period might well be many centuries.

without a king, and without a prince] "Princes" are mentioned as being the adjunct of the throne, as in ch. xiii. 10; Amos i. 15; Jer. xlix. 38. The removal of the king is threatened by Hosea again in ch. x. 3, xiii. 11. It is plain that a king or a prince *of their own* is what is meant; in other words, "without king and without prince" denotes the cessation of their monarchy, whether independent or subject to a foreign empire.

without a sacrifice] "Sacrifice," whether legitimate or idolatrous. Gomer was neither to play the harlot nor to be a husband's.

without an image] The *matztzebah*, "pillar," "statue," or image," (for it is rendered differently in different passages), though sometimes mentioned in connection with the worship of God (as in Exod. xxiv. 4; Isai. xix. 19), most commonly (as *e.g.* in Exod. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3; 2 K. x. 27, xviii. 4; Jer. xliii. 13) means an idol-statue. So in ch. x. 1, 2.

without an ephod] The first mention of ephod is in Exod. xxviii., where full directions are given for the form of ephod which the high priest was to wear. In the front part, which came upon the chest and which is thought to have been double, were placed, inside, the Urim and Thummim. David requested Abiathar to "bring near" the ephod, when he wished to "inquire at the Lord," 1 S. xxx. 7. In the story of Micah "ephod and teraphim" are mentioned repeatedly (Judg. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17—20) as part of the furniture of his chapel ("house of God"): probably a corrupt imitation in miniature of the "ephod" and "Urim and Thummim," and intended, like them, as a means of "inquiring at the Lord." Hence in the present passage, "ephod" and "teraphim" are brought closer together than the other pairs of objects specified, by the omission in the Hebrew of "without" before "teraphim;" being both of them used for oracular purposes.

and...teraphim] "Teraphim" are mentioned in seven other passages: Gen. xxxi. 19—35 ("images" A.V.); Judges xvii. and xviii.; 1 S. xv. 23 ("idolatry" A.V.); 1 S. xix. 13, 16 ("images" A.V.); 2 K. xxiiii. 24 ("images" A.V.); Ezek. xxi. 21 ("images" A.V.); Zech. x. 2 ("idols" A.V.). Since in some of these passages they are distinctly mentioned as means of gaining supernatural knowledge, and *may* be so understood in all, we are led to regard these images as mainly used for this purpose. In 1 S. xv. 23 and 2 K. xxiii. 24, their use is condemned as unlawful. The prophet's meaning, therefore, is, that there should be no means of inquiring of the other world; neither the "ephod," which was used both in legitimate and in irregular worship, nor the forbidden "teraphim."

It is a very remarkable peculiarity of the prediction in this verse, that while it describes Israel as having neither sacrifice nor oracle, it describes her also as abstaining from image-worship, and even from those forms of heretical or heathenish divination which are known to have been in use among them for a thousand years,—from the early times of her patriarchs to the end of her monarchy. This was a future of their condition, which no one could have forecast from anything found in her previous history. It is, therefore, not without point that the Prophetic Spirit lays reiterated stress upon this hitherto unknown peculiarity: "no sacrifice and no statue; no ephod and no teraphim."

Kimchi recognizes this description in the present condition of his people. "These are the days of the captivity in which we now are at this day; we have *no king nor prince* out of Israel; for we are in the power of the nations, and of their kings and princes; and have *no sacrifice* for God, *nor image* for idols; *no ephod* for God that declares future things by Urim and Thummim; and *no teraphim* for idols, which shew things to come, according to the mind of those that believe in them."

5. *Afterward shall the children of Israel return*] It is implied, that during those "many days" they would be in a posture of mind foreign to their proper character as God's people. "Return" or "turn" (for in Hebrew the words are one) very often denotes the relinquishment of a wrong course; *e.g.* ch. vi. 1, xiv. 1; Lam. iii. 40; Jer. iii. 12, 14. Compare note on ch. ii. 9.

seek the LORD *their God*] Feeling themselves cast out of His presence, they shall set themselves to recover His favour. Hosea uses the expression again in ch. v. 15, vii. 10. Perhaps we may find the key-note of this very prediction in Deut. iv. 29.

David their king] We have language very similar to this, and probably a reminiscence of Hosea's words, in Jer. xxx. 9 (of both Israel and Judah, *ib. v.* 4); in Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24;

[b] Jer. 30. 9. Ezek. 34. 23. Israel return, and seek the LORD their God, and [b] David their king; and shall fear the LORD and his goodness in the [c] latter days. [c] Isai. 2. 2.

and (of both again) in Ezek. xxxvii. 23, 24. "David" not only points to David's house as 1 K. xii. 16, but denotes one who should stand in the place of David as being descended from him, and as bearing that *persona*, of being "the Lord's anointed" and the Lord's "son," which David had formerly borne (Ps. lxxxix. 20, 26). Compare the use of "Elijah" in Malachi (ch. iv. 5). It does not appear from the context, whether Hosea himself in using the expression had in view one single individual, or a dynastic succession; but later and more specific predictions, as well as the experience of history, make it clear, that the Lord Jesus Christ was in fact the one object contemplated by the Prophetic Spirit which "moved" the prophet. Jewish expositors are generally agreed in the Messianic interpretation of this passage. Thus, Targum: "they shall be obedient unto the Messiah the son of David their king." Aben Ezra: "'their king;' that is, the Messiah." "In both Talmuds," observes Gill, "the words are applied to the Messiah; in one of them (T. Hieros. 'Beracot,' fol. 5. 1), after quoting this text, it is added, 'The Rabbins say, this is the king Messiah; if of the living, David is his name; if of the dead, David is his name.' And in the other (T. Bab. 'Megillah,' fol. 18. 1) it is said, 'When Jerusalem is built, David comes;' which is proved by this passage, 'afterwards the children of Israel shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king;' that is, as the gloss interprets it, after they shall return to the house of the sanctuary or the temple. So Abarbanel, both in his commentary upon this place, and elsewhere (Mashmiah Jeshuah, fol. 55. 4." Citations from other Jewish writers are given in Pococke.

and shall fear the LORD *and his goodness*] Rather, **and shall come with trembling to the Lord and to his goodness**, *i.e.* they shall be impelled by a sense of danger and misery, and by anxiety not to lose God's proffered mercy, to submit themselves to Jehovah, and to accept His grace. See Note below. The "goodness of the Lord" means His readiness to forgive and His bountiful love, and not merely the concrete blessings which flow therefrom; cf. Pss. xxvii. 13, xxxi. 19. Nevertheless, the comparison of Jer. xxxi. 12—14 and Zech. ix. 17, in which passages "his goodness" is mentioned, and which look like a reminiscence of this earlier prediction, warrants the belief, that the expression does partly refer to the restoration of those gifts, the withdrawal of which was threatened above in ch. ii. 9.

in the latter days] Kimchi (on Isai. ii. 2) lays it down as a canon of interpretation, that whenever this expression occurs, it is meant of "the days of the Messiah." This is so far true, that since the kingdom of the Christ was to be set up "at the end of the days," any circumstances predicted as then about to occur are to be grouped with those which belong to the Messiah's reign. The phrase is found in Hosea only here: in other prophets it occurs very frequently.

NOTES on CHAP. III. 2, 5.

2. *I bought her.* אכרה. The ordinary sense of כרה is "to dig." But in Samaritan it means likewise "to buy," and in Arabic, the corresponding verb in the sixth and eighth conjugations means "to hire" (Gesenius, 'Thesaurus' *in verb.*). In Deut. ii. 6, we have in A. V. "ye shall buy meat of them for money,—and ye shall also buy water of them for money;" אכל תשברו מאתם בכסף—וגם מים תכרו מאתם בכסף; where Hengstenberg's rendering "ye shall dig water from them" presents us with an extremely harsh construction. In the passage before us he adopts Jerome's rendering *fodi eam mihi*, explaining it with reference to the law in Exod. xxi, 5, 6, of binding a slave to perpetual servitude by "boring his ear through with an awl," ורצע אדניו את־אזנו במרצע; in the same way as many commentators likewise interpret the words "mine ears hast thou opened," אזנים כרית לי, in Ps. xl. 6. See Note. But whatever may be thought of Ps. xl. 6, such an interpretation cannot be admitted here; for besides the great harshness of the phrase, "I digged her unto me," as meaning "I bored her ear through to bind her to me," there is the serious objection, that the relation to which the woman was to be brought was not that of a slave but of a wife. Some commentators, adopting the rendering "I bought her," understand it of the ceremony by which a man (מהר) "bought" a wife of her family. (See 'Dictionary of the Bible,' Vol. II. pp. 249, 250). But even if such an usage can be proved to have obtained among the Israelites, it cannot be referred to here; for Gomer was Hosea's wife already. Another turn given to this rendering is, that Gomer had become the concubine-slave of some paramour, and that Hosea now bought her from her owner for the consideration here named. From Exod. xxi. 32 it has been inferred that thirty shekels was the legal valuation of a slave; and the

attempt has been made to shew that the several items here specified make up this sum. Thus, 2 K. vii. 16, two seahs of barley were sold for one shekel; now a seah was the thirtieth part of a homer; so that at this rate a homer would be worth fifteen shekels, and a homer and a half 22½ shekels. But the price of grain named in 2 K. vii. is in all probability specified as being extraordinarily low; so that the items in Hosea would amount to very much more than thirty shekels. Besides, why should the price have been paid partly in grain?

A third interpretation takes the verb to express an agreement which Hosea came to with Gomer to persuade her to come under his control. So Luther, "I agreed with her for fifteen pieces of silver, &c."; and this is probably meant by the Septuagint, *καὶ ἐμισθωσάμην αὐτὴν ἐμαυτῷ*. As we have seen, this sense is favoured by the use of the Arabic verb. But for the more complete illustration of the verb כרה we may group with our present passage, not only Deut. ii. 6 (above cited), but also perhaps Job xli. 6, "shall the companions make a banquet (or traffic) of him," which may possibly mean "cater upon him," יכרו עליו; and 2 K. vi. 23, "and he prepared great provision for them," ויכרה להם כרה גדולה. All these uses of the word seem connected by a common notion of catering, or providing food or drink; and suggest the conjecture, that the sense of the phrase here is (to use the technical legal phrase) "I alimented her for me." In this case ואכרה is put for ואכרה לה in the same way as we have in Josh. xv. 19 נתתני, "thou hast given me;" Jer. ix. 1, מי יתנני. This construction of נתן is justified by Gesenius ('Thesaurus' *in v.*) by supposing that *do* is used for *dono;* analogically "cater" may perhaps here stand for "aliment." See various instances of this looser use of the accusative in Ewald's 'Ausführliches Lehrbuch,' § 282. a. The accusative may have been put for the dative in the present instance, because it was desired to add another dative, לי, to express Hosea's setting Gomer apart for himself.

5. *Shall fear the* LORD. פחדו אל־יהוה. Rosenmüller, Maurer, Henderson, and Hitzig take the verb as here meaning simply "hasten;" getting at that sense through the notion of "trembling" from eagerness. Maurer quotes the use of נבהל in Prov. xxviii. 22. Gesenius assigns two senses to the phrase פחד אל, "tremblingly to turn to any one;" either to share with him the feeling of fear, as in Jer. xxxvi. 16 (comp. Gen. xlii. 28), or "to implore his help, as Hos. iii. 5." Gesenius finds the notion of excessive joy in the word as used in Isai. lx. 5 and Jer. xxxiii. 9; but in both passages, it seems to denote rather the awe produced by the greatness of the blessings spoken of, as attesting the Presence of the Divine. In Micah vii. 17, where אל־יהוה יפחדו has for its parallel ויראו ממך, it clearly expresses some action of fear. Indeed, there is no passage in which the verb can be shewn to express any other emotion; so that we are compelled to take the phrase "fear to the Lord" to mean, "repair to the Lord from fear." So it is taken by Pococke, Gill, Henderson, Hengstenberg, Dr Pusey, Keil, and Wünsche.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *God's judgments against the sins of the people, 6 and of the priests, 12 and against their idolatry.* 15 *Judah is exhorted to take warning by Israel's calamity.*

HEAR the word of the LORD, ye children of Israel: for the LORD hath a [a]controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because *there* [a] Micah 6. 2.

CHAP. IV. In chapters iv.—xiv. it often seems difficult, and altogether precarious, to distribute the contents into distinct sections. It has however been generally felt that this fourth chapter is internally linked together into a separate whole. According to the view of Ewald, it readily falls into four strophes, namely, 1—5, 6—10, 11—14, 15—19; in which the word "destroy" (*v.* 5) at the close of the first strophe gives the key-note to the next; whilst again, the "whoredom" at the close of the second (*v.* 10) furnishes the main topic of the third. But *vv.* 16—19 bear no marks of internal cohesion. The absence in this prophesying of any reference to a king of Israel has led some to infer, that it was in the first instance delivered during a period of anarchy; and such an interregnum is supposed to have followed the death of Jeroboam II.; but the inference has no great cogency; compare chapters vi. and ix., in which likewise no king is referred to; and the interregnum, which chronologers have devised to make their own figures tally, has no foundation in any extant records, and interposed, as it here is, between father and son, appears to be in itself improbable. See note 3, p. 399.

1. *ye children of Israel*] *v.* 15 shews that the Northern kingdom is meant. Comp. i. 4, v. 1.

for the LORD *hath a controversy*] *i.e.* has an accusation to make. So chap. xii. 2; Micah vi. 2; comp. Ps. li. 4.

is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land.

2 By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and † blood toucheth blood.

† Heb. *bloods.*

3 Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one that dwelleth therein shall languish, with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven; yea, the fishes of the sea also shall be taken away.

4 Yet let no man strive, nor reprove another: for thy people *are* as they that strive with the priest.

5 Therefore shalt thou fall in the

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the inhabitants of the land] Its inhabitants in general, all classes included.

because there is no truth, nor mercy] Integrity and mercy or compassionate sympathy make up the sum of man's duty to man. Comp. Prov. iii. 3.

knowledge of God] That consciousness of what God is, both in Himself and in His relations to us (cf. note on ch. vi. 3), which leads to practical conformity with His will. So ch. vi. 6. Comp. Jer. xxii. 16; Isai. xi. 9. Compare the triad of virtues enumerated in Micah vi. 8.

in the land] This marks the universal prevalence of the sins denounced.

2. *swearing*] The Hebrew verb (*alah*, derived from a noun meaning "God") denotes the use of God's name, both for taking an oath and for execration; and as endeavours were sometimes used to cast evil spells upon others by imprecation (cf. Job xxxi. 30), it is not improbable, that the impious use of God's name in cursing is here intended as well as perjury, though the latter is principally meant. So also in Pss. x. 7, lix. 12. It perhaps also includes a large use of those unnecessary oaths, which have been so strongly condemned by our Lord and by St James.

lying, and killing] Compare the account of those times given in 2 K. xv., and by Hosea's contemporaries, Micah (ch. vii. 2—6), Amos (ch. ii. 6—8), and Isaiah (ch. ix. 17).

stealing, and committing adultery] These two verbs and the three preceding are, in the Hebrew, infinitives, in syntactical construction standing apart from what follows. The turn of expression denotes: "Nothing but swearing and lying and murdering and stealing and committing adultery!" A similar construction is found in the Hebrew of Isai. xxi. 5, lix. 4.

break out] Rather, "break in," *i.e.* as burglars in quest of plunder; or "break through," *i.e.* break through all laws divine and human. Another rendering (LXX., Vulg., Arab., Syr., Luther) gives the verb the sense "extend," "spread abroad," taking the preceding infinitives as its subject.

blood toucheth blood] That is, as Rashi explains, the blood of one murder, shed upon the ground, lies close to the blood of another. The Hebrew is "bloods," which plural noun is almost always in Scripture used of bloodshed; the exceptions being Lev. xii. 7, xx. 18; Ezek. xvi. 6, 9. The comparison of Isai. i. 15, 17 suggests, that the blood-guiltiness denounced includes all forms of oppression.

3. It is plain from the last clause that this verse is not to be taken as mere poetical imagery, such as that in which the face of nature is viewed as sympathizing with the emotions of the writer, and of which we have instances in Isai. xxiv. 4; Pss. lxv. 13, xcvi. 11, 12, xcviii. 8. It is rather to be taken literally, as the denouncement of a Divine judgment, which, in conformity with the whole spirit of the Theocracy, was to alight as a curse upon the land viewed in its physical aspect, and the working of which the present condition of Palestine very remarkably attests. To mark its universality, an enumeration of the different classes of creatures is given, similar to that which, for the like purpose of denoting universality, is found in Gen. i. 28, ix. 2. We have in Jer. xii. 4 and Zeph. i. 3 passages remarkably resembling this, and perhaps formed upon it. "Yea, also" is expressive of an admiring climax. The "fishes of the sea" which are meant are those found in rivers and lakes, dried up in the desolation of the land; perhaps also those which shoal near the margin of the Great Sea.

4. *Yet let no man*, &c.] Rather, perhaps, with a very small change in the vowel-points of one word (see Note below), "Surely no man shall strive, and no man reprove;" *i.e.* they will allow no one to reprove or argue with them concerning their conduct; "and thy people is as my adversaries, O priest!" *i.e.* the people whom thou teachest, and who should have learnt from thee the law of obedience to Me, are ready when reproved to reply against God. The participle noun rendered in A.V. "they that strive with" occurs besides only in 1 S. ii. 10, "the adversaries of the Lord" (A.V.). If, with A.V., we follow the Masoretic pronunciation of the same Hebrew consonants, we shall probably best render it with Jerome and most modern commentators thus: "Surely no man shall strive, and no man reprove; and thy people is as they that strive with the priest:" *i.e.* They will allow no one to reprove or to argue with them respecting their conduct; so bold and self-willed are they, that even if there stood opposed to them Jeho-

day, and the prophet also shall fall with thee in the night, and I will †destroy thy mother.

† Heb. *cut off.*

6 ¶ My people are †destroyed for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.

† Heb. *cut off.*

7 As they were increased, so they sinned against me: *therefore* will I change their glory into shame.

8 They eat up the sin of my peo-

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vah's sentence given through His own priest, they would still resist, setting the last condemnation of His law at defiance. The reference to Deut. xvii. 8—13 would be similar in spirit to that which we have in ch. v. 10, "like them that remove the bound." This view of the passage however is attended by two difficulties: (1) The priesthood is plainly addressed in the subsequent context, in *vv.* 6—10, and most probably in *vv.* 4 and 5 as well; yet if we read the second clause of this verse as is usually done, we have in the whole passage no words directly pointing the address. (2) It seems inconvenient, that while the prophet has in view that denunciation of the priesthood which at all events follows immediately after, he should express his strong sense of the people's incorrigibleness by saying that they are like "priest-gainsayers."

5. *fall in the day...fall...in the night*] Rather, **stumble by day, stumble by night** (see Note below); *i.e.* stumble so as to fall; so in ch. v. 5, xiv. 1; Ezek. xxxiii. 12, where, as here, A.V. has "fall." The priesthood is addressed: see note on last verse. Both priest and prophet shall perish by an unbroken succession of calamities, from which neither the light of day nor the darkness of night shall enable them to escape. We have here and in the last verse examples of that particular form of parallelism, by which the several ingredients of one sentence are broken up and distributed into the two limbs of the parallelism. See note on next verse.

thy mother] The commonwealth of the Ten Tribes, as in ch. ii. 2; compare Matt. xxiii. 37, "thy children." "*Thy* mother;" like sons, like mother! But the tone of indignant loathing which we detect in the phrase, immediately gives place in the next verse to that of deep compassion, in which "thy mother" is replaced by "my people."

6. *My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge*] Rather, "destroyed by reason of their lack of knowledge;" *i.e.* that lack of knowledge which has been already, in *v.* 4, charged home upon the neglect of the priesthood. Comp. Isai. v. 13, "my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge;" in which passage, as in that before us, the perfect tense of the principal verb expresses the prophetic certainty of a future event. The reason why the people of God had not this "knowledge" was, that the priesthood had neglected their proper work of imparting it: on which account the Divine rebuke here fastens upon the latter. Compare again Matt. xxiii. 37, "and ye would not." See Ezek. xxxiv. 10.

because thou hast rejected knowledge] **Thou on thy part.** The priests would neither be guided by the Law themselves, nor take any pains to teach it to others. See Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxiii. 10; Mal. ii. 7 ("knowledge"). This passage is a re-echo of the earlier passage in 1 S. xv. 26, which it strikingly resembles.

seeing thou, &c.] More exactly, **and as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God.** "Forgotten" wilfully, deliberately, as Ezek. xxiii. 35; Jer. xxiii. 27. "Thy God:" for Jehovah, the God of every Israelite, was, above all, the God of the priests who were brought so near to Him.

I will also forget thy children] **I will also forget thy children, even I.** "Forget," of set purpose set aside, ignore. The retribution is very strikingly exhibited, both by the repetition in each case of the verb which describes the offence, to describe also the punishment, and by the introduction, at the close, of the emphatic pronoun ("even I"), to balance the introduction of "thou," at the beginning. The two clauses: "I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me," and, "I will also forget thy children," are the split members of the one sentence; "I will reject and forget thee and thy children, that ye shall none of you be priests of mine."

Jehovah here threatens the priesthood established in the Northern kingdom with coming rejection, for neglecting their duties, and for misleading the people. This infers that, to a certain degree, He recognizes them as being at present His, and as ministering to Him. There was, in fact, a wide gulf separating the calf-worship which (Hos. viiii. 13; Amos v. 22) was in intention offered to Jehovah, and the worship that was rendered to Baal; as, on the other side, there was also a wide interval between the same calf-worship, and that purer, imageless worship which the Law prescribed. See 1 K. xvi. 31.

7. *increased*] Rather, **multiplied.** The Hebrew verb in the conjugation here employed always denotes greatness in number. See, for example, Gen. vi. 1. The prophet is

ple, and they † set their heart on their iniquity.

9 And there shall be, ᵇ like people, like priest: and I will † punish them for their ways, and † reward them their doings.

10 For they shall eat, and not have enough: they shall commit whoredom, and shall not increase: because they have left off to take heed to the LORD.

11 Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the heart.

12 ¶ My people ask counsel at

† Heb. *lift up their soul to their iniquity.*
ᵇ Isai. 24. 2.
† Heb. *visit upon.*
† Heb. *cause to return.*

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speaking of the priesthood of the Northern kingdom, which no doubt grew in numbers as new forms of worship were from time to time established by the court.

sinned against me] Employing their influence in accelerating the religious degeneracy of the nation.

therefore, &c.] More exactly, **their glory will I change into shame**, *i.e.* in the universal captivity the splendour of their sacerdotal position shall be quenched. The addition of *therefore* in the Authorized Version weakens the rugged energy of the original.

8. *They eat up the sin...*] Rather, "They eat the sin of my people," *i.e.* they feed upon, seek their own advantage in, the idolatries of the laity. "Eat" for "live upon," as in Gen. iii. 18. The expression, "my people," as before in *v.* 6, breathes compassion for the people, and resentment against the spiritual guides who led them astray. For another sense which has been assigned to the word "sin" in this passage, as being "sin-offering," see Note below.

and they set their heart on their iniquity] The Hebrew is, "and to their iniquity they lift up their soul," or, more literally, "*each one* his soul." They eagerly desire that the people shall practise idolatry and its concomitant licentiousness. Comp. the use of the Hebrew phrase in Deut. xxiv. 15; Jer. xliv. 14; Ps. xxv. 1.

9. *like people, like priest*] As the people shall perish, so also shall the priest. The phrase has the same turn of meaning as in Lev. vii. 7, "As the sin offering is, so is the trespass offering," where the literal rendering is, "like sin offering, like trespass offering;" and in Num. xv. 15, where also the literal rendering is, "like you, like the stranger." The ruin of the people has been already denounced in *vv.* 3, 5. If the priest had done his duty, he would have delivered his own soul. See Ezek. xxxiii. 9.

and I will punish them, &c.] Or rather, **and I will visit upon him his ways, and his doings I will bring back to him.** Comp. ch. xii. 2. The person spoken of is "the priest," one individual being quoted as representing the whole order.

10. *they shall eat, and not have enough*] However much they may try to better themselves by furthering the degeneracy of the people (as in *v.* 8), they shall nevertheless find themselves straitened. Compare the use of the phrase "not have enough," or "not be satisfied," in Lev. xxvi. 26; Micah vi. 14; Hagg. i. 6.

commit whoredom] Rather, **work whoredom.** The Hebrew verb here employed is properly causative, "cause to commit whoredom." These priests not only committed fornication themselves, but likewise set forward such licentiousness in others. Since in *v.* 12 "the spirit of whoredoms" refers to consulting idols, whereas in *vv.* 11, 13, and 14, actual fornication is plainly contemplated as well, we may infer that the phrase "work whoredom" here includes both idolatry and licentiousness. The two things, in fact, commonly went together.

and shall not increase] Licentiousness at first may promise increase in the population; but experience proves the contrary to be the result. Neither (says the prophet) shall these priests aggrandize their order by all their whoredoms, whether natural or spiritual. The Hebrew verb rendered "break out" in *v.* 2, is used here of increase of population, as in Gen. xxviii. 14, xxx. 30; Exod. i. 12; Isai. liv. 3.

because they have left off to take heed to the LORD] The verb "take heed to" is the same as is rendered "waiteth on" in Prov. xxvii. 18; "observe" in Jonah ii. 8; "wait upon" in Zech. xi. 11. As thus employed, it denotes reverential observance. In place of devoutly listening to Jehovah's voice, the priests had first corrupted His worship with images; then combined it with the worship of false gods; and at last, in many instances, ceased to worship Him at all.

This closes the denouncement of the priesthood. The prophet now reverts to the case of the people in general.

11. *Whoredom*, &c.] The prophet begins this new paragraph by stating a general aphorism, suggested by the mournful spectacle which he saw before him in the insensate folly of the Israelitish nation. The juxtaposition of "wine and new wine," *i.e.* drunkenness, compels us to understand "whoredom" literally. The effect of this twofold debauchery in dulling the higher faculties of the reason and understanding (cf. "heart" in Prov. vii. 7 and Jer. v. 21, where it is rendered "understanding;" Hos. vii. 11), is a matter of

their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them: for the spirit of whoredoms hath caused *them* to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God.

13 They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good: therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery.

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daily experience. Respecting the drunkenness prevalent in Ephraim and the consequent insensateness of its people, see Isai. xxviii. 1, 7, 8.

12. *My people ask counsel at their stocks*] Lit. **My people,—he asketh counsel at his log.** Two facts are noted as illustrative of Israel's infatuated departure from the true God: one is found in the retirements of their domestic life (*v.* 12); the other in their public devotions (*v.* 13). The subject to the verb "asketh" is not exactly "my people," but the individual Israelite as seen at his own home.—"My people;" to whom I have given the high-priest's ephod, and prophets who are bound to walk by My direction. "At his stock," each man at the stock which he worships. "Stock" or "wood" (for the word is the same) is put contemptuously for the idol, marking its senselessness. So Hab. ii. 19; Jer. ii. 27, x. 8. A remarkable illustration of their disposition to consult idols is given in the case of king Ahaziah, 2 K. i. 2—17.

their staff declareth unto them] **his staff shall declare unto him:** *i.e.* "his staff-god." As if it were, "He looks to his stick to tell him what to do!"—The juxtaposition of "stock," meaning an idol, leads us to take "staff" as meaning a staff having for its top a little idol; this being perhaps one form of Teraphim. Thus Pococke and Gill. Many, following Cyril, understand the clause or divining by rods, ῥαβδομαντεία, and refer to the divining by arrows mentioned in Ezek. xxi. 21. But the absolute folly of consulting senseless *idols* seems to be more in the prophet's view at present, than the wickedness of using acts of divination.

the spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err] *i.e.* to wander about in senseless ways.—Any inclination which seemed to admit neither of being accounted for on ordinary principles, nor of being controlled, is frequently spoken of as "a spirit of so and so." Thus, "spirit of perverseness," Isai. xix. 14; of "deep sleep," Isai. xxix. 10; "of jealousy," Num. v. 14; "an evil spirit," Judg. ix. 23. Perhaps the agency of personal spirits is more or less indicated in such passages; compare 1 K. xxii. 21, 22; 1 Cor. x. 20; Eph. ii. 2.—"Whoredoms" here passes into the spiritual sense of idolatry.

gone a whoring from under their God] Breaking away from Him who is their rightful Husband. Comp. Num. v. 19, 20, 29; where "instead of thy husband" in the Hebrew is, literally, "under thy husband;" Ezek. xxiii. 5, "when she was mine," literally, "under me." We are recalled to the imagery of the first three chapters.

13. *They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills*] Like the former inhabitants of Canaan (Deut. xii. 2), and indeed following a not unnatural impulse, to be nearer to the objects of their worship, the Israelitish idolaters selected the summits of hills and the shadow of trees for their religious celebrations (1 K. xiv. 23; 2 K. xvii. 10, 11; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6; Ezek. xx. 28). The Hebrew verbs for "sacrifice" and "burn incense" are in the pihel or frequentative conjugation, as in other places where general custom is denoted.

under oaks and poplars and elms] Lit. **under oak, and poplar, and terebinth.** Some understand by *libneh*, here rendered "poplar," the storax; but as the storax is only a shrub growing ten or twelve feet high, a tree such as the poplar appears to suit the context better. Tristram, 'Nat. H. of Bible,' p. 390. The *elah* is undoubtedly the terebinth (Tristram, p. 350). The singular number of the several nouns breathes the indignation of the prophet, as he reviews in succession the particular scenes of Israel's criminality. These last-named are not identical with those on the tops of mountains: they might be found in other places. Cf. Isai. lvii. 5, 7; Ezek. vi. 13.

because the shadow thereof is good] With indignant pathos: as if the pleasantness of their shade counterbalanced Jehovah's prohibition! The excitement of the tone is also indicated by the abrupt change of the person in the following "your."

therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom] The idolatrous father shall learn, in the bitterness of his grief and indignation at his own child's dishonour, the grief and indignation which his heavenly Father feels at his spiritual whoredom.

your spouses] Rather, **your daughters-in-law.** So next *v.* Though *kallah* means sometimes, and indeed properly, a "bride" (which perhaps A.V. intends by "spouse"), as in Isai. xlix. 18, lxi. 10; yet it is also used for "daughter-in-law," as in Gen. xxxviii. 11, 24; Ruth i. 6—8. It never meant simply "wife." As an Israelite by his daughter's dishonour would be the most deeply wounded in his affections, so by that of his son's wife, through whom his family was to be perpetuated, he

‖ Or, *Shall I not, &c.*

14 ‖ I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery: for themselves are separated with whores, and they sacrifice with harlots: therefore the people *that* doth not understand shall ‖ fall.

‖ Or, *be punished.*

15 ¶ Though thou, Israel, play the harlot, *yet* let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither

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would be the most deeply wounded in his family pride. God here exhibits Himself in the awful character of punishing sin by sin; as indeed licentiousness was a natural consequence of many of the idolatrous rites then in vogue.

14. *I will not punish*, &c.] That is, In that hour of a father's grief and shame, I will not come forward to avenge his cause; he has deserved what he suffers, and I will leave him unredressed to his misery. The rendering in margin of A.V. "Shall I not punish your daughters, &c.," may be explained thus: "Certainly I will punish them: but you much more, whose guilt is far greater." But the sense above given seems simpler.

for themselves are separated, &c.] Rather, **for they themselves go aside with whores.** The change again of the person, from the second person to the third, marks the vehemence of the speaker. It is as if after addressing his vehement denunciation to the guilty idolaters themselves, the prophet turned to explain to a bystander the reason for his intense displeasure.

harlots] Rather, **devotee-harlots.** The feminine, *kedēshah*, occurs only here; but the masculine, *kadēsh*, is found repeatedly, as in 1 K. xiv. 24 (see note), xv. 12, xxii. 46, denoting a class of men especially obnoxious, and in 1 K. xiv. 24 and 2 K. xxiii. 7, in connection with Ashtaroth or Asherah. There is no doubt that both words designate persons who so devoted themselves, or were devoted by others, to the service of Ashtaroth, that licentious or even abominable intercourse with them was regarded as acceptable to that goddess. Such devotees of licentiousness were to be found extensively in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and indeed in Greece and Italy; as they also are at the present time in India. In the Moabite inscription Mesha, speaking of his "taking Nebo against Israel," says, "I did not kill the women and maidens, for [I] devoted them to Ashtar-Kemosh" (l. 17). The Israelites here rebuked joined at their own expense with these devotee-harlots in sacrificial feasting (comp. Ex. xxxii. 6), and subsequent debauchery. The holy prophet impatiently breaks off from the loathsome details, with a general declaration of the doom which hung over his misguided countrymen: "they shall fall."

fall] The verb *nilbat*, in A. V. rendered "fall," in margin "be punished," occurs besides only in Prov. x. 8, 10. Its meaning is somewhat uncertain. From the use of allied words in Arabic and other Semitic languages, it is supposed to mean "fall headlong," "be dashed to the ground," "plunge into ruin."

15. Despairing of Israel, the prophet has, however, still hope of Judah, whom therefore he will fain save from becoming involved in Israel's sin. It is implied, that some of the people of Judah were being drawn away to the corrupt worship set up by their neighbours. This implication of the text is borne out by the statement in the history, that the two kings, Joram and Ahaziah, and, after an interval, Ahaz, "walked in the way of the kings of Israel" (2 K. viii. 18, 27, xvi. 3). If the court at different times fell into this corruption, no doubt many private persons would always be found doing the same. The warning to Judah seems introduced more for the purpose of marking Israel's guilt, than for the sake of Judah herself: hence the evils against which the warning lies are not those in which Judah's own danger the most lay, but only those in which she would be likely to be ensnared by contact with Israel.

play the harlot] Rather, **art committing whoredom.** The rendering of A.V., "play the harlot," following the analogy of ch. ii. 2—5, is here inaccurate. The gender both of the pronoun and of the participle is in the Hebrew masculine. The whoredom committed is at once that spiritual whoredom mentioned in *vv.* 12 and 13, and that literal debauchery mentioned in *v.* 14; in both which the offenders denounced are of the male sex.

offend] Rather, **make thyself guilty.** The same verb as in Lev. iv. 13, 22, 27, "is guilty."

come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Beth-aven] The men of Judah are the persons addressed. It is not certain, which of the places named Gilgal is the one that is here branded as the seat of heretical or idolatrous rites. It may possibly have been the Gilgal of Joshua, situated about a mile to the east of Jericho, which latter city appears to have now belonged to the kingdom of Israel (1 K. xvi. 34). But it seems more likely to have been the Gilgal near Sichem, which was probably the Gilgal of Elijah and Elisha, for which see note on Deut. xi. 30 sub fin. There can be little doubt that the "Beth-aven" here named was Bethel. In ch. x. 5 the prophet mentions "the calves of Beth-aven" as being the ruin of Samaria. Amos twice links "Gilgal" and "Bethel" together as seats of

[c] 1 Kin. 12. 29. go ye up to [c] Beth-aven, nor swear, The LORD liveth.

16 For Israel slideth back as a backsliding heifer: now the LORD will feed them as a lamb in a large place.

17 Ephraim *is* joined to idols: let him alone.

18 Their drink [†] is sour: they [†] Heb *is gone.*

idolatrous worship, in the same manner as Hosea does "Gilgal" and "Beth-aven" (Amos iv. 4, v. 5). There was a Bethaven near Bethel (Josh. vii. 2; 1 S. xiii. 5); but Bethel, "God's House," had itself become Beth-aven, "Vanity's House," or, according to the Septuagint, "Iniquity's House," by being the shrine of the idol. Whence also Amos (ch. v. 5) says, "Gilgal shall go into captivity, and Bethel shall be (*aven*) vanity." There appears to be an especial propriety in the use of the verb "go up" in relation to Bethel: comp. Judg. i. 22; 1 S. x. 3.

nor swear, The LORD *liveth*] *i.e.* **As the Lord liveth.** Since to swear by Jehovah was distinctive of a true Israelite (Deut. x. 20; Jer. iv. 2), and was, in fact, an implicit confession of His Divine glory, some particular qualification of the act must be here contemplated by the prophet. Some understand this to be swearing *falsely*, comparing Isai. xlviii. 1; but this can hardly be found in the words. Others, as Wünsche, more probably take it as swearing by Jehovah whilst still resorting to Gilgal or to Bethel; compare Zeph. i. 5; but the renewed insertion of the negative somewhat discountenances this view. A comparison of the whole passage with Amos v. 5, "seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beersheba," leads to the surmise that "to swear, As the Lord liveth," stands in some relation to resorting to Beersheba, "the well of the oath," as the name appears to have been usually explained; but what this relation was, it is impossible for us to determine.

16. *Israel slideth back as a backsliding heifer*] Rather, **as a stubborn heifer is Israel waxed stubborn.** The verb rendered in A. V. "backsliding" means "to be unruly, intractable." It is used in Deut. xxi. 18 ("stubborn") of the incorrigible son. Israel is compared to a heifer under training for yoke-labour, as in ch. xi. 4; Jer. xxxi. 18.

now the LORD *will feed them as a lamb in a large place*] That is, "By heaviest chastisement even now about to commence, all that stubbornness shall be subdued; and Israel in the wilderness of exile shall be brought to be as tame and tractable as a lamb, which in an open plain feels its helplessness and meekly waits upon its shepherd." This explanation of a very enigmatical passage, which has been variously interpreted, makes it a compressed reference to the treatment foretold in ch. ii. 9—15, and again in ch. iii. 2—5, in which severe punishment producing amendment is followed by kindness. This seems to be Ewald's view. A commonly received interpretation is this: "They would fain follow their own way: the Lord will now let them have their own way: they shall be as a lamb left to shift for itself in an open wilderness, untended, unprotected;" *i.e.* they shall be in exile, worshipping what they will and at the mercy of strangers. So Wünsche. The word "feed," pointing to tending care, must in this view be understood ironically, implying that fearful "ruling over them" which we have in Ezek. xx. 33.

17. *let him alone*] Let him go on to do what he is tenaciously bent upon doing. Leave him to his fate! Compare, for the expression "let him alone," Exod. xxxii. 10; 2 S. xvi. 11; and for the sentiment, Jer. vii. 16; Ezek. iii. 26, xx. 39; Matt. xv. 14. The exhortation is addressed either by the Lord to the prophet, or by the prophet to any one who might feel disposed to interfere with these abandoned idolaters. "Ephraim" represents the Northern kingdom, both as being its dominant tribe, and as being its leader in idolatry.

18. *Their drink*, &c.] Rather, **Their finest wine is gone sour: they are bent on setting forward whoredom: her shields do mightily love shame.** The word (*sobé*) here rendered "drink" is a peculiar one, occurring besides, most probably (for Nah. i. 10 is doubtful), only in Isai. i. 22, 23, "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them." The comparison of this passage in Isaiah throws a strong light upon the sense of the verse before us; for, in fact, Isaiah seems to have developed and put into a clearer form the somewhat enigmatical utterance of the older prophet. In Isai. i. 22, "wine" plainly means wine of a generous quality, and the "princes" of *v.* 23 stand parallel to the "silver" and "wine" of *v.* 22, as being those who should have been the most precious ingredient in the commonwealth and its most refreshing and quickening element. Under this guidance we may understand Hosea thus: "their very best wine is become hopelessly vapid; for the proper shields of the commonwealth (comp. Ps. xlvii. 9), the priests and nobles who should have warded off every mischief, are themselves bent upon pro-

have committed whoredom continually: her † rulers *with* shame do love, Give ye.

† Heb. *shields.*

19 The wind hath bound her up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices.

moting whoredom from their God: they choose and hug shame and ruin." The pronoun "her" points to the commonwealth, and is interchanged with "they," as in the next verse. See Note below.

19. *The wind hath bound her up in her wings*] Rather, "She hath tied up wind with her in her skirts," as in Ezek. v. 3. So Aben Ezra, Kimchi, "Saadia." In the rendering of the A. V., "the wind" is the storm-wind of Divine judgments. The oriental gathers up a part of the skirt of his mantle to form a sort of pocket, in which he ties up any article which he wishes to carry securely (Haggai ii. 12). Israel in that eagerness of hers in following idols, by which she hoped to secure worldly prosperity (ch. ii. 5), was tying up in her skirts what was nothing but wind, that is, disappointment and confusion. "Wind" as in ch. viii. 7; Job xv. 2; Isai. xli. 29. The feminine "she" as in *v.* 18, "her shields." For the Hebrew of "with her," cp. 2 K. iii. 26; Jer. x. 5. The rendering of A.V. is a perfectly legitimate translation of the Hebrew, and is the one more commonly accepted, the "wind" being the resistlessly sweeping storm-wind of Divine judgments: but the image of the wind tying her up in her wings is incongruous with the procedure of any bird; and the "shame" in the second clause of the *v.* agrees better with our taking "wind" in the first as denoting disappointment and frustration.

sacrifices] **sacrificings.**

NOTES on CHAP. IV. 4, 5, 8, 18.

4. Since the negative here employed is the *subjective* אל, and not the objective לא, it is natural to take both clauses as expressing a wish, *i.e.* the general wish of the people, and not as stating a fact. It has been supposed by some, that איש here means "man" as contrasted with "the Lord," who is represented in *v.* 1 as Himself having a controversy with His people. Thus Abarbanel among the Jewish commentators, and Dr Pusey, who observes, "God forbids man to intermeddle: He had taken the controversy into His own hands." There is however nothing in the words which suggests such a view; for while, on the one hand, the words of *v.* 1 are too remote to be supposed to be in contrast with the words before us, so, on the other hand, nothing is more common than the use of איש for "any one." Compare (*e.g.*) Exod. xvi. 19, 29. The proposed alteration of כְּמָרִיבֵי כֹהֵן into כְּמָרִיבֵי כֹהֵן was first suggested by J. D. Michaelis, a critic, it must be confessed, who was only too much disposed to ignore the Masoretic tradition. Bleek, in his 'Einleitung in das A. T.,' p. 522, is strongly inclined to accept it. He observes, however, that the position of the vocative at the end of the sentence may perhaps seem unnatural. Another objection may suggest itself in the absence of the article before the vocative כהן. Both objections are met by each one of the three following passages: Ps. cxiv. 7; Song Sol. v. 1 (כלה); Hos. xiii. 14; and the latter also by Isai. xliv. 23, xlv. 8; Ps. xlv. 10, cxlviii. 7; Josh. x. 12; Song Sol. iv. 16, ib. v. 1 (דודים and רעים).

5. היום "in the day-time," and לילה "in the night-time," as in Neh. iv. 22 (16 in the Hebrew). So הלילה means "in the night-time" in Gen. xx. 3; 1 K. iii. 5; Job v. 14. Ewald takes היום here in its usual sense of "to-day," as meaning "soon;" but "in the night" does not agree with this.

8. Some take "sin" here as meaning "sin-offering." But there would be no impropriety in the priests' enjoying what the Law properly assigned to them (Lev. vi. 25, 26, x. 12—20). Neither again can we understand the passage of the priests' instigating the people to commit sins, with a view to reaping profit therefrom, in the portion of the expiatory offerings which the Law gave them; for the particular forms of transgression expiated by sin-offering (see 'Bible Dictionary,' Art. *Sin-offering*) were not of a kind likely to be instigated by the priests.

18. This verse has been very variously explained. The rendering given in the note, and with a little modification the interpretation, are the same as are preferred by Dr Pusey. The sense of degeneracy assigned to סר is borne out by Jer. ii. 21. Against the rendering in the third clause, "do love, Give ye," though favoured by the corresponding passage in Isaiah, there lie the following objections: (1) the vowel under ה in הבו should be *kametz* instead of *tsere;* see Judg. xx. 7; 2 S. xvi. 20, &c.; (2) "they love, Give ye!" would be an extremely uncouth way of saying "they love to cry, Give ye!" (3) קלון is only to be got into the construction by supplying some word with it; various suppletions have been proposed, but all of them very precarious; as "with shame," or "to their shame," or "O shame!" (4) There is nothing in the context to shew that corruption in the administration

of justice is at this time at all in the prophet's view. A much more probable view is, that אהבו הבו is some form of intensive reduplication. According to Pococke, the grammarian Abulwalid held that it is as if he had said אהבו אהבו. Dr Pusey is of opinion that "it is probably one of the earliest forms of the intensive verb repeating a part of the verb itself with its inflection." This is also Ewald's view, both in his 'Propheten,' and in his 'Lehrbuch,' where he cites as of the same class of words יפיפית Ps. xlv. 2; סחרחר Ps. xxxviii. 10; and צמתתוני Ps. lxxxviii. 16.

CHAPTER V.

1 God's judgments against the priests, the people, and the princes of Israel, for their manifold sins, 15 until they repent.

HEAR ye this, O priests; and hearken, ye house of Israel; and give ye ear, O house of the king; for judgment *is* toward you, because ye have been a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor.

2 And the revolters are profound to make slaughter, ‖ though I *have* *been* †a rebuker of them all.

‖ Or, *and, &c.* † Heb. *a correction.*

3 I know Ephraim, and Israel is

CHAP. V. The prophesying in this and the following chapter is distinguished from the rest of the book by the frequency with which Judah is mentioned in connection with Israel; though even here the Ephraimite prophet maintains his nationality, by mentioning only one king (ch. v. 1), who is evidently the king of Israel, and by making no nearer reference to the Southern capital, than by specifying "Benjamin" as an object of the invading army's attack (ch. v. 8, note). The frequency with which Judah's fortunes are here woven in with those of Israel, warrants the surmise, that the prophesying was originally uttered at a time when the two kingdoms were brought somewhat near to each other, in friendly feeling and in their principles of public policy; *i.e.* at some time prior to that latter part of Pekah's reign, when this prince in conjunction with the Syrian king Rezin was assailing, first Jotham, and then Ahaz: 2 K. xv. 37, xvi. 5; Isai. vii. and viii. This date suits also the reference in ch. v. 1 and vi. 8 to Gilead, as being a country still amenable to prophetical rebuke; for towards the close of Pekah's reign Gilead was rent away from Israel. Cf. Introduction, p. 403. It does not seem possible to fix the time more exactly. Some critics identify the historical reference in ch. v. 13 with 2 K. xv. 19; but on very precarious grounds. See note on ch. v. 13.

1. *Hear*, &c.] Compare Joel i. 2; Micah i. 2; Isai. i. 2.

O priests...ye house of Israel...O house of the king] Since, according to his custom, the prophet in these two chapters addresses himself mainly to the Northern kingdom, the word "Israel" is to be taken in the narrower acceptation, in which, after the disruption, it is ordinarily used in the two books of Kings. Accordingly it stands in contradistinction to "Judah" in *v.* 5, and has plainly its equivalent in "Ephraim" in *vv.* 12, 13, 14. The "priests," therefore, who are here cited, are not the priests of the temple at Jerusalem, but those who officiated in the corrupted form of Jehovah's worship which had been established in Israel. "The house of Israel" is the Northern nation in general: the ordinary use of the phrase does not warrant us in restricting it to any Sanhedrin, or other analogous body, regarded as representing the nation. The court in its religious policy was only acting in accordance with the general bent of popular feeling. The "house of the king" is the royal court; not merely the king's family, but his whole staff of public officers: compare Isai. vii. 2.

for judgment is toward you] Rather, **the sentence appertaineth to you.** So the Hebrew word for "judgment" is used in Ps. xvii. 2; 1 K. iii. 28. On the recognition of the sacerdotal character of these priests, see note on ch. iv. 6.

a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor] Lit. **a snare of Mizpah.** The "snare" was to catch birds (ch. ix. 8; Prov. vii. 23; Ps. xci. 3, cxxiv. 7; Amos iii. 5. Compare 1 S. xxvi. 20): "a snare on Mizpah" is "such a snare as may be found on Mizpah." Since the parallel clause has a proper name, "Tabor," we must obviously take "Mizpah" as a proper name likewise, and not render it as a common noun, "look-out hill," "beacon-hill." The name, being thus significant, was applied to several places, as "Beacon-Hill" is among ourselves. Here is most probably meant the Mizpah of Gilead, associated with a venerable reminiscence of Jacob's history (Gen. xxxi. 49), and mentioned besides as "Mizpeh" in Judg. x. 17 (cp. note); xi. 11, 29, 34. "Tabor" was on the western side of Jordan, being the celebrated hill of the name in Galilee (Judg. iv. 6, 12, 14; 1 Chro. vi. 77): its sylvan slopes would afford covert to all kinds of game both winged and four-footed, which, accordingly, still abound there. The prophet probably means, that the persons addressed availed themselves of their elevated position in

not hid from me: for now, O Ephraim, thou committest whoredom, *and* Israel is defiled.

† Heb. *They will not give.* ‖ Or, *Their doings will not suffer* them.

4 † ‖ They will not frame their doings to turn unto their God: for the spirit of whoredoms *is* in the midst of them, and they have not known the LORD.

5 And the pride of Israel doth testify to his face: therefore shall Israel

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the commonwealth, only to mislead the people. Speculatores, inquit, vos posui et principes in populo, et in excelso dignitatis culmine constitui, ut populum regeretis errantem: vos autem facti estis laqueus, et non tam speculatores et principes, quam venatores appellandi. *Jerome.* Priests and nobles all over the country, on this side of Jordan and on the other, by law, by precept, and by example, were furthering, not only the heretical worship of Jehovah, but also idolatry and the rankest immorality.

2. *And the revolters are profound to make slaughter*] Rather, **Yea, deep in slaughtering have they gone, the apostates.** The form of expression in the Hebrew, "slaughtering they have made deep," is precisely analogous to that which we have in Isai. xxxi. 6, "have deeply revolted," literally, "they have made revolting deep." The rendering here given is the same as that of Dr Pusey and Wünsche; the former referring the "slaughtering" to actual murders (ch. iv. 2, vi. 9), the latter to the slaying of sacrifices. An easier solution is to suppose that the notion of "slaughtering" carries forward the image in the preceding verse. "The leading men in Israel are snares to bring the people to destruction; yea, and deep is the carnage which they have wrought,—these apostate revolters!" The "slaughtering" is to be taken figuratively, of the destruction which their vicious influence brought upon the people. See Note below.

though I have been a rebuker of them all] Rather, **for I give myself unto the chastisement of them all.** Already had the wrath of the Lord descended upon the Northern kingdom, and in no light strokes: but it was not to be appeased by anything short of its entire destruction. "All of them:" both deceivers and deceived shall perish. The Hebrew is, "I am chastisement to all of them;" the form of expression being similar to that in Ps. cix. 4, "I give myself unto prayer," which literally is "I am prayer." See note in loc. The aspect which Jehovah now wore towards His people was purely that of punishment. Comp. ch. x. 10. "Chastisement" is used as in Jer. xxx. 14.

3. *I know Ephraim*] **I, even I, know Ephraim.** In the Hebrew the pronoun is inserted with emphasis. It presents the Almighty Sovereign as one whose cognisance of Israel's behaviour was a matter of supremest moment. "Know—not hid from me," as in Ps. lxix. 5.

for now] As it were: The matter is already decided in My judgment: nothing further needs to be known for its just determination. "Ephraim" is often identical with "Israel," *i.e.* with the Northern kingdom. In this verse, however, most probably it designates the tribe. As the most powerful of all the ten tribes, Ephraim eyed Judah's position, in supplying the monarch of the whole nation, with especial envy, and was, no doubt, much influenced thereby in heading the defection from David's dynasty. To this tribe Jeroboam belonged. Even the calf-worship may be regarded as having mainly originated in their tribal ambition: they wished thus to counterbalance the importance which Judah derived from the close connection in which it stood with the temple at Jerusalem.

committest whoredom] Rather, **hast set forward whoredom.** The causative conjugation is used here, as in ch. iv. 10, where see note. Cp. vi. 10. The calf-worship is mainly designated.

is defiled] Used of an adulteress in Num. v. 13, 14; and hence often of idolaters, as Lev. xviii. 24; Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. xx. 7.

4. *They will not frame*] Hebrew, "They will not give," as in Eccl. i. 13; 1 Chro. xxii. 19 ("set"); Gen. xvii. 5 ("made"). The marginal rendering, "their doings will not suffer *them* to turn unto their God" (so Targum, and many commentators), gives a good sense, if understood with reference to the strong hold which inveterate habit has on a man; but this seems somewhat too recondite a sentiment, while the absence in the Hebrew of "them" after "suffer" is also an objection. In the words which immediately follow, the prophet explains their obstinate impenitency in a different manner.

their God] Having peculiar claims upon them.

for the spirit of whoredoms is in the midst of them] Rather, **is within them.** "The spirit of whoredoms," *i.e.* an unaccountable and uncontrollable impulse to idolatry. See note on ch. iv. 12. Compare Eph. ii. 2. "Within them," in their inmost being, as in Ps. xxxix. 3, li. 10. "In the midst of them" would mean, "at work amongst them, embosomed and rife in their congregation."

have not known the LORD] *i.e.* either, "refuse to recognize Him as their God;" or, "are dead to the sense of His goodness and power." The latter is best, as the clause forms a part of the explanation of their behaviour.

5. *And the pride of Israel doth testify to his face*] Rather, "Therefore humbled shall be

and Ephraim fall in their iniquity; Judah also shall fall with them.

6 They shall go with their flocks and with their herds to seek the LORD; but they shall not find *him;* he hath withdrawn himself from them.

7 They have dealt treacherously against the LORD: for they have begotten strange children: now shall a month devour them with their portions.

8 Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah,

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the pride of Israel in his own sight," *i.e.* his greatness shall be broken down, and he shall feel it to be so; "in his own sight," as in Ezek. xx. 43, "ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight," *i.e.* ye shall be loathsome, and feel yourselves to be so. This sense of "humbled" is given by LXX., Chaldee Targum, Rashi, Aben Ezra, Luther, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Mendelssohn. The Hebrew verb is used in this sense of being "humbled," or "afflicted," Ps. cxix. 67; Isai. xxv. 6, xxxi. 4. The "pride of Israel" means all those circumstances of worldly greatness, on which the Ten Tribes, and especially Ephraim, vaunted themselves so highly. Comp. Amos vi. 8, "excellency (lit. pride) of Jacob." Ephraim's greatness and pride are admirably illustrated from the history in Dr Pusey's note on this passage. The same words occur ch. vii. 10. See Note below.

therefore shall, &c.] Rather, **yea, Israel and Ephraim shall stumble**, *i.e.* "yea, Israel, vauntingly so self-styled, and Ephraim, —that name of overweening self-boasting, shall be brought to the ground."

Judah also shall fall with them] **shall stumble.** This is not inconsistent with ch. i. 7; for Judah still fell to the ground, though afterwards restored. Her participation in Israel's idolatries has been indicated ch. iv. 15.

6. *They shall go with their flocks and with their herds*] With large gifts of lambs, sheep, and goats ("flocks"), of calves, heifers, and bulls ("herds"), they may peradventure endeavour to appease Jehovah's wrath; but if they do, it will be too late. Compare Micah iii. 4; and the ineffectual repentance of Judah under Josiah in 2 K. xxiii. 26, 27. "Go;" —Judah, to Jehovah's temple at Jerusalem; Israel, those of the remnant that were "left" (1 K. xix. 18), to the altar of His corrupted worship at Bethel, or to other altars (cp. 1 K. xviii. 30, xix. 10).

he hath withdrawn himself from them] As the verb ordinarily means to "strip off," as, for example, one's shoes, it here denotes Jehovah's disengaging Himself from all the ties which connected Him with His people. He was "departed from" them (1 S. xxviii. 15).

7. *dealt treacherously*] **faithlessly**, as an adulteress: cp. Jer. iii. 20.

begotten strange children] **borne alien children**, *i.e.* children which were none of the Lord's, no genuine offspring of the theocracy, heathens in heart and conduct. Compare ch. ii. 4, note; Isai. lvii. 3. The Targum and Jewish commentators were probably right, in seeing here a reference in particular to the issue of intermarriages with the old Canaanite inhabitants of the country, and with neighbouring idolaters. It had been foretold that such intermarriages would lead Israel into idolatry; and so it had proved. Compare Deut. vii. 3, 4; Judg. iii. 5—7; 1 K. xi. 1—8; Ps. cvi. 34—39. The story of Ahab's marriage with the Sidonian Jezebel, and of its disastrous results, was only one instance of what was no doubt continually occurring very extensively in all ranks. The "children" are, however, styled "alien," not so much on account of their parentage, as of the heathenishness of their character.

now] There is no room for further hesitation: the time is come.

now shall a month devour them] Or, rather, "now shall the new-moon devour them." The Hebrew noun (*chōdesh*) means indifferently "month" and "new moon." The new moon of the Israelites proved their ruin, partly through the insincerity with which they attended to the Jehovistic observance of that national holiday prescribed by the Law (comp. Isai. i. 13), partly through their idolatrous profanation of it (so Keil and Wünsche). It is here cited as a sample of their general behaviour. If we adhere to the rendering of A. V., we shall best understand "a month" with Jerome, Kimchi, Calvin and Dr Pusey, as denoting a brief period, now in the counsels of Heaven fixed and determined: compare *v.* 9. But the choice of this particular designation of time would seem extremely arbitrary, Zech. xi. 8 affording us a very doubtful parallel; and there is the further inconvenience, that the Hebrew Scriptures perhaps furnish no other example of that particular form of personification by which a period of time is spoken of as itself effecting what is done by other agents in it; for the use of the expression, "the day of the Lord," is different.

with their portions] **with their portions of inheritance.** For the form of expression compare Gen. vi. 13, "with the earth." These "portions" were the portions of land assigned to the several families of Israel. Josh. xix. 9; 2 K. ix. 10. These "portions" should be "consumed;" that is, those ancient tenures should be brought to an end by the general

and the trumpet in Ramah: cry aloud *at* Beth-aven, after thee, O Benjamin.

9 Ephraim shall be desolate in the day of rebuke: among the tribes of Israel have I made known that which shall surely be.

10 The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound: *therefore* I will pour out my wrath upon them like water.

11 Ephraim *is* oppressed *and* broken in judgment, because he willingly walked after the commandment.

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captivity of the people and the desolation of the country (Jerome, Keil, Wünsche). This view of the words seems preferable to the somewhat recondite interpretation (Eichhorn, Simson, Dr Pusey), which takes "their portions" as being their idols which they had made their portions (Isai. lvii. 6), in place of Jehovah, who was the proper "portion of His people" (Ps. xvi. 5; Jer. x. 16). The phrase can hardly embrace both senses.

8. *Blow ye*, &c.] The inspired prophet sees in vision the invading hosts, which are to execute God's judgments, already in the heart of the country. The (bent-back) "cornet," *shōphar*, and the (straight) "trumpet," *chatzōtzerah* (on which see note on Num. x. 2), which are not always distinguished in our Authorized Version, were used in times of invasion to sound the alarm. See Jer. iv. 5, vi. 1; Ezek. xxxiii. 3—5; chap. viii. 1. "Cry aloud," in grief and terror, as in Micah iv. 9; Isai. xv. 4. "Gibeah" was four miles north of Jerusalem, and "Ramah" two miles further off. "Beth-aven" is here, most probably, not Bethel, as in ch. iv. 15, but a town which lay east of Bethel towards Michmash. Bethel had ceased to belong to Benjamin, most probably at the disruption. The meaning of the verse seems to be, that the enemy, having already conquered the Northern kingdom, was now threatening the Southern with its capital. Compare *vv.* 10, 12, 14, as shewing that the prophet has in his eye just now the destruction of both kingdoms. The terror spread in the Southern kingdom by the approach of the invader, here described by Hosea (after his manner) curtly, is more fully portrayed by Isaiah (ch. x. 28—32) in relation to Sennacherib's invasion.

after thee, O Benjamin] *i.e.* he is at thy heels; compare Jer. xlviii. 2; Ezek. v. 12: or, possibly, "look behind thee." Benjamin is probably named as in part containing the Southern capital. On Hosea's reticence, in only *indicating* Jerusalem and not explicitly naming her, see Introd. p. 406. The population of Jerusalem was probably in the main Benjamite: comp. Jer. vi. 1; and note on 1 K. xii. 21.

9. *be desolate*] **become a desolation.**

in the day of rebuke] *i.e.* at the time when the sinner's doings are laid bare (Ps. l. 21; Ezek. v. 15), and "visited" in punishment (ch. ix. 7).

among the tribes of Israel have I made known that which shall surely be] **that which is sure**, certainly true, as in Ps. xix. 7; the sentence shall not be revoked. The expression, "the tribes of Israel," is nowhere used to denote the Ten Tribes only, but always means the whole nation (Ezek. xxxvii. 19 is no exception: for there "his fellows" qualifies the expression so as to limit it to the tribes confederate with Ephraim). Hosea therefore here refers to his prophesying as exercised in the face of the whole nation. Though he ordinarily addresses himself to the Northern kingdom only, he yet repeatedly has a message to deliver also to Judah as linking herself to Ephraim, and, in this particular context, most emphatically. His solemn asseveration, therefore, interposed as it is between the denunciation of Ephraim's desolation and the wrath to be poured upon Judah, applies to both alike.

10. *were like them that remove the bound*] **are become like them that remove the landmark.** The removal of ancient landmarks is forbidden in Deut. xix. 14, and put under a curse in Deut. xxvii. 17. It is mentioned in connection with the oppression of the defenceless in Prov. xxiii. 10 and Job xxiv. 2. The prophet therefore marks the nobles of Judah as grasping and tyrannical in dealing with their weaker neighbours; and thus his language appears identical in import with Isaiah's denunciation of "the ancients of His people" (ch. iii. 14). See also Isai. i. 23, x. 1, 2. As, however, the prophet does not say, that "the princes of Judah *were* they who removed the landmark," but that they "were become *like* them," he must mean to charge them with high-handed recklessness in respect to the rights of others in general, including, perhaps, Jehovah's rights as well. But it would seem arbitrary to suppose, with Keil, that their trespasses against Jehovah are mainly intended. The prophet apparently refers to Deuteronomy (xix. 14, xxvii. 17): a fact deserving of notice in relation to the age of that book. See likewise note on the next verse.

like water] The wrath coming down in full stream. Comp. the use of the figure in Isai. xliv. 3.

11. *Ephraim is oppressed and broken in judgment*] **Overwhelmed is Ephraim, crushed in his cause**, lit. "crushed of

12 Therefore *will* I *be* unto Ephraim as a moth, and to the house of Judah as [1] rottenness.

13 When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah *saw* his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and

[1] Or, *a worm.*

judgment," *i.e.* utterly defeated in his plea. Others, not so well, "crushed rightfully." The expression points to that Providential judgment, often referred to in Scripture, which is ever being from time to time held, upon states as well as upon individuals. In such a court, Ephraim had had his cause utterly and hopelessly defeated. The words "overwhelmed" or "oppressed" and "crushed" include, according to Rashi and Kimchi, a reference to the violence exercised by the heathen powers: these were Ephraim's adversaries employed to execute the sentence. The Hebrew verbs so rendered are repeatedly conjoined; as 1 S. xii. 3, 4; Amos iv. 1; Jer. xxii. 17; and especially Deut. xxviii. 33, which last passage, relating as it does to Israel's punishment for idolatry, the prophet has evidently in his eye.

because he willingly walked after the commandment] **because he would go after the ordinance.** "Would," *i.e.* wilfully set himself to do so. The "ordinance" can only mean the calf set up by Jeroboam, the worship of which was to the end of the monarchy persistently upheld, even by the best of the Northern kings; shewing how deeply the inclination towards it was rooted in the popular mind. Comp. Micah vi. 16. Men are often said in Scripture to "go after" the object of their worship; but never to "go after a commandment" in the sense of obeying it. The Hebrew noun (*tsav*) occurs besides only in Isai. xxviii. 10, 13; in which passage its use is modified by the context in so very peculiar a manner as to give us little help here. Its proper sense appears to be "precept," "commandment," "ordinance." Most critics who accept this rendering consider, that Jeroboam's calf is so designated as being an ordinance of man set up in the face of God's law (Aben Ezra, Wünsche). Possibly the word "ordinance" had become a fixed term in popular usage to denote this particular object, as the word "sacrament" is often used in a concrete sense to denote the consecrated bread and wine of the Lord's Supper.—See Note below.

12. *Therefore will I be*, &c.] Rather, **Therefore am I as the moth unto Ephraim, and as the wood-worm to the house of Judah.** The *v.* points back to the two preceding: "and thus it comes to pass that I, in place of being their Conservator and Defence, am wasting away the whole power of both Israel and Judah by the inward working upon them of my curse." Comp. the use of the same figure in Job xiii. 28; Ps. xxxix. 11; Isai. l. 9, li. 8. Ephraim and Judah, in fact rotten to the core, were prepared at the first rough handling from Assyria or Babylon to perish utterly.

13. *his sickness... his wound*] Political adversity is often compared to sickness, as ch. vi. 1, vii. 1; Isai. i. 5, 6; Jer. xxx. 12, 13.

and sent to king Jareb] Or, "and one sent to the champion king," or, "to the king that shall plead." Ephraim appears not alone in this application to Assyria: this we gather, both from the mention of Judah in the protasis, which otherwise would have no bearing on the apodosis, and from the plural pronoun in "heal you," and "cure you of your wound." Either, then, we must with some commentators, as Kimchi, understand the subject to the verb "sent" to be Judah, which, however, does not seem a natural way of construing; or, we must suppose that the application referred to was made by Ephraim in the name of the sister kingdom as well. The "king Jareb" is mentioned again in ch. x. 6, "it shall be carried unto Asshur for a present to king Jareb;" which passage proves that the parallelism of the two clauses before us is a parallelism of identity, and that "king Jareb" is the king of Assyria. Hence, in the next clause we have "he," not "they." Why the Assyrian king is so designated is matter of conjecture. Hebrew scholars are of opinion that the absence of the article with the noun "king" militates against our taking "Jareb" as a proper name; "king Solomon," *e.g.*, in Hebrew is always "the king Solomon." There is again no evidence of there being any place or people bearing the name of "Jareb;" so that one of the two marginal renderings of A. V., "the king of Jareb," has nothing in its favour. The other marginal rendering, "the king that should plead," brings us to the sense that is most generally acquiesced in, namely, "Pleader," "Avenger," "Champion." It may possibly have been the well-known titular epithet of some particular sovereign, like Σωτήρ, Ἐπιφανής, and the like. There appears, at all events, a certain irony in the introduction of the epithet: as if the "champion king" could avail aught against Jehovah's will! The history mentions application being made to "Pul" by Menahem, king of Israel (2 K. xv. 19), and to Tiglath-pileser by Ahaz, king of Judah (2 K. xvi. 7, 8). Hoshea's relations with Shalmanezer (2 K. xvii. 3) were of a different complexion. But there may have been many other appeals made to Asshur for help, besides those which the history chances to mention; for there was a continual tendency on the part of those kings of Judah and Israel, who did not rely upon the protection

sent † to king Jareb: yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound.

† Or. *to the king of Jareb: or, to the king that should plead.*

14 For I *will be* unto Ephrajm as a lion, and as a young lion to the house of Judah: I, *even* I, will tear and go away; I will take away, and none shall rescue *him*.

15 ¶ I will go *and* return to my place, † till they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face: in their affliction they will seek me early.

† Heb. *till they be guilty.*

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of Jehovah, to look abroad for assistance, whether against foreign or domestic difficulties, and this form of unbelief is frequently reproved. Cp. ch. vii. 11, viii. 9, xii. 1, xiv. 3; Isai. vii. 20, "razor that is hired;" xxx. 2, xxxi. 1. See Introduction, pp. 403, 404.

Schrader, in his 'Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament' (p. 281), holds strongly by the view, that "Jareb" must be an appellative = "the champion king;" and, in connection with an hypothesis identifying the "Shalman" mentioned ch. x. 14 with Shalmaneser III., inclines to think, that the particular sovereign here meant was Assur-dan-ilu (Assur-dayan), B.C. 771—754, who made a succession of expeditions towards the west, one reaching as far as Arpad. See the Eponymal Canon of his reign in Ménant, 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' pp. 131, 132. But this identification appears precarious.

yet could he not, &c.] Or, **yet shall he not be able to heal you, nor cure you of your wound**, or, "nor shall ye be cured of your wound." "You," *i.e.* either of you.

14. *as a lion, and as a young lion*] There is no appreciable difference between the two animals here named—the *shachal*, "brayer," "roarer," and the *kephir*, "maned" or "powerful"—except that the latter denotes the lion combining the fresh vivacity of youth with the almost perfect strength of maturity. Here we have presented to our view no longer the silent though sure work of the "moth" or "wood-worm" (*v.* 12); Jehovah is about to proceed to a more decisive and more conspicuous operation of His power; and in prospect of this, all Israel's endeavours to retrieve himself should be fruitless; the "for" pointing back to the preceding verse.

I, even I] Or, **I myself, even I**. In Hebrew, one pronoun added gives greater emphasis; here the pronoun "I" is added twice, marking with unusual intensity the interposition of the Divine hand. "A day of the Lord" was indeed coming upon all Israel.

will tear and go away, &c.] **will rend and go away** (with my prey); **I will bear it off, and there shall be none to rescue.** The lion's feline mode of dealing with its prey, first tearing, and then carrying off, is graphically indicated with a distinct predictive meaning. For in the event we see, first, that Shalmanezer "rent" in pieces the Northern kingdom, and then "carried off" its population; and, subsequently, that Nebuchadnezzar dealt in the same manner with Judah.

15. *return to my place*] Jehovah had come forth from "His place" (Isai. xxvi. 21) to execute His wrath. This being done, He will withdraw into His retirement, whither Israel shall find no access (comp. ch. iii. 4, v. 6).

acknowledge their offence] **find out their guiltiness**; lit. "be guilty." The verb sometimes denotes the offender's having his guilt brought home to his consciousness; as in Zech. xi. 5 "hold themselves guilty;" Prov. xxx. 10; Jer. ii. 3.

and seek my face] Looking no more to men but to God. Comp. ch. xiv. 3. To "seek God's face" is to endeavour to gain the consciousness and manifestation of His favour. Comp. Prov. xxix. 26; Ps. xxvii. 8.

in their affliction they will seek me early] Perhaps a reminiscence of Deut. iv. 29, 30. We have in this verse, under a different form, the same account of the future of Israel and of Judah (see ch. vi. 4) which was given in ch. iii. 4, 5. Partially fulfilled in Dan. ix. 2, 3, the prediction awaits its more perfect accomplishment in the time indicated in Rom. xi. 25, 26.

NOTES on CHAP. V. 2, 5, 11.

2. The sense given in the foot-note is justified by the following considerations. The verb שחט, "slay," is used very often of slaughtering a sacrifice; but it is also used of slaying a man, as in Num. xiv. 16; Judg. xii. 6; 2 K. x. 7, &c. שחטה is the feminine infinitive, like אהבה, Isai. lvi. 6; יראה, Isai. xxix. 13; דאבה, Jer. xxxi. 12. The word שטים is derived from שוט, which occurs once in Ps. xl. 4, שטי כזב; where the first consonant has for its vowel *kametz*. The noun has *tsere*, to distinguish it from the participle, like נר, "sojourner," לץ, "mocker." So Ewald, 'Lehrbuch,' § 151 b, p. 392 (7th edit.); and accordingly he renders it in his 'Propheten' by Abtrünnige, with which Dr Pusey and Wünsche agree. So Kimchi. The Masoretic interpunctuation, in separating שטים from the following verb, is represented by taking this noun, as not being the subject of the verb,

but as placed in apposition to the subject. "Slaughtering" does not of itself define "offering *idolatrous* sacrifices;" being used also of slaying victims to Jehovah.

5. This rendering of A. V. means, according to some, "the proud self-sufficiency of Israel, shewing itself in stiffnecked rebellion against the Lord, calls aloud for his punishment" (so Jerome, Ewald, Wünsche, Dr Pusey, Bp Wordsworth); according to others, "The Lord Himself (comp. Amos viii. 7) stands forth to arraign Israel" (thus Arab. Version in Merx, Hitzig, Simson, Keil). But though "answer against him" is a perfectly legitimate expression (cp. Heb. of Deut. xix. 16; Isai. iii. 9; Jer. xiv. 7), yet "answer against his face" is hardly so: it should be "answer against him to his face."

11. "Commandment." The Septuagint has *ματαίων*, meaning thereby idols, and no doubt reading שְׁוְא, put for שָׁוְא, as in the kethibh of Job xv. 31. The Chaldee paraphrast also plainly had the same reading; for he paraphrases the clause thus: "because the judges are turned to err (*or* go aside) after the mammon of falsehood." Gesenius in his 'Thesaurus' (in verb. צוּ) does not hesitate to accept this as the true reading. It would make no material difference in the sense, if it were adopted; but the Masoretic reading is so strongly attested by the manuscripts, and admits of so plausible an explanation, that we dare not accept the alteration. The Vulgate, which gives *sordes*, shews that Jerome had the same consonants in his Hebrew text, and only read them with a different vowel, *tso*, צֹו for צוֹא, *excrementum*. Such an interpretation might suit the coarse taste of later Jews in speaking of idolatry; but we should hardly expect such a phrase in Hosea. The hypothesis that צוּ was another form of שׁוּ labours under two objections; (1) that *tsadhe* is sometimes interchanged with the softer sibilants as *samech* or *sin*, but never with *shin*, see Gesenius, 'Thes.,' on the latter; and (2) that then we should have two anomalies concurring in the word; both the permutation of the צ for שׁ and also the omission of the א.

The Hebrew verb rendered "would" means making up one's mind to do a thing, with reference frequently to difficulty or other considerations prompting to a different course of conduct. Here it intimates defiance of the Lord's prohibition and warnings. It is the same verb as we have in 1 S. xii. 22, "pleased;" Deut. i. 5, "began;" Exod. ii. 21; Judg. xix. 6; 2 K. v. 23, "be content;" Josh. xvii. 12, "would."

CHAPTER VI.

1 *An exhortation to repentance.* 4 *A complaint of their untowardness and iniquity.*

COME, and let us return unto the LORD: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up.

2 [a] After two days will he revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight. [a] 1 Cor. 15. 4.

CHAP. VI. 1. *Come, and let us return unto the* LORD] Come (they shall then say), and, &c. This verse, with the two which follow, is closely connected with the close of the preceding chapter, both by the words "he hath torn," reciting the "I will tear" of ch. v. 14, and by the words "he will revive us," which imply, not only the illness of ibid. 13, but also the utter destruction indicated ibid. 14. As the state of things thus recognized was for the most part yet future, the confession and mutual exhortation here founded thereupon also belong to a future time. We cannot then regard the present verse as an exhortation addressed by the prophet to his contemporaries. It is rather language which Israel would be ready to employ in that future season of self-recollection. So LXX., Targum, Rashi, &c. The prophet, having indicated in ch. v. 15 that such a time would come, here, so to speak, hastens forward with alacrity to help them in the expression of their penitence; with the feeling, no doubt, on his heart, "Would that even *now* they thus would speak!"

for he hath torn] *i.e.* **for he it is that hath torn.** The pronoun "He," introduced with emphasis in the Hebrew, gives the clause this particular turn.

and he will heal us...and he will bind us up] Rather, **and he shall heal us...and he shall bind us up.** These penitents express, not so immediately the assurance that God would vouchsafe to heal, as the determination to look to Him alone for healing; cp. ch. xiv. 3. The figures of healing, and binding up wounds, are similarly applied in other places; Exod. xv. 26; Deut. xxxii. 39; Job v. 18; Isai. i. 6, xxx. 26; Hos. vii. 1, xiv. 4. Perhaps there is an allusion in this and the next verse to Deut. xxxii. 39.

2. *After two days*, &c.] *i.e.* "We dare not expect that there will be no delay in Jehovah's complete acceptance of our repentance: but, so great is His mercy! the delay will not be long: one full day, it may be; but we feel assured, that on the morrow He will revive our prostrate state; or that, at the latest, on the day after to-morrow He will raise us up that we may live before Him." "Revive,"

3 Then shall we know, *if* we follow on to know the LORD: his going forth is prepared as the morning; and he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter *and* former rain unto the earth.

"quicken," "make alive," is applied figuratively, as in Ps. lxxi. 20, lxxxv. 6, cxxxviii. 7; Isai. lvii. 15. "To rise up," as from a bed, is repeatedly used also of rising up from death; see Job xiv. 12; Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Isai. xxvi. 14, 19; so that, in all probability, the expression "raise up" means, here, restoration from a state of death. The state of death is a figure expressing the extinction of all that well-being of the nation, both spiritual and secular, which it once derived from the favour of its God. Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii.) is a remarkable illustration, on a large scale, of the use of this figure. "Live in his sight;" *i.e.* viewed by Him with complacency, and safe in His protection. Comp. Gen. xvii. 18. In regard to the two designations of time here given, we find in the N. T. that, in reference to our Lord's resurrection, the expression "after three days," μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (for we never in this relation have mention of "after two days"), is used convertibly with "on the third day." See Mark viii. 31 compared with Mark ix. 31 and Matt. xvi. 21; and Matt. xxvii. 63 with ib. verse 64. And so no doubt "after three days" is to be taken in Luke ii. 46. Interpreted by this analogy, the phrase "after two days," in LXX. μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, does not, as it has very commonly (though not by Jewish commentators) been taken for granted that it does, denote the same as "on the third day," but would rather find its equivalent in the phrase "on the second day," which in Exod. ii. 13 (compare Acts vii. 28) and Judg. xx. 24 means "on the morrow." And this would seem to be the meaning of "after two days" in John iv. 43 and in Matt. xxvi. 2, in which latter passage, it should seem, our Lord, speaking on the Wednesday, refers to what was to be done on the morrow afternoon. For a parallel use of the notion of two or three days applied figuratively to denote a short period, see Luke xiii. 32. For the indeterminate use of numerals compare also Isai. xvii. 6.

The language of the verse, as above interpreted, finds its just and complete application in the hopes expressed by those penitent Israelites, whose posture of mind the prophet is here dramatically setting forth. So Calvin, Henderson, Hengstenberg, Keil and Wünsche. In all ages, however, Christian piety has very generally recognized in its wording a reference to our Lord's resurrection. There is nothing in the New Testament to constrain us so to apply the passage; for, so far as appears, it makes no allusion to it. Nevertheless, a believer in Christ, without fearing any censure from sound criticism, may be bold to surmise, that "the Spirit of Christ which was in Hosea" did prompt him so to fashion his utterance, as in an allusive manner to turn the thoughts of those who in future ages should repent towards that great event. The death and burial of Christ as "made sin for us," succeeded "on the third day" by His resurrection, is, in fact, for all penitents, the sole and certain ground of their being freed from the state of sin and condemnation and rising again to live in God's sight. Since therefore it was to be by virtue of Christ's being raised from the dead on the third day that penitents were to be "raised up" from their spiritual misery, it may well be believed, that the Holy Spirit suggested the designation of time, which is here given and which is certainly remarkable, with an oblique reference to the resurrection of the Saviour of the world.

3. *Then shall we know*, &c.] Rather, **Yea, let us know, let us follow on to know, the Lord.** The form of the verbs "let us know" and "let us follow on" in the Hebrew marks them as *cohortative*, and as standing parallel with "let us return" in *v.* 1. "Let us know the Lord;" the knowledge is that mentioned in ch. iv. 1, and which in *v.* 6 of this chapter reappears, as representing our duty, and not merely our felicity. It may be briefly described as the devoting of the soul to God, with the desire and endeavour after the conscious enjoyment of His favour, joined with the study also to do His will in practical obedience. "Follow on;" the word denotes earnest endeavour, as in Deut. xvi. 20; Ps. xxxiv. 14. The abrupt addition of "let us follow on to know" may be taken, either as a stirring exhortation to earnest endeavour, or as a correction of the preceding "let us know," dictated by the feeling, that though we must use our best endeavours to know God, yet after all the actual attainment to that knowledge must come to us from above.

his going forth is prepared] Or, "fixed." The night of sorrow and contrition is sure to be followed by the joyful manifestation of His mercy. Comp. Ps. xxx. 5; Isai. lviii. 8. "His going forth," as in Ps. xix. 6.

and he shall come, &c.] Or, **he shall come as the plentiful rain unto us, as the latter rain which watereth the earth.** The same image as in Ps. lxxii. 6; Prov. xvi. 15; Isai. lv. 10. We may observe the accumulation of images to describe the joyous change; morning to the weary watcher, plentiful rain to the parched ground. Comp. Æschylus 'Agam.' 874, 875. See Note below.

4 ¶ O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your ‖goodness *is* as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away.

‖ Or, *mercy*, or, *kindness.*

5 Therefore have I hewed *them* by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth: ‖and thy judgments *are as* the light *that* goeth forth.

‖ Or, *that thy judgments might be, &c.*

6 For I desired [b] mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.

[b] 1 Sam. 15. 22. Eccles. 5. 1. Matth. 9. 13. & 12. 7.

7 But they ‖like men have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt treacherously against me.

‖ Or, *like Adam.*

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4. The first three verses of the chapter close the foregoing discourse (to which they properly belong) with a promise of blessing; in the same way as the first three chapters are severally closed. Verse 4 commences a new discourse, consisting of sharp and varied rebuke, reaching down to the end of the seventh chapter. The first topic of rebuke is the superficial character of whatever religious reformation was at any time exhibited by either Israel or Judah, and which in the history is illustrated in the accounts given of Ahab and of Jehu, of Hezekiah and of Josiah. This rebuke however does not apply, as some have supposed, to the penitence described in the foregoing three verses; for those verses contain no indication whatever of a repentance superficial or evanescent. At the same time, the imagery ("morning cloud," "dew," "light," "slain them") belongs to the same region of thought as verses 1—3 ("morning," "rain," "torn us"); shewing that this discourse, though distinct in its import, does however grow up in the prophet's mind out of the former. The connection appears to be that of contrast. The prophet feels, that Israel is as yet very far from adopting any such sentiments as he has been portraying; all their piety as yet is hollow and fleeting, and therefore of a character to warrant no expectation of a blessing.

what shall I do unto thee?] *i.e.* what further means can I possibly employ to bring you to real, steadfast piety? Comp. Isai. i. 5, 6, v. 4.

your goodness] The word *chesed*, which in *v.* 6 (as commonly) is rendered "mercy," stands here for that principle of general charity, founded upon the love of God, which is "the fulfilling of the law." It is not unaptly rendered in the text of our A.V. "goodness." So Isai. lvii. 1, where "merciful men," lit. "men of (*chesed*) mercy," stands as a general designation of the good. Others take "your mercy" for "my mercy towards you" (Jer., Luther); but we should then have the main thought, namely, the fleeting character of all acceptable behaviour on their part, implied only, not expressed.

morning cloud] Which promises rain, but in the hot sun is speedily exhaled. Comp. ch. xiii. 3.

and as the early dew it goeth away] Rather, **as the dew which early goeth away.** See Note below.

5. *have I hewed them*] **have I hewed down by the prophets.** The context shews that the verb rendered "hew" is used, as in Isai. li. 9 ("cut"), for "cut down." The meaning is, Notwithstanding Israel's occasional repentings, My work through My prophets has been that of smiting down, not making alive.—"By the prophets;" comp. 1 K. xix. 17; Jer. i. 10, v. 14.

I have slain them by the words of my mouth] Denounced death instead of promising life.

thy judgments are as the light that goeth forth] "Thy judgments," *i.e.* the judgments pronounced upon thee, as in Zeph. iii. 15. The abrupt change of the address is in harmony with Hosea's style. The minatory character of the whole imagery makes it most probable, that the "light" meant is that of the lightning flash, as in Job xxxvii. 3 ("lightning"), 15. But the meaning may possibly be, as some take it, this: will as certainly and as conspicuously appear as the light at the dawn of day. But another reading of the Hebrew text, accepted by some eminent critics, gives it thus: "and my judgment as the light (*i.e.* lightning-flash) goeth forth." See Note below.

6. *For I desired mercy*] Or, **Mercy I delight in.** The Lord Jesus cited the first half of the verse on two several occasions: first in justification of His admitting into close personal intercourse with Himself publicans and sinners, unclean as they were accounted in the view of Pharisean ceremonialism (Matt. ix. 13); and, again, in justification of His disciples relieving their hunger in violation of the traditional interpretation of the sabbatical law (Matt. xii. 7). Christ's application of the words makes it plain, that the "mercy" here spoken of is "charity,"—the goodness which when occasion offers shews itself as compassionate benevolence. The "knowledge of God," on the other hand, indicates the right posture of the heart towards Him. See note on *v.* 3 above. The whole verse therefore is identical in meaning with Mark xii. 33; where indeed the scribe, in his reference to "whole burnt offerings and sacrifices," seems to allude to it. Some take the *chesed* of the first clause as identical with "the

8 Gilead *is* a city of them that work iniquity, *and is* ‖ polluted with blood.

‖ Or, *cunning for blood.*

9 And as troops of robbers wait for a man, *so* the company of priests † murder in the way † by consent: for they commit ‖ lewdness.

† Heb. *with* one *shoulder*, or, *to Shechem.*

‖ Or, *enormity.*

10 I have seen an horrible thing

knowledge of God" in the second, pleading the parallelism. But the parallelism is not one of identity, but rather breaks up into two parts the one whole proposition, "I desire mercy and the knowledge of God rather than sacrifice and burnt-offering." Comp. ch. iv. 6, and note. "And not sacrifice;" comp. Ps. li. 16, 17, with verse 19. The passage does not in the least set aside ceremonial religion, which to some degree and in some form must at all times form a part of man's duty towards God. The sacred aphorism before us is expressed after that Hebrew idiom, which speaks of things, viewed for the moment as of subordinate importance, as if they were of no account at all; its object being simply to adjust the mutual relation of moral and of ceremonial obedience, both in respect to their comparative value, and in respect to the choice to be made between them when, as they often will do, they come into conflict with each other. On the comparative estimate of moral and ceremonial obedience, cp. 1 S. xv. 22; Ps. xv. 1—5, xl. 6, l. 8, 9; Micah vi. 6—8; Isai. i. 11—20; Jer. vii. 22, 23. The prophet was probably led to state this fundamental principle of true religion by observing, that his countrymen fancied that they satisfied the claims of Jehovah by simply offering to Him sacrifices, while they indulged in the grossest oppressions and immoralities, and even associated His worship with that of idols.

The frightful prevalence of moral disorders both in public and in private life has been insisted upon already (ch. iv. 1—16). The prophet, however, now returns to the topic, dwelling upon it at length and with intense vehemence.

7. *But they like men*, &c.] Rather, **But for them, they like Adam have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt faithlessly by me**; *i.e.* These men are altogether estranged from that mercy and piety which their covenant with Me stipulated for: as Adam in Paradise, so in the land which is the glory of all lands, which I had so freely and graciously given them, have they broken that condition of obedience which alone was required of them.—Adam's expulsion from Paradise looms behind in this reminiscence of the history, presaging Israel's analogous expulsion from Canaan. The reference to Adam is kindred to that which we have in Job xxxi. 33, and probably in Ps. lxxxii. 7 (where see note). "And does not the Apostle in Rom. v. 14 regard Israel's covenant-transgression as parallel with Adam's?" Wünsche. For the justification of the view here taken of this somewhat obscure verse, see Note below.

8. *Gilead is a city of them that work iniquity*] Gilead beyond Jordan, and in *v.* 9 the neighbourhood of Shechem on this side Jordan, are specified as samples of the gross criminality which marked the whole kingdom. "Gilead," generally the name of a region or a mountain-range, here appears as the name of a city. It is conjectured to have been the spot which in Gen. xxxi. 48, 49, is called "Galeed" and "Mizpah," and which is probably, though not indisputably, identified with Ramoth-Gilead. Ramoth-Gilead, we know, was a city of refuge (Deut. iv. 43), and therefore an abode of priests and Levites. (See Smith's 'Bible Dictionary,' *Gilead* and *Ramoth-Gilead*, and Gesenius's 'Thesaurus.') The description of its inhabitants as "them that work iniquity," points to extreme moral turpitude in general (comp. Ps. v. 5, vi. 8, xiv. 4; Is. xxxi. 2) and not to idolatry exclusively. "Gilead" is selected for especial reprobation again in ch. xii. 11.

polluted with blood] Rather, **filled with bloody foot-tracks**; lit., "foot-tracked from blood;" shewing in every direction the foot-tracks of those who "put the blood of innocent men in their shoes" (1 K. ii. 5). What the particular enormities were which drew forth this sentence of Divine reprobation, Scripture does not tell us; but it is open to us to conjecture, that allusion is made to the murder of Pekahiah by Pekah, assisted by fifty Gileadites (2 K. xv. 25). This incident, at all events, will serve to illustrate the ruffianly character of the people of the district in general. In fact the Gileadites dwelling in the mountains and on the confines of the wilderness, where like the Scotch Highlanders of former generations they were less amenable to the control of law, appear to have been distinguished from the inhabitants of the more settled lowlands by peculiar features of wildness and ferocity. It seems probable, that in the homicides referred to, the priests and Levites of Ramoth-Gilead were in some way especially implicated, and that the verse is thus kindred in thought with that which follows. Rashi and Kimchi render, "wily for shedding blood:" similarly "Saadia's" Arabic Version. But as Wünsche observes, the preposition "from" is fatal to this rendering.

9. *And as troops*, &c.] Rather, **And as troops of robbers lay wait for a man, so the company of priests murder along**

in the house of Israel: there *is* the whoredom of Ephraim, Israel is defiled.

11 Also, O Judah, he hath set an harvest for thee, when I returned the captivity of my people.

the road to Shechem; yea, enormity do they commit. Thus modern critics in general; except that Ewald, Hitzig, Simson and Keil render the first clause, "And as people of robber-bands waylay," or, "as a bandit waylays," "so" &c., the general sense remaining the same. "Shechem," afterwards "Sichem," now Nabulus, was one of the three cities of refuge west of the Jordan, and also a Levitical city (Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 21). In the time of the judges it became infamous for the robberies which its inhabitants perpetrated on "all that came along that way by them" (Judg. ix. 25); for it lay on the trunk route from central Galilee to Jerusalem and the south. This led to its destruction by Abimelech (Judg. ix. 45). Jeroboam rebuilt, or at least enlarged and fortified it, and made it for a while his capital (1 K. xii. 25, note; xiv. 17, note).

Founding upon these known facts, we may assume it to be highly probable, that there were dwelling at Shechem priests as well as Levites of the calf cultus, by whom Jeroboam had at the first, when he made Shechem his capital, replaced the Levites, and possibly the priests, who had previously lived there. This would be in harmony with his maxims of policy, which led him in general to adhere to the Mosaic institution, so far as was compatible with the introduction of his new worship. It was a matter of course, that these priests and Levites would regard with bitter hostility those in the kingdom of Israel who still clung to the purer worship (see 2 Chro. xi. 16); and it is a very plausible supposition, that they were wont to waylay, plunder and murder those pilgrims, who, either when going up to Jerusalem or on their way homeward, had occasion to pass through the Shechemite borders. This is somewhat similar to the view of "the Hebrew" whom Jerome consulted, except that he considered the priests referred to to have been "sacerdotes Bethel, immo fanatici Bethaven." Bethel was about 20 miles south of Shechem. It is in accordance with Hosea's usual reticence on the subject of the temple worship (see note on ch. v. 8), that he abstains from specifying the errand on which these wayfarers were bound. Thus the priests who lived to the west of Jordan were guilty of the same crimes as their brethren in the eastern parts of the country (*v.* 8), Shechem and Gilead being cited as samples of their order in general. For other senses given to the passage, see Note below.

10. *I have seen an horrible thing in the house of Israel*] The form of expression is repeated by Jeremiah (ch. xxiii. 14). "The house of Israel" appears to comprise the whole nation, which is next distributed into its two component parts; the northern being named in the second half of this verse, and the southern in *v.* 11.

there, &c.] Or, **there whoredom appertaineth unto Ephraim, and so Israel has been defiled.** The word "there" is allusive, gathering up in one all the kindness which Israel had received; all the light, and prosperity, and presence of Jehovah, with which she had been favoured. "Ephraim" is probably the tribe so called, specified (comp. v. 3) as taking the lead in Israel's defection.

11. *Also, O Judah*, &c.] Or, "Also, O Judah, an harvest is appointed for thee, when I turn back the captivity of my people." "Is appointed," lit. "he, (one), hath appointed," an indefinite expression, as Isai. viii. 4, where "shall be taken away" is lit. "one shall take away," Micah ii. 4, and often. The "harvest," or "reaping," is the time of retribution (Matt. xiii. 30), when men shall be made to "reap" as they have sown, whether good (as in Ps. cxxvi. 5) or evil (as in Job iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. viii. 7, x. 13). So "harvest" in Joel iii. 13; Isai. xvii. 11; Jer. li. 33. The whole strain of the context, and the words, "also, O Judah," shew that the reaping here indicated is of the same kind as Israel had secured for herself, that of punishment. "Turn back the captivity," as in Ps. xiv. 7, cxxvi. 1; Deut. xxx. 3; Job xlii. 10, where see note; Zeph. iii. 20. The meaning is, when Jehovah shall interpose to restore the well-being of His people, which Hosea repeatedly declares He will do, He will have in the first instance to apply severe judgments, to purify before He can bless (Isai. iv. 4; Mal. iv. 1, 2). The denouncement of Judah as sharing in Israel's sin and punishment is similar to ch. v. 5, 8, 10, 12, 14. This verse has been very variously construed and explained; and no exposition of its sense can be adopted without some measure of diffidence. That given above, which for the most part agrees with A.V., seems the easiest, and the most in conformity with the context.

After this chapter, the prophesying turns almost exclusively upon Ephraim, Judah being only glanced at, and that but twice (ch. viii 14, x. 11).

NOTES on CHAP. VI. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9.

3. The rendering given above of the first clause follows that of Gill, De Wette, Stier, Mendelssohn, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Simson, Keil and Wünsche. The variation of the rendering of the latter half of the verse from that of A. V. arises from the ambiguity of the word יורה, which sometimes (cf. Deut. xi. 14), as well as מורה, means the "early rains" from the middle of October to the middle of December; but which may also be, either the participle of the kal, or the future hiphil, of ירה, and with the suppletion in the latter case of the relative pronoun, may mean "which besprinkles," or "which moistens." In this case the "copious rain" mentioned first will represent the "former rains," as in Song Sol. ii. 11. The rendering given above has the almost unanimous consent of modern critics. The translation of A. V. is open to three objections: the inverted order in which the season-rains are named; the absence in the Hebrew of the conjunction between them; and the absence in the Hebrew of the preposition before "the earth," which we have rather awkwardly to supply from the לנו.

4. "The dew which early goeth away." Thus almost all critics and versions render the words. The משכים comes before הלך as a verb of qualification to a second verb, as in Zeph. iii. 7. Compare the construction of שלשת in 1 S. xx. 19; and תרבו 1 S. ii. 3. The rendering of A. V. is open to the objection, that "early" is a pointless epithet with "dew." We have the same words in ch. xiii. 3, in reference to a plural object, "they shall be as a morning cloud, &c.," which shews that "goeth away" belongs immediately to "dew."

5. ומשפטיך אור יצא. The LXX., confirmed by all the ancient versions (except the Vulgate and Jerome), and the Chaldee paraphrast, read ומשפטי כאור יצא, "and my judgment as the light goeth forth." This reading, which only transfers a consonant from the end of one word to the beginning of the next, is accepted by Michaelis, Hitzig, Ewald, Simson, Keil, and Wünsche. It makes no difference in the main sense.

7. The A.V. (in the text), "Saadia's" Arabic Vers., Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer, and Mendelssohn, take כאדם to mean "like men in general;" q. d., "they are no better than the rest of mankind." But mankind in general are not commonly represented as being in covenant with God. The Septuagint, Ewald, and Henderson take the עברו ברית as qualifying the אדם: "are like men who transgress a covenant." But (1) אדם is then altogether pointless; why was it not at once כעברי ברית? (2) What is the point of *comparing* Israel to those who transgress a covenant? It was the very thing which they themselves did. The rendering which gives the fullest sense to the words is "as Adam." So Chaldee paraphrast, Vulgate, Cyril, Luther, A.V. in the margin, Grotius, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Dr Pusey, Keil and Wünsche. God had made a covenant with Israel as He had done with Adam; and Israel had broken it as Adam had done. For the שם, Gesenius, Luther and Hitzig render it "therein," "in so doing." But "dealt falsely by me" is not a stronger expression than "they broke covenant;" it brings out no different or additional thought. Dr Pusey understands "there" of "every spot of the Lord's land which they had defiled with their sin"—*there*, and *there*, and *there*, leaving it to the sinner's own conscience to fill out the reference. Keil refers it to Bethel in particular. But after the reference to Adam, we desiderate some further allusion to the story of the Fall. The most point is given to the word by our taking it, as the Chaldee paraphrast, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, Mendelssohn and Wünsche have done, of the Holy Land given to Israel conditionally, as Paradise had been to Adam; with an implied reference to Jehovah's great goodness in bestowing such a rich inheritance upon them.

9. Jewish commentators and modern critics are mostly agreed in taking the חכי as an unusual (Gesenius says "Chaldaic;" see Ewald's 'Ausf. Lehrbuch,' § 16 b) form of the infinitive חכה, as מראי for מראה in Eccles. xi. 9. It can hardly be a mutilated participle, for that would give us the unsuitable sense, "*when* bandits waylay a man." דרך, "along the way," as in Josh. x. 10; Judg. viii. 11; and so likewise the pihel ירצחו expresses the *frequent* perpetration of murder. The rendering of A. V. (in the text) "by consent," though sanctioned by the Targum and "Saadia's" Arabic Version, is resisted by the absence of the essential "one" in the Hebrew; for "shoulder-wards," which is the exact meaning of שכמה, will not yield the same sense as "(with) one shoulder," שכם אחד (Zeph. iii. 9).

CHAPTER VII.

1 A reproof of manifold sins. 11 God's wrath against them for their hypocrisy.

WHEN I would have healed Israel, then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, and the † wickedness of Samaria: for they commit falsehood; and the thief cometh in, *and* the troop of robbers † spoileth without.

† Heb. *evils.*

† Heb. *strippeth.*

2 And they † consider not in their hearts *that* I remember all their wickedness: now their own doings have beset them about; they are before my face.

† Heb. *say not to.*

3 They make the king glad with their wickedness, and the princes with their lies.

4 They *are* all adulterers, as an oven heated by the baker, ‖ *who* ceas-

‖ Or, *the raiser will cease.*

CHAP. VII. 1. *When I would have healed Israel*] That is, restored them to prosperity; see note on ch. vi. 1. The reference most probably is to the time of Jeroboam the Second, which Hosea himself had witnessed. Comp. 2 K. xiv. 25—27. There is nothing to make it probable, that the endeavour to correct disorders by prophetic rebuke is here intended.

then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, and the wickedness of Samaria] "Ephraim," the ruling tribe; "Samaria," the royal city. "The wickedness:" **the evils**, as in the margin. The gleam of prosperity which Jehovah had accorded His people had only been attended by growing corruption, which, under the princes and usurpers that succeeded, burst forth into the most frightful disorders. This the prophet proceeds to exemplify, not, however, now in the practices of idolatry, but rather in the outbreaks of crime, such as stealing, burglary, bandit-robbery, treason. Comp. Isai. lix. 3—15. The prevalence of such disorders is not only a nation's calamity; it is also its crime. "Samaria" is specified, to indicate, that these public enormities were wrought under the very eyes of the government. Indeed the wickedness of the court itself is the first topic, which now occupies the prophet's attention.

they commit falsehood] Or, **practise lying**. The prevalence of mendacity and falsehood has been noted above, ch. iv. 2. Comp. Isai. lix. 3, 13.

the thief cometh in] Breaks into the house, as in Joel ii. 9.

spoileth without] Rather, **roameth abroad without**, scouring the highways in quest of plunder. So the verb is used in 1 S. xxvii. 10, "made a road;" 1 Chro. xiv. 9. The same verb means also "to strip off one's own clothes," but never "to strip another," except in the causative conjugation. "Without," as Exod. xxi. 19; Ezek. vii. 15.

2. *consider not in their hearts*] Rather, as in margin, "say not to their heart," to check its evil impulses. The unusual phrase is not exactly identical in meaning with the common one, "say *in* one's heart."

now their own doings have beset them about] *i.e.* Behold them! they are even now compassed about by their crimes, and the consequences of their crimes, and cannot escape. "Beset," or "compassed," as in Ps. xvii. 11, xviii. 4, xxii. 16. Compare Ps. xl. 12, and our Lord's words, "Ye shall die in your sins."

they are before my face] Comp. Ps. xc. 8, "Thou hast set our iniquities before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy countenance."

3. *They make the king glad*, &c.] It agrees best with what follows, to understand the verse of conspirators entertaining the king and their fellow-nobles at a feast, in which they purpose to assassinate him and his adherents; and to render it thus: "In their wickedness they make the king merry, and in their feigning the princes." The Hebrew word for "to be glad," is used of the mirth of wine, Eccles. viii. 15; Zech. x. 7; Ps. civ. 15, &c. According to the commonly received interpretation, the persons referred to knew, that wickedness and arts of circumvention and falsehood (comp. *v.* 1, "falsehood") formed the most acceptable recommendation to their rulers; instead therefore of concealing such evil practices, they rather paraded them before their notice for the very purpose of ingratiating themselves. Comp. Rom. i. 32, and the contrast of the "wise king" in Prov. xx. 8, 26.

4. This verse, and the three which follow, form one description; *vv.* 4, 6 and 7, being bound together by the common image of an "oven," and verses 4 and 6 by that also of the "baker." Amidst considerable obscurity we see, however, that the action is in the fourth verse brought to that stage, when the "baker has stopped from raising the fire," and is waiting till "the dough is leavened." In the beginning of the sixth verse the action is presented as still at the same stage; "the baker is sleeping all the night;" but at the close of that verse it advances to the blazing up of the fire "in the morning." *Vv.* 5 and 7 supply in some degree the clue necessary for the explanation of the figure, applying it in the two several stages of the action. In *v.* 5 there is the carouse, in which, as is indicated in *v.* 6, the "princes" are "lying in wait;" and while

‖ Or, *from waking.* eth ‖ from raising after he hath kneaded the dough, until it be leavened.

‖ Or, *with heat through, wine.* 5 In the day of our king the princes have made *him* sick ‖ with bottles of wine; he stretched out his hand with scorners.

‖ Or, *applied.* 6 For they have ‖ made ready their heart like an oven, whiles they lie in

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the unconscious sovereign is indulging in the freest familiarity with his courtiers, they, in their secret heart, are only mocking their victim. In *v.* 7, the fire, which has blazed up under the freshly applied agency of "the baker" (*v.* 6), "devours the judges," and "kings have fallen." The "baker" is the evil genius who prompts these treasons. He is not defined; and the reader may feel uncertain, whether the prophet represents in this prime agent the men, who were the prime instigators of the several instances of regicide with which the history of the Northern kingdom abounds—(Dr Pusey supposes the prime instigator of Zachariah's murder to be intended)—or whether he does not, rather, darkly shadow forth the evil "spirit of whoredoms" (comp. v. 4 and note) and of falsehood, which instigated all their treasons, whether against their God or against their king, or in their conjugal relations, or between man and man. The sense of a mighty, inexplicable agency at work among the people for evil, might well fashion to itself such a personification. It very nearly approaches to that conception of the devil as the prime instigator of wickedness, which is so clearly presented to us in the New Testament. The seventh verse, by the words "judges" and "all their kings," leads us to apply the foregoing description, not to any one instance of regicide, but to several.

They are all adulterers] The same phrase occurs in Jer. ix. 2. Both in the context of the passage before us, and in Jer. ix. 2—8 there is no distinct reference expressed either to idolatry or to unchastity, but exclusively to deceit and treachery. This suggests the conjecture, that the notion of "adultery" in both passages is applied in a wider sense than it usually bears, and is used to denote treason against plighted obligations in general; with particular allusion, as employed by Hosea, to treason against the sovereign. If this conjecture be judged too bold, and if the word must be taken in its ordinary sense, the reader is to recollect, that a general prevalence of adultery naturally infers a general prevalence likewise of every other kind of falsehood and treachery.

as an oven, &c.] Or, **as an oven burning from the baker; what time he resteth from stoking, from the kneading of the dough until it is completely leavened.** The baker, before he prepares the dough, lights up the fire in the oven and leaves it to burn and smoulder; hence the peculiar phrase "burning from the baker." It is not his business at first to heat the oven more than is sufficient to help on the fermentation of the dough, and to have it ready for being more highly heated before the batch is put in. The verse appears to set forth the ordinary state of feeling prevailing on the part of the courtiers towards their king, which it marks as false and perfidious; made so under the influence of the "baker," and ready at his impulse to assume a more intense and active form. The figure of the "burning oven," as in Ps. xxi. 9, and Mal. iv. 1, sets forth, not merely the intensity of the passion which possesses these men, but also and rather its destructive agency upon others: see *v.* 7.

5. *In the day of our king*] *i.e.* "In 'the day of our king,' as they speak." Though the pious and loyal subjects of David's dynasty might thus speak of a king of Judah, whatever his personal character (comp. Lam. iv. 20), it is hard to believe that Hosea would, as of himself, designate as "*our* king" one of those kings of Israel. Compare the language used of them *v.* 3; ch. viii. 4, x. 3, 7, 15, xiii. 10, 11. The prophet more probably borrows the phrase of the traitorous courtiers, who with ostentation of loyalty had upon their lips "the day of our king," which openly would be understood to mean the anniversary (probably) of his birth or accession, but which disguised another sense, the day of his meditated destruction (comp. Job xviii. 20; Ps. xxxvii. 13; Obad. 12).

have made him sick with bottles of wine] Rather, as in margin, **made him sick with heat through wine**, lit., "have made sick (*or* sickening) the heat through wine." The carouse has heated the party to intoxication; the object of the princes being to murder the king when drunk. The Hebrew construction is similar to that in Micah vi. 13, "I will make thee sick through smiting thee;" lit. "I will make sick (or sickening) thy smiting." "Heat through wine" presents a kindred notion to the heat of the oven. The intoxication would inflame and embolden their own feelings of hatred, at the same time that it made the king their easier prey. See Note below.

he stretched out his hand with scorners] Or, **mockers.** The king is described as shewing eager boon-companionship with men who secretly derided him as their victim. "With" denoting fellowship, as in Exod. xxiii. 1; 1 S. xxii. 17; Hab. iii. 13. There is no reference in Scripture to convivial usages similar to those indicated by Homer's δείδεκται, or Horace's *porrecta negantem pocula*, which some critics have cited.

6. *For they have made ready their heart*

wait: their baker sleepeth all the night; in the morning it burneth as a flaming fire.

7 They are all hot as an oven, and have devoured their judges; all their kings are fallen: *there is* none among them that calleth unto me.

8 Ephraim, he hath mixed himself among the people; Ephraim is a cake not turned.

9 Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth *it* not: yea, gray hairs are † here and there upon him, yet he knoweth not.

† Heb. *sprinkled*

like an oven] More properly, "For they **bring near** like an oven their heart, whilst they lie in wait." They approach the king, professing loyal devotion, but with a heart heated with traitorous hatred, like an oven ready to devour. The sentence is somewhat uncouth, through its blending together the image and the thing signified: an observation which applies likewise to the next clause, especially to the expression "their baker."

their baker sleepeth all the night] "Their baker," that is, he who is using them as a baker uses his oven. Their present posture is the state of the oven, which has been heated, but not yet set ablaze with the fire which is finally to prepare it for putting in the bread; that is, its state while the baker, having kneaded the dough and set it leavening, sleeps till in the morning the leavening shall be complete.

in the morning it burneth as a flaming fire] The leavening of the bread denotes the ripening of circumstances for the perpetration of the crime. The murder itself is set forth by the fire devouring the dry fuel thrown into the oven when the proper moment has arrived. Comp. Mal. iv. 1. On these three last *vv.*, see Note below.

7. *They are all hot as an oven*] To destroy.

and have devoured their judges] Regicide after regicide took place, accompanied by the slaughter likewise of "the judges" or inferior magistrates, whom the lawless would be eager to make away with. This naturally happens in such cases, especially among eastern nations. Comp. 2 K. x.

all their kings are fallen] Within less than forty years we have, as recorded in 2 K. xv., the murder of Zachariah, of Shallum, of Pekahiah, and of Pekah; three of them in thirteen years. Dr Pusey has observed, that with the exception of Omri, whose dynasty lasted to his grandson, and of Jehu, whose dynasty lasted to the fourth generation, all the kings of Israel either left no sons, or left them to be slain. Nadab, Elah, Zimri, Tibni, Jehoram, Zachariah, Shallum, Pekahiah, Pekah, were put to death by those who succeeded them.

there is none among them that calleth unto me] In the utter destruction of the authority of law attending upon these murders and usurpations, the misery which prevailed in the community must have been extreme: yet none, complains the prophet, thought of the true remedy, or called unto Jehovah for help.

8. *he hath mixed himself among the people*] **peoples**, *i.e.* he has forfeited the high distinction in which he "dwelt alone" (Num. xxiii. 9) as being Jehovah's "peculiar people;" he has brought himself down to the level of the common herd of nations. This he did in part by imitating their idolatries (Ps. cvi. 34, 35); the prophet, however, does not here directly refer to their idolatries or other wickedness, but rather to that loss of their theocratic pre-eminence which was the *result* of their evil-doing.

Ephraim is a cake not turned] Or, "Ephraim **hath become** a cake not turned." The "cake" here mentioned is the *'uggah*, which was baked, not *under* ashes nor in an oven, but upon a hot stone or some other heated surface: and which therefore, if not turned, would be quite spoiled in the cooking; a burnt cinder on one side, raw dough on the other; neither cake, nor dough; fit to be only thrown away. The homely comparison, as the one in chap. viii. 8, expresses the worthlessness to which Israel had degraded herself; with possibly a further reference to her having got to be neither Jehovah's servant, nor yet Baal's, but a poor corruption of both. Comp. Matt. v. 13.

9. *Strangers have devoured his strength*] "Strangers" equivalent to the term βάρβαροι as employed by a Greek; as in ch. viii. 7; Isai. i. 7. For illustrations of the fact here stated see 2 K. xiii. 7, xv. 19, 20, 29.

gray hairs are here and there upon him] Lit. "grey hairs **are sprinkled** upon him." The simile is well illustrated by the Arabic proverb quoted by Pococke, "Thy grey hairs are the publishers of thy death." Intestine disorders and the menacing aspect of foreign relations presaged Ephraim's destruction. With pathos the prophet twice adds, "and he knoweth not," the import of which is a little darkened in the A. V., by the suppletion in the first case of the pronoun "it." Of course Israel's statesmen could not but be sensible of the decay of the nation's strength. But they understood neither its causes, which lay in their forsaking of Jehovah, nor its certain issue through His continued displeasure. In consequence, instead of recognizing the truth,

[a] chap. 5. 5.

10 And the [a] pride of Israel testifieth to his face: and they do not return to the LORD their God, nor seek him for all this.

11 ¶ Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart: they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria.

12 When they shall go, I will spread my net upon them; I will bring them down as the fowls of the heaven; I will chastise them, as their congregation hath heard.

13 Woe unto them! for they have fled from me: [†] destruction unto them! because they have transgressed against me: though I have redeemed them, yet they have spoken lies against me.

[†] Heb. *spoil.*

14 And they have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howl-

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they cast about for expedients which were in direct opposition to His declared will. This is stated in the next two verses.

10. *And the pride*, &c.] Rather, "And humbled is the pride of Israel in his own sight, and yet they have not returned to the Lord their God." The next verse shews the sense which they had of their helplessness. Comp. ch. v. 5 and the note, for the rendering of this clause.

for all this] **amid all this**, as in Isai. ix. 12, 17, 21.

11. *Ephraim also*, &c.] "And Ephraim **hath become** like a silly dove **void of understanding.**" This is closely connected with the preceding verse. An Arabic proverb (quoted by Pococke) says, "there is nothing more simple than a dove." As a dove fleeing from a bird of prey will drop into the hunter's net, so Ephraim seeking escape from his miseries, and having recourse to Egypt or to Assyria instead of to Jehovah, throws himself into the net which Jehovah has Himself spread for his capture (*v.* 12).

they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria] "To Egypt," as on another occasion, probably later than any here referred to, mentioned in 2 K. xvii. 4. "To Assyria," compare ch. v. 13 and note. No doubt it was a policy constantly in the minds of Hebrew statesmen in both kingdoms, how they might secure themselves against either one of these two empires by calling in the assistance of the other.

12. *When they shall go*] Rather, **Whatsoever way they shall go.** Lit. "According as they go."

my net] Ruin which I Myself will bring upon them, from which therefore there shall be no escape. Comp. Job xix. 6. The image is a favourite one with Ezekiel (ch. xii. 13, xvii. 20, xix. 8, xxxii. 3).

as the fowls of the heaven] *i.e.* as the fowler doth the fowls of heaven. Though they make themselves as the fowls of the sky, soaring as the eagle, or swift in flight as the dove (Ps. lv. 6—8), they shall find they are still within My reach. Compare Obad. 4; Amos ix. 2.

I will chastise them, as their congregation hath heard] Hebr., **according to the announcement to their congregation.** The phrase "their congregation" is a reminiscence of the phrase "the congregation of the children of Israel," which recurs so often in the Pentateuch and which is hardly found elsewhere; that is, it describes the nation existing as yet as a nomadic assembly. The prophet no doubt refers to such passages as Lev. xxvi. 14—39; Deut. xxviii. 15—68, and Moses's Song, Deut. xxxii. 15—35.

13. *Woe unto them!*] Threatening; as Isai. iii. 9; Jer. xiii. 27.

fled from me] Studiously avoiding Me; as in Ps. xxxi. 11; Nah. iii. 7.

destruction unto them!] "Ruin and havoc:" such utter confusion and destruction as in fact fell upon Israel at its overthrow.

transgressed] **rebelled.** The Hebrew word denotes wilful and highhanded defection.

though I have redeemed, &c.] Rather, **and while I, even I, would fain redeem them, they on their part have spoken concerning me lies.** "Redeem," namely from all evil; as "redeem" is used in ch. xiii. 14; Ps. cxxx. 8.

In "against me." or more exactly, "concerning me," the preposition is the same in the Hebrew as in Gen. xli. 15 "of thee;" Judg. ix. 3; 1 K. iv. 33. The mendacity which they practised among themselves (*v.* 3; ch. iv. 2) they indulged in also respecting Jehovah (Jer. v. 12). They said that of Him, which they knew, or inwardly suspected, to be false. They said that He was not God, or not God alone, or not to be feared as the punisher of sin, or not to be trusted as an all-sufficient protector; or they mocked Him with false professions of worship and obedience and trust, having no real faith in Him. Anti-Jehovists, calf-worshippers, insincere Jehovists;—these three classes would comprise nearly all Israel.

14. *not cried unto me with their heart*] "Cried unto me" in their distress, as in Judg. iii. 9, 15, vi. 6, 7, &c. "With their heart," sincerely. If they invoked Jehovah's help at all, they did it insincerely.

when they howled upon their beds] Rather, **but they howl upon their beds**—in un-

ed upon their beds: they assemble themselves for corn and wine, *and* they rebel against me.

15 Though I ‖ have bound *and* strengthened their arms, yet do they imagine mischief against me.

16 They return, *but* not to the most High: they are like a deceitful bow: their princes shall fall by the sword for the [b] rage of their tongue: this *shall be* their derision in the land of Egypt.

‖ Or, *chastened.*

[b] Psal. 73. 9.

belief and despair. They took with them to their beds no such relief of mind as the prayer of faith never fails to produce. Comp. Ps. iv. 8; Job xxxv. 10.

they assemble themselves] The verb so rendered in A. V. being used repeatedly of gatherings for war or violence (Ps. lvi. 6, lix. 3, cxl. 2; Isai. liv. 15), probably means "assemble in a tumultuous manner." Compare Jer. xxx. 23, where it forms an epithet of a whirlwind ("continuing" A. V.). The object of this "mobbing together for corn and new wine" can only be conjectured. It may have been for plunder, as often happens in time of scarcity: or it may have taken place under the pressure of the dearth, for the performance of some extraordinary act of worship rendered to Jehovah, or at an idol's temple, analogous to the *supplicatio* or *lectisternium* of the Romans.

they rebel against me] Rather, **they turn aside** (to offend) **against me.** Instead of coming *to* Me, they "turn aside" to some evil course or other, to offend Me yet more.

15. *Though I have bound and strengthened their arms*] Rather, **And yet I, even I, have instructed, have strengthened their arms.** The verb rendered in A. V. "bound," is "instruct" in Isai. xxviii. 26, "taught" in Prov. xxxi. 1. Again, as in *v.* 13, Jehovah pleads His kindness to His people. At all times He was ready to strengthen their power, and to direct its use; and at times made this evident by actual interpositions (cp. 2 K. xiii. 15—25, xiv. 25, 26). The "arm" which is the symbol of strength (Ez. xxx. 22—25) is here said to be "instructed," as the "hands" and "fingers," the organs of skill, are elsewhere said to be (Ps. xviii. 34, cxliv. 1). "Bound" in A. V. points to a mode of strengthening the muscles, and Ewald in fact renders the Hebrew verb by "strengte."

imagine mischief against me] *i.e.* devise My hurt. (Compare Nah. i. 9, 11 with Ps. xli. 7; Micah ii. 3; Gen. l. 20.) "Since God vouchsafed to be their king, He deigned to look upon their rebellions as so many efforts to injure Him." Dr Pusey.

16. *They return, but not to the most High*] Or, "not upwards." The Hebrew is rugged and enigmatical, being literally, "they return not the High One" or "not on high," or (as Gesenius takes עָל) "the not-high one (but a base idol)" like the "not God" in Deut. xxxii. 17, 21. The comparison of the Hebrew of 2 S. xxiii. 1, "raised up on high," favours the rendering "not upwards," which is accordingly accepted by most critics. The prophet as in *v.* 14 refers to some more than ordinary attention to religious offices shewn by the people, but marks its unsatisfactory character.

they are like a deceitful bow] Or, **like a slack bow.** The same image is used in Ps. lxxviii. 57 to describe that which proves untrustworthy or disappointing. The prophet intimates, that at times, distress led Israel to have recourse to religious observances: Divine grace seemed to be bending a bow which would shoot an arrow in the right direction; but the bow sent it wrong; some miserable idol was after all their resource, not Heaven.

for the rage of their tongue] Or, **the provocation of their tongue;** lit. "the wrath of their tongue." As the word rendered "provocation" occurs often, but always of God's wrath, it probably means that which in the tongue of these men provoked God's anger. So in Ezek. xx. 28, "the provocation of their offering" is literally "the grief" or "wrath, of their offering;" and in this very verse "derision" means "ground of derision." The "provocation of the princes' tongue" (comp. "lies," *v.* 13) is their blasphemous language concerning Jehovah and their counselling defection from Him.—We are led to infer from this denunciation of the nobles of the Northern kingdom, that they had at this time shewn themselves especially vehement and bitter in their anti-Jehovism. "By the sword," either of intestine strife (as "their judges" in *v.* 7) or, of hostile invaders.

this shall be their derision in the land of Egypt] In the mystical "Egypt" to which Israel "shall return" (ch. viii. 13 and note), it shall be a just ground of derision against them, that they had had in Jehovah such an all-sufficient helper to look to, but had chosen to perish rather than turn to Him. "Their derision" is "the derision of Israel" (not, "of their princes"); the pronoun reciting the same noun as in "*their* princes." Such seems to be an easier explanation of this obscure passage than that which many commentators endeavour to construct by a comparison of Isai. xxx. 1—7.

NOTES on CHAP. VII. 4—6, 5, 14.

4—6. In *v.* 4, in respect to ישבות מעיר the hiphil העיר is used of raising a fire in Isai. xlii. 13, יעיר קנאה, jealousy being likened to a fire as in Ps. lxxix. 5. The participle is used as in Isai. xxxiii. 1, בהתימך שודד. This is a more obvious way of construing the clause, than either to take מעיר as a lopped infinitive for מהעיר, or to suppose with Gesenius ('Thes.') that עיר is an infin. kal, or with Fürst and LXX. to take עיר as a noun meaning "Zornaufregung, æstus iræ." In *v.* 5, Wünsche and O. Schmoller follow LXX., Targum, Jerome, Luther, and Hitzig in deriving החלו from חלל, "begin:" Wünsche renders, "The day of our king do the princes open with heat of wine." But this supposition is resisted by the Masoretic punctuation, which has *hechĕlu*, not *hēchēllu*, and is shewn to be unnecessary by the comparison of Micah vi. 13. To render "the princes begin to be in heat of wine" gives a very tame sense. In *v.* 6, אפהם is represented by "their wrath" in the Targum and Syriac, whom Wünsche follows. *Either*, their reading was אפיהם, which Rossi and Kennicott found in a good many MSS. (Rosenmüller), and which they vocalized *appeyhem*, but which may be more probably vocalized *opheyhem*, the *yodh* not being the sign of a plural, but the original third consonant of the verb replacing the *he;* for the dual אפים is never used of "wrath" unless with ארך or קצר, but only the singular: *or else*, they vocalized אפהם as *appĕhem* for *appām*, which alone is found elsewhere.

5. The rendering in A. V., "with bottles of wine," lit. "a bottle from wine," follows a sense of *chămath* borne by the same consonants, somewhat differently vocalized (*chēmath*), in Gen. xxi. 14. It has against it both the different vocalization and also the preposition "from." Modern critics are unanimous in rejecting it.

14. "Assemble yourselves together:" so most critics, Jewish and modern, take the word. Ewald however gives "fret themselves:" Hitzig, "moan" or "growl." The LXX. has κατετέμνοντο, "cut themselves" (comp. 1 K. xviii. 28), reading יתנודדו for יתנוררו, and so some MSS. still have. This would give a very good sense, if there were sufficient authority for it.

CHAPTER VIII.

1, 12 *Destruction is threatened for their impiety,* 5 *and idolatry.*

SET the trumpet to †thy mouth. *He shall come* as an eagle against the house of the LORD, because they

† Heb. *the roof of thy mouth.*

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Set the trumpet to thy mouth. He shall come as an eagle against the house of the* LORD] Lit. **To thy palate the cornet! as an eagle against the house of the Lord.** The "trumpet," or rather "cornet," is to sound the alarm at the approach of the enemy. Comp. ch. v. 8 and note. The alarm is different from that sounded in Isai. lviii. 1. The address is from Jehovah to His prophet. The abrupt vivacity of the style marks the suddenness and urgency of the occasion. The "palate" is used to denote the organ of voice or sound, as in the Hebrew of Prov. v. 3, viii. 7; Job xxxi. 30.

as an eagle] *i.e.* "as the vulture suddenly is there upon the prey, which he from afar, himself as yet invisible, has descried, so there cometh one upon the house of the Lord." The *nesher* here named is the griffon vulture, with which the Scriptural characteristics of the *nesher* agree perfectly. See, in particular, Micah i. 16; Matt. xxiv. 28. Cf. note on Lev. xi. 13, and Tristram, 'Nat. Hist. of Bible,' pp. 172—179. The vulture is distinguished both for rapidity of flight and for the far-off perception of its prey. Comp. Hab. i. 8; Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22; Lam. iv. 19, and especially Deut. xxviii. 49, of which last passage Hosea's words are perhaps a reminiscence. The image is suggestive of Assyria, in whose mythological sculptures the eagle holds a prominent place (see Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.' *Eagle*, p. 461). We may compare the analogous appropriateness of Matt. xxiv. 28 with reference to the Roman eagles. As the next clause states what provoked this threatening, so the third verse ("enemy") shews what is in the prophet's mind. We may therefore without hesitation adopt some such suppletion of the abrupt sentence, which the words present in their literal rendering, as our Authorized Version offers; and gladly reject the tamer sense which some commentators give to the words, who suppose them to refer, either to the *loudness* of the proclamation (for in fact loudness of note is no characteristic of the eagle or vulture), or to the rapidity with which the message is to be conveyed.

the house of the LORD] *i.e.* most probably, the nation as being Jehovah's family; cp. ch. ix. 15; Num. xii. 7; Jer. xi. 15. The expression in the mouth of a prophet denouncing destruction to the Northern kingdom, cannot mean the temple in the kingdom of Judah. The form of expression, "the house of the Lord," not "my house," has a certain tinge of irony: thus it was that Israel designated its own self; how untruly was only too palpable.

have transgressed my covenant, and trespassed against my law.

2 Israel shall cry unto me, My God, we know thee.

3 Israel hath cast off *the thing that is* good: the enemy shall pursue him.

4 They have set up kings, but not by me: they have made princes, and I knew *it* not: of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off.

5 ¶ Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast

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2. *Israel shall*, &c.] **To me they will** (then) **cry, My God, we know thee;** (we) **Israel!** Jehovah repudiates the feigned recognition of Him which they will make in the hour of distress; as He will also their pleading before Him their theocratic relation as "Israel," the proudest appellation of the God-favoured race. "My God," used distributively; each one with false pathos professing the intimacy of his own individual relations with God. Cf. Amos v. 14; Micah iii. 11. "Israel" is put in apposition to "we" in "we know thee;" as perhaps "Jacob" in Ps. xxiv. 6.

3. We have here Jehovah's rejoinder to the hypocritical appeal. "Israel" is repeated with irony: "Israel though he calls himself, he hath..." "Good," moral goodness, as Ps. xiv. 1; Prov. xi. 27, xiv. 22 and often. Others, not so naturally, render, either "Him that is good," or "blessing:" but both these are involved in the other.

4. *but not by me*] Lit. **but not from me**; the preposition being used in the same sense as in 2 S. iii. 37; Isai. xxx. 1.

I knew it not] *i. e.* "I neither commanded it to be done, nor was inquired of concerning it, nor sanctioned the acts by which it was brought to pass." Thus much is included in the words. They are not, however, inconsistent with Jehovah's having accepted (so to speak) the state of things thus introduced so as to forbid its being further interfered with, or with His saying in effect, "Fieri non debuit; factum valet." See 1 K. xii. 24. The verbal contradiction of these words of Hosea with those of Shemaiah just referred to, and their seeming inconsistency with the facts recorded 1 K. xi. 31 and 2 K. ix. 3, are not to be explained by limiting the application of Hosea's words to the usurpations in the Northern kingdom in later years, to the exclusion of the cases of Jeroboam and Jehu, but rather by the consideration that contradictory statements are naturally and even inevitably evolved, when we contemplate the events of Divine Providence from different points of view. If we view God as the Sovereign Disposer of all things, even the crimes of men must be regarded as in some sense emanating from Him: see in this light the general statements of Rom. xi. 36; Prov. xvi. 4; and the particular illustrations furnished by Isai. x. 5; Acts ii. 23, iii. 18. And it appears to belong to the course of His providential government, that as in all ages Divine Providence does often, by combinations of circumstances, furnishing almost irresistible temptations to sin, *seem* to solicit men to the commission of crime, so also in ages, when God interposed in the affairs of men by the ministry of prophets, men were occasionally tempted to acts of crime by prophetical indications of coming greatness, which they chose in this way to realize. Thus it was with Jeroboam, Hazael, Jehu: thus also with Jacob in his relations with Esau. Such facts we cannot make away with; and, perplexing as they are always, they are not really more perplexing in the sacred histories than they are in the course of Providence generally. But when, on the other hand, we think of God as a moral Governor, we at once recognize it as an intuitively necessary truth, that the guilt of sin attaches to the sinner alone, and that "in God is no darkness at all." And it is in this latter sense that Hosea's words are to be understood. The usurpations by which the throne of Israel was filled by successive dynasties, beginning with Jeroboam the First, were acts of sinful men, and acts which Jehovah disowned.

of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off] Lit. "that it may be cut off." Above, in ch. ii. 8, the Israelites were charged with making their "silver and gold" into "Baal." But in the two verses which follow here, it is the "calf" that is especially named, and so in ch. xiii. 2 the use made of the "silver" is again connected with the "calves." No doubt calf-images were not confined to the "golden" calves of Bethel and Dan, but, after the manner of idolaters, were from the first separation of the Ten Tribes very largely reproduced and used all over the country, as well as Baal-images from the time of Ahab, and were made of silver and other metals as well as of gold. "That it may be cut off:" the inevitable result of their freely-willed deeds is by a kind of irony described as their very purpose: comp. Jer. xliv. 8; Micah vi. 16. "It," *i.e.* their silver and their gold. The verb is in the singular. Many render it, "that he may be cut off," the singular being taken, as in A. V., for the plural. So lax is the use of singular and plural, especially in Hosea, that this cannot be pronounced an impossible construction, yet the sense above given is simpler and perfectly suitable.

5. *Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off*]

thee off; mine anger is kindled against them: how long *will it be* ere they attain to innocency?

6 For from Israel *was* it also: the workman made it; therefore it *is* not God: but the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces.

7 For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no [1] stalk: the bud shall yield

[1] Or, *standing corn.*

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i.e. has been the cause of thy rejection. The accusative "thee" is wanting in the Hebrew; and a rendering which appears to be more in accordance with the numerous other passages in which the verb occurs is this: "thy calf, O Samaria, hath thrust *me* away," "hath repelled me," *i.e.* hath made me withdraw in loathing. The suppletion of *me* is in accordance with the next clause.—"Thy calf, O Samaria." Samaria, as the capital of the Northern kingdom, is put for that kingdom itself. "Thy calf" appears from *v.* 6 to be some one particular image; probably the golden one at Bethel, which the government of the country put forward as the principal symbol of the established worship.

mine anger is kindled against them] **is waxed hot against them.** "Them;" with a sudden change of the pronoun, such as we frequently meet with in Hosea. For, plainly, the objects referred to are not the calves, but the worshippers of them.

how long will it be ere they attain to innocency?] Or rather, **ere they can abide innocency?** The noun rendered "innocency," occurring elsewhere only in Gen. xx. 5; Ps. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13 (Amos iv. 6, "cleanness of teeth," is different), as well as the verb from which it is derived, and which is of frequent occurrence, has for its essential meaning "guiltlessness,"—the negative aspect of virtue as undeserving of blame. Here it appears to denote that pure form of religious life which Jehovah had prescribed in His law, free from all idolatrous admixtures or "precepts of men" (Isai. xxix. 13). "Will not be able to abide" is the same phrase in the Hebrew as is rendered "will not suffer," in Ps. ci. 5, and "cannot away with," in Isai. i. 13. "How long," cp. Jer. xiii. 27.

6. *For from Israel was it also*] **this thing also;** *i.e.* far are they from innocency now; for like as Israel, as he vauntingly styles himself (comp. *v.* 3 and note), without Me made kings and princes, so also has he made this calf-god of his. This first clause does not, as many suppose, mark the worthlessness of the god as a man-made thing, which view is resisted by the words "from Israel," but rather the criminality and folly of Israel in setting up such an object for worship.

the workman made it; therefore it is not God] Lit. "the workman made it, and no God is it:" *i.e.* **a thing which the workman made, and which is no God;** it being common in Hebrew to annex thus loosely the description of some circumstance or quality attaching to an object before mentioned, which we should connect with it by means of a relative pronoun. These words shew the vanity of the idol as being merely an artisan's work. Comp. ch. xiii. 2; Isai. xl. 19, 20, xli. 7, xliv. 9—20.

but the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces] Rather, "for chips for firing," or, "broken to shivers, shall it be, the calf of Samaria." A proof that it is no God. The words "calf of Samaria" are repeated only to express scorn. "Chips for firing," or, "*broken to* shivers." See Note below.

7. *sown the wind...reap the whirlwind*] The Divine law of requital; comp. Gal. vi. 7; Job iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; ch. x. 13. Israel's works, their idolatries, heathen alliances, and the like, were in themselves fruitless of good ("wind," see ch. iv. 19 and note): but the disappointment attending upon them would be more than the loss of good desired; it would take the form of a hurricane of overwhelming destruction which would sweep them away themselves. Comp. Ps. i. 4; ch. xiii. 3.

it hath no stalk] Or, **standing corn he has none.** The image of sowing and reaping is here handled in another way; but the language is figurative still. After the nervous and intense solemnity of what goes before, the literal sense, which some give these words as predicting scarcity, appears intolerably tame. "Stalk" or "standing corn" is the wheat full grown, come to the time for kerning. The prophet says that the wheat does not reach this stage; or if it does, yet from some cause or other the farmer is disappointed, when he comes to the threshing and grinding: he gets no meal. That is, Israel's idolatrous and mere worldly policy is followed by results which do not even so much as promise well; if the prospect does at any time seem to brighten (as *e.g.* it did in the reign of Jeroboam II.), yet the prosperity of the kingdom proves hollow and evanescent.

the bud shall yield no meal] **yieldeth.** In the original there is a play upon the similarity of sound: "the *tsemach* yields no *kemach;*" which German critics imitate by "Halm" and "Malm" (De Wette), or by "Spross" and "Schoss" (Ewald, Keil, Wünsche); or by "Korn" and "Kern" (Schmoller). In English it might be, "the flower yieldeth no flour."

strangers shall swallow it up] Or, **stran-**

no meal: if so be it yield, the strangers shall swallow it up.

8 Israel is swallowed up: now shall they be among the Gentiles as a vessel wherein *is* no pleasure.

9 For they are gone up to Assyria, a wild ass alone by himself: Ephraim hath hired † lovers.

10 Yea, though they have hired among the nations, now will I ga-

† Heb. *loves.*

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gers swallow it up. Whatever prosperity is attained becomes the prey of foreign rapacity. Comp. ch. vii. 9.

8. *Israel is swallowed up*] The prophet repeats the foregoing word with an additional significance. "Yea, swallowed up is Israel, utterly consumed: wealth, population, nationality itself,—all shall be made away with." "Swallowed up:" comp. Ps. cxxiv. 3; Prov. i. 12; Jer. li. 34. In actual fact the Ten Tribes have been so wholly absorbed, that their very existence, except with a small proportion of them, is a matter of uncertainty.

now shall they be among the Gentiles as a vessel wherein is no pleasure] Or rather, **now are they become**, &c. For the homely simile here employed comp. Jer. xxii. 28; Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 20; and in particular Jer. xlviii. 38, "I have broken Moab as a vessel wherein is no pleasure." The comparison of all these passages shews, that "a vessel wherein is no pleasure" means an utensil devoted to the basest uses, *vas immundum* (Jerome), and fit to be dashed in pieces among the refuse. This exactly describes the condition of the Northern kingdom and its subsequent fate.

9. *For they are gone up to Assyria*] **For mark them! they are**, &c. "For," introducing an illustration of the behaviour which had brought upon Israel the fate described in *v.* 8. "Gone *up*," according to Gesenius, Wünsche and others, like ἀναβαίνω, "go up the country;" but more probably, the expression is used of going up as to a sanctuary of refuge, or to the capital of an acknowledged sovereign. Comp. Exod. xxxiv. 24; Num. xvi. 12; Ruth iv. 1. It scornfully imitates the feeling with which these men regarded Assyria.

a wild ass alone by himself] Rather, **roaming solitary his own way.** The Hebrew adds "to himself," expressing not loneliness but wilfulness. This clause qualifies at once the "they" and the action of the preceding verb: "like the solitary roaming wild ass that they are!" So Wünsche. The wild ass, *pere, onager*, is remarkable for untameable wildness and wilfulness (Gen. xvi. 12; Job xxxix. 5 note; Isai. xxxii. 14), especially in the time of its sexual ardour (Jer. ii. 24). It is a gregarious animal; but it is not uncommon for an individual of a herd to go off and roam moodily alone, when the characteristics of the species, wilfulness and uncontrollable wantonness, are more conspicuously displayed. Pococke and Rosenmüller tell us, that the Arabs say, "solitary wild ass's foal" or "solitary ass," to describe an obstinate, self-willed man. It is further a migratory animal. See Tristram, 'Nat. Hist. of B.' pp. 41—43. Israel displayed these characteristics; wilfulness, and restlessness, in going off to Asshur in spite of all warning; wantonness, in affecting idolatrous alliances, very mainly in consequence of her perverse sympathy with idols and their worshippers. There is probably a *paronomasia* in the use of the words *Pere* or *Phere* and *Ephraim*.

Ephraim hath hired lovers] Or rather, as in margin, **loves**; a harlot who gave gifts instead of receiving them. "Loves," that is, endearments. See Ezek. xvi. 30—34, which more fully unfolds the hint of thought here given. The fact mentioned 2 K. xv. 19 was one *specimen* of this abject "hiring" of the king of Assyria (Isai. vii. 20); but it would be hasty to suppose, that it is here particularly referred to.

10. In the embarrassing ambiguities which beset almost every word in this verse, it must suffice to set forth, with the diffidence inevitable amidst so many conflicting opinions, what seems to be the most probable interpretation.

Yea, though they have hired among the nations, now will I gather them] *i.e.* Even though by their gifts they win endearments from paramours among the Gentiles, yet now will I gather those paramours together to work them ill. "Gather" as Ezek. xvi. 37. We thus arrive at precisely the same thought as is more fully developed in Ezek. xvi. 37, which follows, in strikingly similar connection, upon verses 30—34, the substance of which is contained here in the closing words of the preceding verse.

and they shall sorrow a little for the burden of the king of princes] Or rather, "and they shall in a little while be in anguish for the tribute which they pay,—king and princes all!" The Israelite court paid this tribute to the Assyrian king for the support of their own usurpation, as on the occasion described 2 K. xv. 19; but they should soon rue their guilty coquetting with heathen powers and the heavy price which they paid for their patronage. The words "the king and the princes" are added at the end, to indicate, apparently, that the tribute was paid more for their own particular interest than for the good of the commonwealth. "Tribute," the same word as in 2 Chro. xvii. 11; Amos v. 11, "burdens." In

ther them, and they shall [1]sorrow a little for the burden of the king of princes.

11 Because Ephraim hath made many altars to sin, altars shall be unto him to sin.

12 I have written to him the great things of my law, *but* they were counted as a strange thing.

13 [1]They sacrifice flesh *for* the sacrifices of mine offerings, and eat *it; but* the LORD accepteth them

[1] Or, *begin.*

[1] Or, *In the sacrifices of mine offerings they, &c.*

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the A. V., "a little" must be understood ironically; but though this is a tone of feeling not impossible in Hosea in his sterner mood, yet the marginal rendering "in a little while" seems preferable. In A. V. also, "the king of princes" would be equivalent to "king of kings" in Ezek. xxvi. 7. But this view is not without difficulty. The marginal reading of "begin" for "sorrow" connects itself with the view which some adopt (Stier, Hitzig, Keil), that the word for "little" is to be taken as an infinitive, "shall begin to grow less" or "weaker." So "Saadia's" Arabic Version.

11. *Because*] Rather, **For**, justifying the threatening previously employed; not introducing the first clause of the verse as a reason for the second.

Ephraim hath made many altars to sin] *i.e.* **to sin thereby.** The "multiplying of altars" was of itself forbidden by the law (Deut. xii. 11—13), and in the earlier days of the theocracy was felt to be sinful (Josh. xxii. 16, 23). *Now* Ephraim had multiplied altars exceedingly (ch. x. 1, xii. 11; compare, of Judah, Jer. xi. 13), and these, too, for making offerings, not to Jehovah, but to the calf-god, to Baal, to other false deities; that is, "to commit sin" thereby.

altars shall be unto him to sin] Rather, **yea, he hath gotten him altars to sin thereby,** *i.e.* to become guilty thereby. "To sin" in the first clause is "to commit sin;" in the second it appears to mean "to be accounted a sinner," "to be guilty;" as in Gen. xliii. 9 "then let me bear the blame for ever," literally "then I have sinned unto thee for ever." Many altars *seemed* a token of religiousness (Acts xvii. 22); but in fact they proved to Israel only the occasion of becoming altogether guilty before God.

12. *the great things of my law*] Rather, "the many things," or, "the ten thousand things, of my law." The Hebrew text has two readings; one of which, the oral reading in the synagogues, is, literally, "the multitudes of my law;" the other, the written text, "the myriads of my law." The prophet, to mark Israel's inexcusableness, refers to the multiplied communications of His will which God had made to His people (cp. Jer. vii. 25), and that too in *writing;* having in view, perhaps, not only "the book of the law" (Deut. xxviii. 61; Josh. i. 8), but also instructions given through prophets, and by them, even before Hosea's time, committed to writing; see Vol. II. pp. 244, 472.

a strange thing] A thing with which he had, and would have, no concern.

13. *They sacrifice*, &c.] Or, **In the sacrifices of my gifts, they kill flesh and eat it, but the Lord hath no pleasure in them.** The Hebrew word answering to "offerings" occurs only here and is of somewhat doubtful origin. Most modern critics and translations, however, with A. V., refer it to the root "to give." See Note below. The expression, "kill" or "sacrifice (for in Hebrew the word is the same) flesh," occurs besides only in Deut. xii. 15, "thou mayest kill and eat flesh in all thy gates," where it refers to the ordinary participation of food unconnected with any sacrifice. This leads us to this as the probable sense of the passage: In sacrifices of My gifts they may kill flesh and eat it, for this in My account is all that in their sacrifices they do; in reality, their offerings and sacrificial feasts, destitute as they are of true devotion, have no sacred character attached to them. The first and third persons are blended together as in *v.* 1. There is again a certain recognition of Israelite sacrifices as offered to Jehovah. See ch. iv. 6.

now] Fixing the turning point between the Lord's love and His wrath (Wünsche).

visit] Take account of; cp. 1 S. xv. 2, where it is rendered in A. V. "remember;" Ps. lxxxix. 32, where it means "punish." Cf. i. 4.

they shall return to Egypt] **they shall return into Egypt, even they!** The personal pronoun is in the Hebr. added to the verb, to denote perhaps scornful insistance. A reminiscence of Deut. xxviii. 68. The word "return" suggests that "Egypt" is to be understood mystically, of a state of captivity. See ch. ix. 3 and note.

14. *For Israel hath forgotten his Maker, and buildeth temples; and Judah hath multiplied fenced cities*] "Temples," rather, **palaces.** The closing verse of the section adds one other charge to those previously urged; namely, that the whole nation forgot her dependence upon Jehovah's protection, and proudly, or at least unbelievingly, leaned upon her own resources. "Israel hath forgotten his Maker:" another reminiscence of Moses's song, Deut. xxxii. 18, "hast forgotten God that formed thee;" ib. 6, "hath

not; now will he remember their iniquity, and visit their sins: they shall return to Egypt.

14 For Israel hath forgotten his Maker, and buildeth temples; and Judah hath multiplied fenced cities: but I will send a fire upon his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

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he not made thee?" "His Maker;" not merely who created him, but who made him what he was as His own chosen people. Comp. 1 S. xii. 6 (margin), Ps. c. 3. "Palaces," for splendour, and also perhaps for defence (Ps. xlv. 8; 1 K. xxi. 1; Isai. xiii. 22). The word *heykhal* also means "temple;" as Joel iii. 5, and often of Jehovah's temple; but the tenor of the verse and particularly its close favour the notion, that the prophet is now rebuking, not the idolatry of the people, but their worldliness and self-dependence. Hence it is that, here alone in the whole section, "Judah" is also introduced. Comp. 2 Chro. xxvi. 9, 10; Isai. ii. 7, 15, xxii. 11. A theocratic people was bound by peculiar laws in providing for its defence.

but I will send a fire upon his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof] "Palaces thereof," lit. "her stately buildings." In Amos, Hosea's elder contemporary, we find these words repeated seven times as a kind of *refrain* closing seven several denunciations (Amos i. 4—ii. 5). See also Jer. xvii. 27. They denounce desolation by hostile invaders (Isai. i. 7). "His" and "her" refer to the same nation (comp. Lam. ii. 5); "his," perhaps, citing the people, "her" the land. The great number of "fenced cities" in Judah, and their destruction, are both of them indicated by Sennacherib's statement on 'the Taylor Cylinder,' that he took forty-four of them, besides strongholds without number. "I attacked them with fire, with carnage, with fightings, with my engines of war: I took them, I occupied them." See the inscription in Ménant's 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' p. 218.

NOTES on Chap. viii. 6, 13.

6. "Broken in pieces." The learned critics are not agreed whether the word שבבים, *shebabim*, comes, as Schultens thought, from a (conjectural) root "to burn," which is Dr Pusey's opinion, who cites the Arabic noun *shebab*, "that whereby fire is kindled," or from another root used in Rabbinical-Hebrew for "to break in pieces," so as to mean "shivers," "splinters." So Targum, Rashi, Aben-Ezra, Pococke, Gesenius, Fürst, Wünsche, and others. In the former case we must conceive of the idol as made of wood covered over with plates of gold (Jer. x. 3, 4, comp. Isai. xxxvii. 19). In the latter we may refer to 2 Chro. xxxiv. 7 ("beat...into powder"); Isai. xxi. 9 ("broken"); iron or bronze being probably used as the foundation instead of wood for the more valuable idols ('Bibl. Dict.' *Idols*, p. 851).

13. הבהבי. Critics have had recourse to various expedients in dealing with this word; but it seems best to accede to the prevailing opinion, that it is to be derived from יהב "give." The initial *jodh* of verbs is often weak; it is lost, for example, in the derivations בול, דעת, חמה, טיבה, סוד, עדה, עצה, צאה, שנה, שרון; in imperatives; and in verbs got from other verbs of the form פ״י by the reduplication of the third radical as חמם, שמם. The force of the reduplicated form, however, which is commonly intensive, is not easily explained.

CHAPTER IX.

The distress and captivity of Israel for their sins and idolatry.

REJOICE not, O Israel, for joy, as *other* people: for thou hast gone a whoring from thy God, thou

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Chap. IX. 1. This new section of prophesying appears to have been suggested, not by any particular situation of political affairs, such as 2 K. xiv. 25, or 2 K. xv. 19, 20, but simply by the holiday-making of some idolatrous festival, on the occasion, probably, of a good harvest. Comp. ch. ii. 13.

for joy] **with exulting joy**; lit. "unto exultation." In Job iii. 22 the same phrase is rendered "exceedingly."

for thou hast gone] Rather, "for that thou hast, &c.;" *i.e.* Do not on account of this plenty abandon thyself to idolatrous merry-making, as the heathen nations around thee do, who know no better, and who are bound by no such peculiar ties to Jehovah as thou art (comp. Amos iii. 2); be not *thou* glad of having left the worship of thy God, to serve the Baal and the Ashtaroth, who, as thou deemest (comp. ch. ii. 5, 12), have now thus rewarded thy zeal in serving them. The rendering of A. V. "for thou hast gone," &c. means: There is no room for such rejoicing; thou art playing the harlot in a way that the heathen

hast loved a [a]reward [‖]upon every cornfloor.

2 The floor and the [‖]winepress shall not feed them, and the new wine shall fail in her.

3 They shall not dwell in the LORD's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean *things* in Assyria.

4 They shall not offer wine *offer-*

[a] Jer. 44. 17.
[‖] Or, *in, &c.*
[‖] Or, *wine fat.*

are not doing; only wrath is in store for thee, from the God whom thou hast forsaken. But the following clause favours the other interpretation.

thou hast loved a reward upon every cornfloor] Or, more plainly, "for that thou hast loved a **harlot's hire** upon all cornfloors." The Hebrew word for "harlot's hire," *ethnan* (also found in Deut. xxiii. 18; Isai. xxiii. 17, 18; Ezek. xvi. 31, 34, 41), means no doubt the same as the "rewards," *ethnah*, in ch. ii. 12, "these are my rewards which my lovers have given me:" comp. ib. 5. The meaning is this, "thou takest delight in contemplating upon every floor where thou hast corn to thresh that which thou regardest as hire received for whoredom." Israel "loved," delighted in, this plenty, not merely for its own sake, but also as betokening the kindness to her of her idol-gods. The words "upon all cornfloors" suggest the supposition, that these idolatrous Israelites did something upon each cornfloor shewing their recognition of their idol; but on this particular point, we lack information.

2. *The floor*, &c.] More exactly, "The floor and **the vat** shall not feed them; and (or, perhaps, yea) the new wine shall **fail her**." From addressing Israel, the prophet indignantly speaks of her in the third person, with pathos also repeating the "floor" of *v.* 1. "Shall not feed them:" the (supposed) plenty shall either be followed by, or be found to prove, scarcity; comp. ch. ii. 9, 11; Hag. ii. 16; or perhaps (see next verse) their enjoyment of the fruits of their land shall be put an end to by their being led away captive. "Vat:" the word may include the receptacle of expressed oil as well as that of grape-juice (Joel ii. 24); but used alone it can hardly mean "oil-vat" only. Wine is again referred to, as being so highly prized for its cheering as well as its nourishing qualities. "Fail her," literally, "lie to her," not come as expected: so Isai. lviii. 11; Hab. iii. 17. "Her," exchanged for "them" as ch. iv. 19. Israel has just been spoken of as a harlot.

3. *the LORD's land*] Canaan was of all countries that which Jehovah claimed as peculiarly His own. Compare Lev. xxv. 23; Matt. v. 35.

but Ephraim shall return to Egypt] At first sight, "Egypt" seems to be mentioned as being, as well as Assyria, the country to which the expatriated Israelites should be removed. In *v.* 6 we read further, "Memphis shall bury them." So in the prediction of the restoration in ch. xi. 11 we read, "they shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt." But in ch. xi. 5 it is said, "He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king." And in the accounts which we have of the event (which however are very brief and incomplete) there is no specific mention of inhabitants of the Northern kingdom being, by the constraining power of their conquerors, removed to Egypt, but only to places in the Assyrian empire. At the breaking up of the Southern kingdom, many of the *Jews* went down to Egypt, see *e.g.* Jer. xli.; and in later ages the number of Hebrews living in Egypt and the countries lying westward is known to have been very large. This may suggest a suspicion that Egypt may have attracted many from among the northern tribes as well. See Introd. p. 402. This however will not serve to explain ch. viii. 13, "They shall return to Egypt," which is more naturally explained mythically: for certainly Egypt was not the *principal* location of the exiles. It appears quite allowable to put a similar figurative interpretation upon the "Egypt" and "Memphis" of this context, even while we understand "Assyria" literally. Prophecy, whether in the Old or in the New Testament, is wont to blend fact and figure together in such a manner, as to make it impossible for the reader before the event to determine what features in the picture are to be taken as real, and what as mystical. And thus in the passage before us, while banishment from Canaan is threatened to deter Israel from disobedience, the language of the prediction leaves it uncertain whether Egypt as well as Assyria is to be the land of Israel's captivity, and Hosea's hearers might be at a loss to determine the question; but now the fulfilment shews that "Egypt" is referred to mystically. Ancient historical events are often thus employed by the prophets: see *e.g.* Isai. iv. 5, xi. 15, 16.

eat unclean things in Assyria] This refers, not so much to the compulsory use of certain kinds of food declared by the law to be unclean, as to the fact, that all food which they would partake of in a heathen land would be necessarily unclean; which thought is brought out in the next verse more fully.

4. Under the prescriptions of the Mosaic law, the food of Israel was ceremonially sanctified, by the daily morning and evening sacrifices and the weekly and monthly sacrifices, and by the meat and drink offerings

ings to the LORD, neither shall they be pleasing unto him: their sacrifices *shall be* unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted: for their bread for their soul shall not come into the house of the LORD.

5 What will ye do in the solemn day, and in the day of the feast of the LORD?

which always accompanied those sacrifices. When this hallowing of food was made impossible by the people being in a foreign land, both would their food be *felt* by Israelites to be "unclean," "uncircumcised" (comp. Lev. xix. 23), and in actual fact viewed in the light of the Mosaic law it was so. We must remember that the Israelite mind, trained as it had been through many ages to ceremonial feelings of this kind, would retain them tenaciously and with keen sensibility, even though destitute of those properly religious sentiments which were originally designed to accompany and to modify them. All this is strikingly set forth in this verse.

They shall not offer wine offerings to the LORD] Or rather, "They shall not pour out wine unto Jehovah," *i.e.* as a drink-offering. The point however is, not so much that they should not at that time offer drink-offerings, though that is expressed, as that their use of wine in general should lack the sanctification given to it by their applying a measure of it to this sacred purpose.

neither shall they be pleasing unto him] viz. in the use which they customarily make of their wine. This suppletion seems at first sight a little forced; yet if we follow the Masoretic interpunction of the sentence, no easier way of explaining the words presents itself, while the presumption that the proposed qualification of his words was in the prophet's intention is greatly favoured by the tenor of the words which follow respecting their slaughtered meats, which state that these would in like manner be polluting (*i.e.* would put those who partook of them out of the pale of Divine complacency), because of their not being brought to the house of Jehovah. Many critics however, including Ewald, Mendelssohn, and Wünsche, with the Vatican LXX. (not the Alexandrian), Targum, and the Syriac and Arabic Versions, remove the stop which is before "their sacrifices" to after it; so that we get, "neither shall their sacrifices (slaughtered meats) be pleasing unto him." This change gives a plainer meaning to this second clause; but besides violating the Jewish tradition, it mars somewhat the concinnity of the whole verse, and is open to objection as being the easier construction, provided the Masoretic reading at all admits of a suitable explanation. "Pleasing," lit. "sweet," as in Ps. civ. 34; Jer. vi. 20; Mal. iii. 4 ("pleasant," A.V.). It is implied that when food has been consecrated by suitable acts of devotion, the participation of it by His servants is pleasing to the Lord; as a loving Father, or as a kind Host, He delights in seeing His provisions enjoyed.

their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted] Rather, "as for their slaughtered meats, they shall be unto them as the bread of mourners, whereof all those who eat defile themselves." The "thereof," being in the Hebrew singular, recites the word "bread" rather than the "meats." The noun *zebach*, commonly meaning "sacrifice," is derived from a verb which primarily means kill, as in Deut. xii. 15; 1 S. xxviii. 24, and retains its primary sense of "slaughtering" in Isai. xxxiv. 6 ("sacrifice," A.V.), and of "slaughtered animals" or "meats" in Gen. xxxi. 54 (see A.V. margin); Prov. xvii. 1. And this appears to be its meaning here; for in the time referred to there would be, and indeed could be, no "sacrifices" properly so called (ch. iii. 4). "The bread of mourners," or "of sorrows," means funeral meats (Deut. xxvi. 14), which could not be brought to the sanctuary. The meaning is, that their meat should affect them in the same way as a funeral feast would do, which was polluting in the highest degree; as indeed everything was that was in any way connected with a corpse. See Lev. xxi. 1, 11; Num. xix. 11—16; Hag. ii. 13.

for their bread for their soul shall not come into the house of the LORD] Rather, "their bread shall be for their hunger; it shall not come into the house of the Lord." "Bread," *i.e.* food; see Lev. xxi. 6 and note. "For their hunger," lit. "for their soul (*nephesh*)," the craving of their appetite (cp. "whatsoever thy soul lusteth after," Deut. xii. 15). Or it may be "for the life of their body;" see Gen. i. 20; or, again, "for their own selves." "It shall not come into the house of the Lord," viz. by representative offerings. Here is another recognition of the worship of Jehovah offered in the Northern kingdom; for plainly the prophet is contrasting the future state of the Ten Tribes when in captivity with their present state in their own land. Compare also in this view the next verse.

5. *What will ye do*] "What will ye do" to solace yourselves "in the day of festival?" to wit, when ye can no longer celebrate those seasons with their proper rites? For the cessation of these festival celebrations, dear to them both as religious and national observances and as seasons of holiday-making, in the time of exile, cf. ch. ii. 11; Lam. i. 4, ii. 6.

6 For, lo, they are gone because of † destruction: Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them: ‖ † the pleasant *places* for their silver, nettles shall possess them: thorns *shall be* in their tabernacles.

7 The days of visitation are come, the days of recompence are come; Israel shall know *it:* the prophet *is* a fool, † the spiritual man *is* mad, for † the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great hatred.

8 The watchman of Ephraim *was* with my God: *but* the prophet *is* a

† Heb. *spoil.*
‖ Or, *their silver shall be desired, the nettle, &c.*
† Heb. *the desire.*
† Heb. *man of the spirit.*

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the feast of the LORD] Probably referring in particular to the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 39, 41), the most joyous of all Hebrew celebrations. Observe the abrupt address with the second person, dropped again in the next verse.

6. *they are gone because of destruction*] Or, "from the devastation." The prophet, seeing, as it were, the captives just after they have left their desolated homes, announces the fate that further awaits them.

Egypt shall gather them up] in sepulture; comp. Jer. viii. 2; Ezek. xxix. 5.

Memphis] Hebr. **Moph**. It is mentioned here as being the metropolis of Lower Egypt. Its ruins, close to Cairo, are remarkable for the large extent of its burying grounds. Not only shall these exiles have no hope of returning, but they shall also have that grave "in a polluted land," which their high-caste sensibilities would shrink from with loathing. Comp. Jer. xlii. 16; Amos vii. 17.

the pleasant places for their silver] Or, **their costly possessions of delight**; lit. (probably) "their cherished delight of silver," "cherished delight" being put for the object delighted in. The same Hebrew word is used similarly in Ezek. xxiv. 16, "desire of thine eyes;" Isai. lxiv. 11, "our pleasant things," lit. "our cherished delights;" 1 K. xx. 6, "whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes," lit. "every cherished delight of thine eyes;" and so elsewhere. Here, the context has determined most modern critics with Jerome to understand the words as meaning the pleasant homes on whose decoration the Israelites had lavished their silver. The singular noun "cherished delight" is recited in the pronoun "them" after "possess," as being a collective noun.

possess] More exactly, **inherit**. "Nettles," *qimōsh*, identical no doubt with the *qimmōsh* in Isai. xxxiv. 13.

7. This and the two following verses form one paragraph: "the visitation for...iniquity" of this verse reappearing in *v.* 9, "he will remember their iniquity and visit their sins," while again *v.* 7 is linked to *v.* 8 by the repetition of the word "hatred," the Hebrew noun for which occurs nowhere else in the Bible. The general purport of the whole is to express the deep resentment which the inspired prophet felt at the scorn and malignity with which God's messengers were received by the people, and his satisfaction at the vindication which their mission would receive, when the Divine judgments which they had denounced should come to pass. The whole verse admits of the following as its most plausible rendering: "The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come: (Israel shall know, who say, The prophet is a fool, the man of wind, *or*, of spirit, is mad;) for the greatness of thine iniquity, and because the rancour is great." We must supply before "the prophet" either "who say," as Ps. ii. 3; Isai. lviii. 3; Mic. ii. 11, &c.; or else, with the same general sense, "whether it be so that." The reproach of being "a fool" and "mad," "enthusiastic," "fanatical," is just the reproach which would be likely to be made, and was made, against a true prophet; cp. 2 K. ix. 11; Jer. xxix. 26. The appellation, "man of wind" or "of spirit," as used by these maligners, probably meant that the inspiration which the prophet of God laid claim to, was false and "wind" (ch. iv. 19 note). Cp. Mic. ii. 11. So Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and "Saadia" understand the phrase. If the word *ruăch* is used in its higher sense of Divine inspiration, then "man of the spirit" stands parallel with "prophet," as assigning to the man of whom the people said that he was mad, his real character. The phrase is not found elsewhere. "For the greatness of thine iniquity, and because the rancour is great." The people, with indignant abruptness again addressed, are to know that God's wrath was about to fall on them for their malignant rejection of His prophets. The construction of the sentence in the Hebrew, necessitating the suppletion of "because" in the last clause, is the same as is found in Jer. xxx. 14; Ezek. xxxvi. 18. "Rancour;" the Hebrew noun so rendered, found only here and in *v.* 8, comes from a verb which occurs in Gen. xxvii. 41, xlix. 23, "hated."

8. *The watchman of Ephraim was with my God*] Or rather, "The watchman, O Ephraim, is with my God; even the prophet, on all whose ways there is the fowler's snare, even rancour in the house of his God." The "watchman" is the true prophet set by God on the watch-tower to give warning, Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7; Hab. ii. 1.

snare of a fowler in all his ways, *and* hatred [1] in the house of his God.

[1] Or, *against.*

9 They have deeply corrupted *themselves*, as in the days of [b] Gibeah: *therefore* he will remember their iniquity, he will visit their sins.

[b] Judg. 19. 18.

10 I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers as the firstripe in the fig tree at her first time: *but* they went to [c] Baal-peor, and separated themselves unto *that* shame; and *their* abominations were according as they loved.

[c] Numb. 25. 3.

11 *As for* Ephraim, their glory

"With my God," in the home of His protection, comp. 1 S. ii. 21, "before the Lord," literally "with the Lord," Ps. lxxiii. 23. "My God;" Hosea indignantly identifies himself with the cause of these persecuted prophets. "In the house of his God;" *i.e.* the house of Israel which was the family of God. See Note below.

9. *corrupted themselves*] Cp. Exod. xxxii. 7; Isai. i. 4; Ps. xiv. 1.

as in the days of Gibeah] Gibeah's sin, with its consequences in the almost total extermination of the tribe of Benjamin, stands forth as the most conspicuous enormity in the history of the Judges.

he will remember their iniquity, he will visit their sins] Thus we are brought back to the announcement which begins the paragraph in verse 7. In declaring that Israel has paralleled Gibeah's sin, the prophet had by implication alluded also to the fearful retribution which Gibeah's crime drew after it; here he denounces it against Israel in express terms.

10. *like grapes in the wilderness*] *i.e.* As grapes would be delicious to one who found them in the waste wilderness, so did Israel seem sweet to Me when I first took him for My own. The words "in the wilderness" are added to heighten the value of the discovery, standing parallel to the words "at her first time" in the next clause.

as the firstripe in the fig tree at her first time] *i.e.* As one rejoices to glimpse (comp. Isai. xxviii. 4) the first ripe fruit in a fig-tree, so your fathers seemed pleasant unto Me when I first beheld them. The early fruit of the fig-tree, gathered in June, is repeatedly referred to as especially precious; cp. Isai. xxviii. 4 and note. Both "I found," and "I saw," are suggested by the figure, rather than by the object to which it is compared. This complacency of Jehovah in Israel is not to be ascribed to any excellence which He saw in them, as Moses in Deuteronomy repeatedly told them, but solely to "the good pleasure of His grace;" Israel's responsive loyalty (see Ezek. xvi. 8) was itself only a weak reflection of His love to them.

but they went to Baal-peor] **they for their part**; in contrast with Jehovah's affectionate love towards them. Gibeah's sin, just before quoted, which was the greatest enormity recorded in the history of the Judges, suggests to the prophet's mind, thrown back upon Israel's ancient history in search of parallels to Ephraim's present wickedness, the idolatry at Baal-peor; for this again stood out in the history of Moses and Joshua as the only instance during that period, in which the people openly appeared as leaving Jehovah to worship another God. Accordingly Baal-peor had stamped itself indelibly in the national remembrance as a most flagrant instance of national transgression. See Deut. iv. 3; Josh. xxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 28—31. This verse with the last is an incidental indication that the old histories in Hosea's hands were the same as we now read. "Baal-peor" is ordinarily the name of the idol (Num. xxv. 3, 5; Deut. iv. 3; Ps. cvi. 28); but the Hebrew construction indicates that it is here the name of a place. It is no doubt identical with "Beth-peor" (Deut. xxxiv. 6), being named after its idol.

separated themselves unto that shame] Or, **separated** (*i.e.* consecrated) **themselves unto Shame**. "Shame," *Bosheth*, an appellation of the idol expressing loathing (like "abomination" in the next clause, "vanity," and similar words), is frequently substituted for "Baal." Thus "Jerubbaal" (Judg. vi. 32) is "Jerubbesheth" (2 S. xi. 21); "Eshbaal" (1 Chro. viii. 33) is "Ishbosheth" (2 S. ii. 8, 10); "Meribbaal" (1 Chro. viii. 34) is "Mephibosheth" (2 S. iv. 4). Some find in the particular Hebrew word here used for "consecrated," an allusion to the name of "Nazarite;" as if it were, Israel was a Nazarite, separated and consecrated unto Jehovah; but he chose instead to be separated and consecrated unto Shame.

and their abominations were according as they loved] Rather, **and became things abhorred like that which they loved**; *i.e.* like the idol they adulterously went after. They became to Jehovah their God as loathsome as their idol. Thus most modern critics. The rendering of A.V., which would mean "were multiplied according to their heart's desire," is rendered improbable by the absence in the Hebrew of the possessive pronoun which that version inserts.

11. Without pausing to state the patent fact, that Ephraim's criminality at the present day matched the iniquity of Baal-peor, the prophet at once denounces the punishments thereby merited.

their glory shall fly away like a bird] Or

shall fly away like a bird, from the birth, and from the womb, and from the conception.

12 Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them, *that there shall* not *be* a man *left:* yea, woe also to them when I depart from them!

13 Ephraim, as I saw Tyrus, *is* planted in a pleasant place: but Ephraim shall bring forth his children to the murderer.

14 Give them, O LORD: what wilt thou give? give them a [†] miscarrying womb and dry breasts.

15 All their wickedness [d] *is* in Gil-

[†] Heb. *that casteth the fruit.*
[d] chap. 12. 11.

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rather, **like birds**; for the Hebrew noun, though singular, is commonly a noun of multitude. Like a flock of birds, which, having pitched for a short space, then simultaneously take wing and are gone. "Their glory," as is indicated by the words which follow, is their great populousness; the great promise and pride of Israel in general, but most especially of "Ephraim," whose very name means "double-fruitfulness" (Gen. xli. 52, xlviii. 19, xlix. 25; Deut. xxxiii. 17). Comp. the threatening of Deut. xxviii. 62.

from the birth, and from the womb, and from the conception] Or rather, **that there shall be no birth, nor being with child, nor conception**, lit. "from bearing, and from womb, and from conception." The Hebrew preposition "from" frequently has this meaning: thus Micah iii. 6, "that ye shall not have a vision," "that ye shall not divine;" lit. "from a vision," "from divining;" Isai. xxiii. 1, "so that there is no house, no entering in," lit. "from house, from entering in."

12. *Though*] Rather, **For though**; arguing from the greater to the less.

bereave them] Or, perhaps, "destroy them," *i.e.* the adult children, as the verb is used in Deut. xxxii. 25, to which passage possibly the prophet alludes.

that there shall not be a man left] Rather, "that **mankind** shall **not** be;" there shall be no population left. Lit. "from man," as in *v.* 11. The word "man," in the Hebrew *adam*, is a collective rather than an individual term; so that the rendering in the A. V. is too strong.

yea, woe also to them when I depart from them!] Or, possibly, "when I look away from them." This terrible threat, or rather, perhaps, prediction, of extermination, addressed to the Ten Tribes in general, but applying most especially to Ephraim, the most populous of them all, serves to explain the fact, that there are so few traces left in the world of their continued existence.

13. *Ephraim, as I saw Tyrus*, &c.] Or rather, "Like as I have chosen [Heb. looked out] Ephraim to be as Tyre, planted in a sure resting-place, so also is Ephraim appointed to bring out his children to the slayer." The "like as" contrasts two opposed extremes of thought, as in Isai. lii. 14. The Hebrew verb "see" is used for "look out," "provide," "elect" (Keil), as in Gen. xxii. 8, xli. 33; Deut. xxxiii. 21; 1 S. xvi. 1, 17; and perhaps Deut. xii. 13. As Jehovah had heretofore with distinguishing love chosen Ephraim to dwell secure and impregnable, so now He would in especial wrath give him up to extermination. Tyre is cited, not for its beauty, as in the A. V., but for its security as a well-nigh impregnable fortress, "strong in the sea" (Ezek. xvi. 17); a reference fully justified by its subsequent history: for Shalmaneser besieged it for five years without, so far as appears, taking it: Nebuchadnezzar succeeded only after a siege of thirteen years (see note on Ezek. xxix. 18); while finally its capture taxed even the resources and military skill of Alexander seven months. Ephraim's central "resting-place" was Samaria, their "crown of pride" (Isai. xxviii. 1); and Samaria before the time of Hosea had defied two several beleaguerments of the Syrians (1 K. xx. 1; 2 K. vi. 24), as afterwards by Shalmaneser it was only reduced after a siege of three years (2 K. xvii. 5). "Planted" denotes settledness, fixedness of position, as in Ps. xcii. 13, and always, as Dr Pusey observes, implies a choice of situation. The above is offered as a probable interpretation of a passage of confessedly great difficulty. See Note below.

14. *what wilt thou give?*] Rather, "what **shalt** thou give?" The prophet begins his sentence indignantly, as if about to imprecate the extremest judgments; but then, suddenly relenting, he pauses, to ask as it were his own heart, what he can make up his mind to desire. His heart, alike pitying the nation, and yet abhorring their wickedness, can frame itself only to this request, alike awful and merciful: that a people so depraved may utterly die off by having no offspring. This interesting self-interlocution, a cropping out of Hosea's own subjectivity, marks a conflict, such as must have often raged in a prophet's own mind, between his zeal for God and his sympathy with men. But it does not stay the torrent of Jehovah's own denunciations, which sweeps along with the like terrible utterances as before. The combination of "give them,"—"give them," and "the wickedness of their doings" (*v.* 15), looks almost like a

gal: for there I hated them: for the wickedness of their doings I will drive them out of mine house, I will love them no more: all their princes *are* revolters.

16 Ephraim is smitten, their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit: yea, though they bring forth, yet will I slay *even* the beloved *fruit* of their womb.

† Heb. *the desires.*

17 My God will cast them away, because they did not hearken unto him: and they shall be wanderers among the nations.

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reminiscence of Ps. xxviii. 4, where precisely the same words occur.

15. *All their wickedness is in Gilgal: for there I hated them*] Gilgal, now a principal focus of idolatrous worship (see ch. iv. 15, and note), was also the place where Israel made a king "before the Lord" (1 S. xi. 15), and where Jehovah by thunder and storm expressed His displeasure at "all that wickedness" (1 S. xii. 20). It is probably to this earlier period of the history of Gilgal that reference is now made, though viewed in connection with later occurrences as well. In fact the *prima mali labes* was Israel's refusing the pure theocracy under which they were first placed, and insisting upon the theocracy being administered in a more sensuous form, by a king. The calf-worship was only another development of the same propensity; calf and king being Israel's self-chosen form of church and state. This led the way to ranker corruptions, both secular and religious, till at length Israel in the Northern kingdom came to be what it now was. Comp. ch. viii. 4, xiii. 10, 11. "All their wickedness," in king, calf, idols, vice, crime, is bound up together in their doings at Gilgal. "Hated them," began to hate them and shewed My hatred.

I will drive them out of mine house, I will love them no more] "Drive them out of my house" as a rebellious child; compare ch. xi. 1 ("son;" "loved"), and Gen. xxi. 10, "cast out" (Hebr., as here, "drive out"). "Love them no more," henceforth disown the parental tie.

all their princes are revolters] Or, "stubborn and rebellious." The whole influence of king and nobles is employed in opposition to My will. The Hebrew for "revolters" is rendered in ch. iv. 16 "backsliding," where see note. Perhaps this last clause of the verse is suggested by the historical reference just made to the first making of a king at Gilgal. In the Hebrew, there is a *paronomasia:* "all their *sarim* are *sorerim*," which is repeated in Isai. i. 23. As if it were, "His princes are called *sarim*, they really are *sorerim*."

16. *smitten*] as a tree (comp. ch. x. 1, xiv. 8) struck by a Divine malediction (Mal. iv. 6; Amos iv. 9; Jonah iv. 7). The comparison is explained in the second half of the verse, which drops the figure and shews that the threatening of *vv.* 11, 12 is here sternly reiterated.

the beloved fruit of their womb] Or, "the dear delights of their soul," lit. "of their belly;" "belly" meaning either "womb," as Gen. xxx. 2; Deut. vii. 13, &c.; or "soul," as in Prov. xviii. 8, xxii. 18; Hab. iii. 16. The expression is somewhat smoother if we take the latter; comp. the construction of the noun "dear delights" in Ezek. xxiv. 21; Lam. i. 10, ii. 4; Joel iii. 5. The word "fruit" is not in the Hebrew.

17. *My God will cast them away*] Or, "My God **shall** cast them away." The prophet again speaks in his own person as in *v.* 14. He now yields his mind without any reserve of feeling to God's will in reference to his countrymen; nay, chooses and takes pleasure in it, and wishes it to be done: God's honour required it. Hence the pathetic expression, "my God."

wanderers] Having no home; the word used of a bird driven from her nest, Prov. xxvii. 8; Isai. xvi. 2. This last clause is perhaps the language of prayer rather than of simple prediction. The fulfilment of the implied prediction is strikingly drawn out in a valuable note of Dr Pusey on the passage.

NOTES on CHAP. IX. 8, 13.

8. The translation of the first clause is somewhat uncertain and much disputed. That given in A.V., with only the slight alteration of supplying *is* instead of *was*, would suit the context perfectly; but all critics are now agreed that with the Masoretic vocalisation this rendering is inadmissible.

13. The substantive נוה, which is never used except in poetry or elevated style, takes its meaning from two different senses of the verb נוה; one of which is "sit," "rest" (Hab. ii. 5); the other "to be fair, handsome," as, perhaps, in Exod. xv. 2. This second sense, of "fair," appears in the adjective נוה (Jer. vi. 2), but nowhere appears in the substantive. The substantive, in the twenty-one other passages in which it occurs, always follows the first sense of the verb, and means "dwelling-place," "fixed abode;" sometimes of God; at others, of men, sheep, or other

animals. Nowhere can it be shewn to mean "pasture," or "fertile, champaign country." In some passages, the notion of fixedness, security, is strongly marked (Isai. xxxiii. 20, xxxii. 18; Jer. l. 44, "habitation of the strong" or "of enduring strength"). So that the word itself, and the accompanying verb שחולה, do in combination suggest the notion of security and settled position which the context requires. The substantive, it has been seen, nowhere means "pleasantness," "beauty;" and nothing can justify our *combining* this notion with that of "habitation" or "fixity." Neither can the word be taken as an adjective; for "in pleasant," "in beautiful," is nearly as intolerable in Hebrew as it is in English. The Chaldee paraphrast comes near to the true view: he has, "was like unto Tyrus in her prosperity and security." Aben Ezra and Kimchi likewise take לצור to mean "like Tyrus;" so Gesenius, "instar Tyri," comparing Job xxxix. 16; Micah ii. 8. For the infinitive להוציא, cp. Prov. xix. 8; Isai. xxxviii. 20.

CHAPTER X.

Israel is reproved and threatened for their impiety and idolatry.

ISRAEL *is* ‖ an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself: according to the multitude of his fruit he hath increased the altars; according to the goodness of his land they have made goodly † images.

‖ Or, *a vine emptying the fruit which it giveth.* † Heb. *statues*, or, *standing images.*

2 ‖ Their heart is divided; now shall they be found faulty: he shall † break down their altars, he shall spoil their images.

‖ Or, *He hath divided their heart.* † Heb. *behead.*

3 For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the LORD; what then should a king do to us?

4 They have spoken words, swear-

CHAP. X. 1. *Israel is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself*] Rather, **A vine giving out its strength abundantly, was Israel, a vine which would freely set forth fruit.** The Hebrew for "empty" is more properly "emptying," *i.e.* emptying itself forth, pouring forth its internal strength in abundance of growth and fruit. The "fruit" is not merely population, but all the results of successful activity in the national life. The image of a vine, here most briefly sketched, is drawn out into full detail in Ps. lxxx. 8—11. "Freely," lit. "unto him:" it is an instance of that looser use of the *dativus commodi* (as the grammarians speak), in which, in Hebrew as well as in some other languages, the dative pronoun is introduced to add to the action of the verb a certain tinge of heartiness, unmistakeableness, absoluteness. Cp. Hebrew of Gen. xii. 1; Amos ii. 13; Song of Sol. ii. 17. The prophet refers probably to the prosperity of the Northern kingdom in the reigns of Joash and Jeroboam II.

according to the multitude, &c.] **as his fruit was multiplied, he multiplied** his **altars; the better it was with his land, the better they made** their **statues.** He could find no better use to make of the bounties of Providence than at once and to the utmost of his power to apply them to the honouring of his idols. "Multiplied altars;" see ch. viii. 11, note.

2. *Their heart is divided*] Sc. between Jehovah and idols. Lit. "hath divided," sc. itself, or its devotion. So LXX., Chald., Rashi, Aben Ezra, "Saadia." Another rendering, "their heart is smooth," *i.e.* false, flattering, slippery (Ewald, Keil, Wünsche), is founded upon the use of the Hebrew word in Ps. lv. 21; Ezek. xii. 24, and the like. But though smooth words may be ascertained by the context to be false and flattering, yet the word "smooth" applied to the heart hardly of itself expresses falsehood.

now shall they be found faulty] **shall they find out their guiltiness.** Cf. ch. v. 15 and note. "Now," no more hesitation or delay: forthwith shall their guiltiness be shewn even in their own consciousness.

he shall break down, &c.] Rather, **he** *is there that* **shall strike off the necks of their altars**, that **shall make havoc of their statues.** "He," with emphasis; who it is, is not stated; but Jehovah has one at hand that shall do it. "Strike off the necks." The verb occurs besides only in Exod. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20; Deut. xxi. 4, 6; Isai. lxvi. 3. Its use here to describe the destruction of idolatrous altars refers probably to the idolatrous sacrifices which had been offered upon them, as being thus by Divine retaliation requited (Pococke). The word "statues," as well as "altars," is significantly repeated from *v.* 1.

3. *For*] The overthrow of Ephraim's altars should go along with the fall of the throne. In the now imminent ruin of their monarchy they should be constrained to recognize the merited wrath of their God, and would confess how vain were the hopes they had once indulged (see 1 S. viii. 19, &c.), of being benefited by having a king while Jehovah was offended with them.

what then should a king do to us?] Lit.

ing falsely in making a covenant: thus judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field.

5 The inhabitants of Samaria shall fear because of the calves of Beth-aven: for the people thereof shall mourn over it, and ‖ the priests thereof *that* rejoiced on it, for the glory thereof, because it is departed from it.

‖ Or, *Chemarim.*

6 It shall be also carried unto As-

"and the king (if we had one), what should he do for us?" "Do," as in Eccles. ii. 2. The future "should do" (not "shall do") is equivalent to "was likely or about to do," the point of view being placed in past time. So the Hebrew future is used in Gen. xliii. 25, "should eat;" Exod. ii. 4, "would be done;" 2 K. iii. 27, "should have reigned."

4. *They have spoken words, swearing falsely in making a covenant*] Lit. "they have spoken words, swearing [or, to swear] falsely, making [or, to make] a covenant." The sense is probably this: "If they do any business, swearing falsely is with them making a covenant," *i.e.* is their way of making a covenant. In transacting any kind of business with one another, the agreements which they make, though of the most solemn kind, are false and perjured. Many take the phrase "speak words" to mean, to speak mere words, words which have no substance, no truth; but there appears to be no justification of this sense in the use of the terms elsewhere. For the charge here made of falsehood and perjury in the business of life compare ch. iv. 2. See Note below.

thus judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field] "Judgment," *i.e.* **crime**, guiltiness, that which judgment has to punish. Thus, Ezek. vii. 23, "bloody crimes," lit. "judgment of blood;" Jer. li. 9, "her judgment reacheth unto heaven." See also the Hebrew of Deut. xix. 6, xxi. 22; Jer. xxvi. 11. So Targum, Rashi, Kimchi. The words "in the furrows," or "upon the ridges," "of the field," are to be taken with "judgment springs up," and not with "hemlock." Crime having been compared to hemlock, what is predicated of it is then, as is often the case (see *e.g.* Ps. xcii. 12—14), conformed to the image, and thus "judgment" is described as luxuriating all over the field. This field, which the "furrows" shew to be a cultivated field, and which therefore should properly have yielded some useful produce instead of those noxious weeds (comp. Isai. v. 2), is the Israelitish nation. On *rōsh*, here rendered hemlock, see note on Deut. xxix. 18.

5. The whole verse is instinct with mocking exultation over the fall of Israel's idolatry, which expresses itself by a rapid succession of sarcasms, which however are only most briefly indicated. The curt, rapidly glancing style which Hosea delights in, is well illustrated by this verse, especially when compared with the more fully developed satire in Isai. xlvi. 1, 2.

The inhabitants of Samaria shall fear because of the calves of Beth-aven] Or, "On behalf of the magnificent she-calf [Heb., the she-calves] of Bethaven [Vanity's-House] shall they be in fear, the inhabitants of Samaria." Wherever else the calf-idol is mentioned, whether sing. or plural, the masculine form is used (ch. viii. 5, 6, xiii. 2; 1 K. xii. 28; 2 K. x. 29; 2 Chro. xiii. 8). Here the feminine is put instead, probably, as Jerome observes, in derision. Immediately after, in the pronouns which refer to the idol, the proper masculine is resumed. In Rabbinical writings, when reference is had to false gods, *Elohoth*, "She-gods," is often in mockery used for *Elohim*, "Gods," irrespectively of the sex of the idol. At Bethel, "God's House," here contemptuously named "Bethaven," "Vanity's House" (cf. ch. iv. 15 and note), was enshrined Jeroboam's golden calf, which is here designated by a plural noun, with a sarcastic application of the Hebrew "plural of majesty;" for the words which follow make it clear, that it was only one particular calf-idol which was now in the prophet's thoughts. The masculine plural for "calves" occurs often in the Hebrew Bible, the feminine plural only here. "Samaria," the capital and seat of government, represents the whole kingdom.

for the people thereof, &c.] Or, "for his people shall mourn for him, and likewise his kemarim that rejoiced over him, for their glory; because it is departed from them." "His people:" Israel, properly Jehovah's people, is derisively called the calf's people, as in Num. xxi. 29 Moab is called "the people of Chemosh." The "kemarim," mentioned besides only in 2 K. xxiii. 5, Zeph. i. 4, appear to have been some particular class of idolatrous priests. As the word was probably an exotic (see note on 2 K. xxiii. 5), we may suppose, that it was employed by Hosea as a designation of calf-priests, to mark their character as foreign to Israel. "Their glory:" Jehovah was properly Israel's "glory" (Ps. cvi. 20); but, here again with derision, Israel is reminded that they had made the calf their "glory." The words, "it is departed from them," are apparently borrowed, and not without sarcasm as so applied, from the wail of the pious Israelites for the loss of the ark, in 1 S. iv. 21, 22.

Many critics render the latter part of the verse thus: "and his kemarim shall tremble for his glory, because it departeth from him" or "them." But the sense of "trembling" is hardly established for the Hebrew verb, which

syria *for* a present to [a]king Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel.

[a] chap. 5. 13.

7 *As for* Samaria, her king is cut off as the foam upon [†]the water.

[†] Heb. *the face of the water.*

8 The high places also of Aven, the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed: the thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars; [b]and they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us.

[b] Isai. 2. 19. Luke 23. 30. Rev. 6. 16. & 9. 6.

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in the forty-three other passages in which it occurs uniformly expresses joy.

6. *It shall be also carried*, &c.] Or, "Yea, he himself shall be **carried in state** unto Assyria for a present to the champion king." "Yea:" the same word in the Hebrew is so rendered in Job xviii. 5; 1 S. xxiv. 11. *Minchah*, the word for "present," always denotes a gift expressive of reverence, whether rendered to Heaven, or, as in 1 S. x. 27; 2 S. viii. 2; Ps. lxxii. 10, to an earthly sovereign. On "Jareb," see note on ch. v. 13.

Though the very imperfect record which we have of the last years of the Israelite monarchy is silent on the fact, yet there is no reason for doubting that just this and no other was the end of Jeroboam's golden calf at Bethel. Being of gold, or covered with plates of gold, it would form a present of some value, while a cheaper figure might serve as its substitute at Bethel. The specification of this particular mode of its removal, rather than of its being, for example, contumeliously destroyed, entitles us to regard this as a prediction of a historical fact, and not as being merely a poetical form of denunciation. It was probably fulfilled in the beginning of Hoshea's reign, when he was compelled to make that submission to Assyria which at first he would fain not have made. Cf. 2 K. xvii. 3, where the word "presents" is the very same word as is used here.

Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel] The erection of that calf-idol had seemed to Israel, and especially to "Ephraim," its ruling tribe, as a masterly stroke of policy: see 1 K. xii. 26—28. They should now feel, how powerless this idol would prove for averting the ruin, of which it became itself a first victim.

7. *as the foam*, &c.] **as a bubble** (or a chip) **upon the face of the water.** The extinction of Israel's monarchy is again connected with that of her idolatry, as in *vv.* 2 and 3 above. Critics are almost equally divided between the renderings "foam" or "bubble," and "chip;" the king being in the latter case compared to a chip floating away with the stream and lost. Etymologically, the former rendering is equally probable, and is sanctioned by the Targum, Jerome, Rashi, "Saadia," Pococke, Rosenmüller, Mendelssohn and Fürst; and its adoption is recommended by the consideration that the context does not indicate the *stream*, which in the other case is essential to the image.

8. *The high places also of Aven, the sin of Israel*] Or rather, "The shrines also, &c." "Aven," *i.e.* "vanity" or "iniquity," may possibly be used here as a *common noun* indicating the calf-idol; but it has been almost universally understood as a *proper noun*, put for "Bethel." Thus "Aven, the sin of Israel," would be a combination of the two passages in Hosea's elder contemporary, "Bethel shall be Aven [vanity]," and, "they that swear by the sin of Samaria" (Amos v. 5, viii. 14).

A "high place," *bamah*, whatever were its precise form and use, was something which might be "built" (1 K. xi. 7, xiv. 23; 2 K. xvii. 9), or even perhaps constructed of materials used for making clothes (Ezek. xvi. 16, Hebrew), and which might therefore also be "destroyed" (the same Hebrew verb occurs in Lev. xxvi. 30; Num. xxxiii. 52, "pluck down,") or "broken down" and "burned" (2 K. xxiii. 15). See notes on 1 K. xiv. 23 and 2 K. xxiii. 15. At Bethel there were at least one such *bamah* and one particular "altar," mentioned as two distinct things in 2 K. xxiii. 15; in which passage also the mention of them is connected with the words so often reiterated of Jeroboam, that he "made Israel to sin;" which words probably led to the introduction here of the expression, "the sin of Israel." But there were probably also other *bamahs* and other "altars," reproducing on a lesser scale the same worship: they certainly were found in other places (Amos vii. 9; 2 K. xvii. 9).

the thorn and the thistle] *Kōts* and *dardar* are found also together in Gen. iii. 18, the only other passage in which *dardar* occurs. What plants are exactly meant is uncertain. See Tristram, 'Nat. H.,' p. 427. In the midst of the prediction of Bethel's overthrow (for it is resumed at the close of the verse), we see here interposed a rapid reference to the utter desolation which should mark the spot at that later period, when nature should have had time to clothe the ruins with forms of useless vegetation. This reference signifies also that the overthrow would be lasting.

they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us] They shall desire instant death to put an end to their sufferings, even though the end came in the fearful form of their being crushed, under mountains and hills rolled upon them. This description of despair passed into a kind of proverbial image: see Luke xxiii. 30; Rev. vi. 16, ix. 6. That

9 O Israel, thou hast sinned from the days of Gibeah: there they stood: the battle in Gibeah against the children of iniquity did not overtake them.

10 *It is* in my desire that I should chastise them; and the people shall be gathered against them, [1]when they shall bind themselves in their two furrows.

11 And Ephraim *is as* an heifer *that is* taught, *and* loveth to tread out

[1] Or, *when I shall bind them for their two transgressions, or, in their two habitations.*

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it is not mere concealment that is desired, is plain from the words, "Fall on us!"

9. *thou hast sinned from the days of Gibeah*] This, considering what follows, is probably the true rendering, rather than, "more than in the days of Gibeah." Possibly, the word "hills" (Heb. "Gibeahs") at the end of *v.* 8 suggests the reminiscence of Gibeah in this. Gibeah's enormities, which were referred to also ch. ix. 9, stood out in the history with a preeminence which made Gibeah a byword for criminality in the same way as Sodom and Gomorrah were (Isai. i. 9, 10; Matt. xi. 23). See Judg xix. 30. Indeed the history seems written with a consciousness of the resemblance; compare Judg. xix. 22 with Gen. xix. 5. The answering criminality of Israel is that general moral depravity which we find delineated in ch. iv. 1—19, and the prevalence of which is often attested by the Psalms and Prophets in the strongest manner; see *e.g.* Psalm xiv.

there they stood, &c.] Rather, "there have they stood: shall there not overtake them dwelling in Gibeah the war against the children of crime?" That is, In the criminality of Gibeah they have persisted ever since: can they deem that, living as they do in Gibeah, the war, which in those days of old exterminated the children of crime, shall not overtake them too?

stood] continued, persisted, as in Eccles. viii. 3; Isai. xlvii. 12, "stood with" (rather, "stand by"); 2 K. xv. 20, "stayed;" Lev. xiii. 5, "be at a stay."

Gibeah] spoken of mystically, as "Egypt" ch. viii. 13, and "Sodom" and "Gomorrah" in Isai. i. 10.

Amongst the various renderings which have been given of this verse, the above seems the easiest, and to make it the most pointed. It is approved by Mercer, Pococke, Ewald. The last clause may be read without an interrogative, "there shall not overtake them, &c.," and taken as a sarcastic citation of what these "children of crime" thought. The rendering of A.V. means, as Dr Pusey thinks, "there, though chastened, they were not killed: the battle in Gibeah against the children of iniquity did not overtake them then so as to utterly destroy them; but it shall now."

10. *It is in my desire that I should chastise them*] Rather, **When I desire it, then I shall chastise them.** *I.e.* With them, all is ready for punishment; there is nothing on their part to stay My hand, whenever it becomes My good pleasure to visit them. The word "desire" points to the Divine complacency in the infliction at His own time of the merited chastisement; comp. Isai. i. 24; Ezek. v. 13. See Note (*a*) below.

when they shall bind themselves in their two furrows] The easiest rendering of this perplexing passage is perhaps this: "because they have bound themselves to their twofold cohabitation." The Hebrew word (*'onah*), which in A.V. is here rendered "furrow," occurs besides only Exod. xxi. 10 "her duty of marriage," which is a common sense of the word in the Talmudists. (Gesenius, 'Thes.') "Their twofold cohabitation" probably means, their communion by acts of worship with Jehovah, conjoined with their idolatrous communion with the calf. Comp. *v.* 2, "their heart has divided its love." If the expression as thus understood strikes our minds as gross and even irreverent, we must recollect that this representation of worship, both lawful and unlawful, is that which is presented to us more openly in Isai. lvii. 7, 8, and Ezek. xxiii. throughout; and that it underlies all those passages in Hosea and elsewhere, which describe idolatry on the part of Israelites as an act of whoredom or adultery against Jehovah. Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 17, x. 18—22. The particular Hebrew word is chosen, as bringing both legitimate and forbidden worship under one category: if the two worships referred to had been those of Dan and Bethel, they would have been both of them described as "whoredoms" or "adulteries." "Because they have bound themselves," lit., "in their binding themselves;" comp. 2 Chro. xxviii. 6, "because they had forsaken the Lord," lit., "in their forsaking the Lord." The Ten Tribes "bound" themselves to this twofold worship in the fundamental policy of their separate kingdom: comp. *v.* 6, "his own counsel." For the "gathering together of the nations," cp. ch. viii. 10; Ezek. xxiii. 46. See Note (*b*) below.

11. *And Ephraim*, &c.] Rather, "And Ephraim was a heifer **broken in** and loving to tread out the corn; **but I, even I**, have **assaulted** the beauty of her neck; I will **set a rider upon Ephraim**; Judah shall plough, Jacob shall break his clods." Treading out corn was a kind of work which the heifer would like; it was easy for her to walk round and round the floor, which was some 80 feet wide, drawing usually no weight (unless

† Heb. *the beauty of her neck.*

the corn; but I passed over upon †her fair neck: I will make Ephraim to ride; Judah shall plow, *and* Jacob shall break his clods.

12 Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; [c]break up your fallow ground: for *it is* time to seek the LORD, till he come and rain righteousness upon you.

[c] Jer. 4. 3.

13 Ye have plowed wickedness, ye

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indeed it were the toothed sledge, *moreg*, which was sometimes made use of: see Isai. xli. 15, and 'Dict. of the Bible,' *Agriculture*, Vol. I. p. 31), and having the indulgence of eating at will as she walked (Deut. xxv. 4). Such easy and indulgent work would be assigned to a favourite heifer, which under it would soon shew her neck fat and sleek. So favoured had Ephraim been when tractable to her Owner, "broken in;" and so prosperous had she become (Deut. xxxii. 15). But now a change was to take place. Jehovah would assault her fair neck with the harness of heavy toil: a driver should be mounted upon her; Judah also shall draw the plough (comp. ch. v. 5, 12, 14): the whole nation in short ("Jacob") should be put under the heaviest labour of the field. It introduces a tame repetition to suppose as some do that "Jacob" means "Ephraim." The whole verse means, that whereas heretofore the Israelitish nation had been a conqueror among neighbouring nations (comp. the use of the image of threshing in Mic. iv. 12, 13) and had appropriated their good things, she now should serve them with hard bondage. "Broken in," Heb. "taught;" comp. Jer. xxxi. 18, "unaccustomed to the yoke," Hebrew "not taught." The conjunction is omitted before "loving," as in ch. vi. 3, vii. 15. "Assault," lit., "pass over upon," *i.e.* in hostile attack, as the Hebrew verb is used in Job xiii. 13, and Nahum iii. 19. "Break clods;" properly of the second ploughing across a former ploughing, βωλοκοπεῖν, *offringere*. So Isai. xxviii. 24; Job xxxix. 10.

12. *Sow to yourselves ...fallow ground*] More exactly, **Sow to yourselves unto righteousness, reap according to mercy; break up your fallow ground.** The images of husbandry employed in *v.* 11 suggest to the prophet a further but quite distinct application of the same class of images. The verb for "break up fallow ground" occurs besides only in Jer. iv. 3, "break up your fallow ground and sow not among thorns;" that is, You must in the first instance root out the thorns by turning up the fallow ground. See note in loc. Jeremiah's use of the words, which he seemingly borrowed from the older prophet, indicates this to be Hosea's meaning: Let all your aims and endeavours be such as shall issue in righteousness, producing words and deeds animated by equity towards your brethren (comp. "*unto* holiness," Rom. vi. 22); whatever blessings are given you, use according to the rules of charity (Micah vi. 8); make an entire change in your lives, rooting out of them all weeds and wild growths of untamed nature. "Sowing" represents all kinds of activity in pursuit of whatever is desired (ch. viii. 7). "Reaping" is the enjoyment of God's blessings. "According to;" the Hebrew phrase is the same as in Gen. xlvii. 12; Lev. xxv. 16. The passage takes in, but must not be restricted by, what we read in Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19—22. Some take the second imperative as a promise (comp. Isai. lv. 2), thus: Ye shall reap according to the proportion of God's boundless mercy. So Dr Pusey in a devotional note of great interest and beauty, and Wünsche. But the properly imperative import of the clause which follows makes this construction seem unnatural.

for it is time, &c.] "Time," as in Ps. cxix. 126, *i.e.* The occasion pressingly calls upon you to seek Jehovah (ch. iii. 5) who is now withdrawing from you, before it is too late; in the humble hope that after a while (ch. vi. 2) He will visit you in mercy ("come" as Exod. xx. 24), and rain down lovingkindness upon you. "Rain" is another and again different application of agricultural imagery; it denotes both the abundance and the welcome character of the gift. Cf. ch. vi. 3. "Righteousness" often means goodness manifested according to promise. Cf. Isai. xlv. 8; Ps. lxxxv. 11. The Hebrew word rendered "rain," as in Joel ii. 23, may also mean "teach," as in Deut. xxxiii. 10; and hence some suppose that the Messiah is here promised as the Great Teacher of holiness (Isai. ii. 3, lv. 4; John iv. 25). But instruction in holiness, though a supreme blessing to a moral being, is not the promise which we should here expect.

13. *Ye have plowed.....fruit of lies*] "Ploughed wickedness," as Job iv. 8, where see note. It means engaging in wicked enterprises. The reversed order of the words in the second clause, which more closely rendered is, **iniquity ye have reaped**, indicates that it is not a continued description of their evil doings, but rather of their result. Compare again Job iv. 8. The sense is, Your ploughing—is wickedness, which ye have yourselves done both to one another and against your God; and your harvest—is oppression, exercised upon yourselves by your fellow-men. This last applies both to the injustice which Israelites were continually suffering at the

have reaped iniquity; ye have eaten the fruit of lies: because thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy mighty men.

14 Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled [d]Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon *her* children.

15 So shall Beth-el do unto you because of [†]your great wickedness: in a morning shall the king of Israel utterly be cut off.

[d] 2 Kin. 18. 34. & 19. 13.

[†] Heb. *the evil of your evil.*

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hands of fellow-Israelites, and also to the wrongful treatment which the nation suffered from more powerful states. "The fruit of lies" may mean the fruit of disappointment; but it more probably denotes the results of their "lies" (treasons) against their God and their lawful king; this third clause repeats the two former compressed into one.

because thou didst trust, &c.] "Thy way," that is, the way of worldly and corrupt policy, calf-worship, heathenish alliances, unbelief towards Jehovah. Compare "way" in 1 K. xv. 34; 2 K. xvi. 3. The Hebrew for "thy way" by a slight change in the consonants means "thy chariots," which as being homogeneous with what follows ("the multitude of thy mighty men") is accepted by Ewald and several modern critics. So LXX. (Alex.; the Vatican has ἁμαρτήμασι) as given by Cyril, by Jerome (who himself has *viis tuis*), Arab. But the whole Jewish tradition is against the reading.

14. *Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people*] *i.e.* a tumult of panic-stricken outcry and confusion caused by the approach of invaders. But a truer rendering probably is, **Therefore a tumult shall rise up against thy peoples.** "Rise up," as Ps. xxvii. 3; Nah. i. 9; Prov. xxiv. 22. "Against," the same preposition in the Hebrew as Ps. xxvii. 12. "Peoples," as in the Hebrew of Lev. xxi. 1, 4, 14; Deut. xxxiii. 3, 19. Their collective tribes should be assailed by the roar of invading hosts. Cf. Isai. xvii. 12; Jer. xxv. 31; Amos ii. 2.

as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children] "In the day of battle," rather "of war," *i.e.* when it was taken in war. The phrase, which is not the same as in Ps. cxl. 7, does not properly suggest the thought of a battle apart from the attack on the town. "Dashed in pieces," as infants are repeatedly said to be treated in those days of barbarous warfare, ch. xiii. 16; 2 K. viii. 12; Nah. iii. 10. A different Hebrew verb describes the same barbarity in Ps. cxxxvii. 9. It adds a circumstance of cruelty accompanied by resistless force, that the mothers were also to be subjected to the like treatment. The comparison of ch. xiii. 16 shews the distinctness with which the prophet's spirit foresaw the sanguinary capture of Samaria. Who this "Shalman" was, and what place was "Beth-arbel," are only matters of uncertain conjecture. All that is known is that the sack of Beth-arbel had made upon the minds of Israelites an impression, similar to that which in the seventeenth century was made far and wide by the sack of Magdeburg. See Note below.

15. *So shall Beth-el do unto you*] **Thus hath Beth-el done unto you.** Such is the calamitous future, which your calf-worship and its attendant corruptions have wrought out for you. Comp. ch. viii. 5, xiii. 9; Jer. iv. 18. The prophet possibly uses the form "Beth-el" here instead of "Beth-aven," to point a *paronomasia;* as if it were: "Beth-el," *The House of God*, has made you to be "Beth-arbel," *The House of the ambush of God*, as Moses Kimchi explained the latter name.

your great wickedness] Literally, "your wickedness of wickedness;" an intensive form of expression like "holy of holies," "song of songs," "servant of servants." The phrase seems to come fresh from the mint of Hosea's own indignant feeling.

in a morning] Rather, **in the dawn**, *i.e.* as soon as the morning approaches, the first thing that shall happen will be, that, &c. So "in the morning" is rendered "early" in Ps. xc. 14. "The king of Israel" points, not to any particular person, as *e.g.* Hoshea, but to the representative of the office. There is another reading in the Hebrew MSS., not however so well authenticated, giving the sense, "like the dawn:" this would mean, together with the morning cloud which the rising sun dissipates (cf. ch. vi. 4). Some indeed give this sense to the common reading.

NOTES on CHAP. X. 4, 10, 14.

4. As the first of the three verbs, דברו, כרות, אלות, is in the indicative, while the other two are infinitives, the most obvious construction of the passage is, not to make the first coordinate with the other two, but to take it as a protasis. The sense here given to דָּבַר appears to be borne out by its use in the following passages: Judg. xviii. 7, 28;

Exod. xviii. 16; 2 S. xix. 29; Josh. xx. 4; Isai. lviii. 13, "speaking their own words," A.V., lit. "speaking a word," *i. e.* of business.

10. (*a*) The explanation given above of באותי ואסרם, lit., "In my desire, and I shall punish them," is borne out, in the first part, by Jer. ii. 24, where "at her pleasure," lit. "in the desire of her soul," means, "at the season of her desire;" and, in the second, by the use of the conjunction in the Hebrew of Exod. xvi. 6, "then:" Prov. xxiv. 27, "and afterwards," lit. "afterwards and."

(*b*) In determining the force of באסרם, general usage shews that the pronominal affix recites the *subject* of the infinitive verb and not its *object*. This appears from a comparison of all the passages which Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 175) cites in illustration of the use of ב with an infinitive, wherein that infinitive has a pronominal affix (Song of Sol. v. 6; Gen. xxxiii. 18, ii. 4; Josh. v. 4; Job xlii. 10; 2 Chro. xxviii. 6; Isai. i. 15. So Num. xxxv. 19; Ps. iv. 1, 3; Ezek. xlvii. 7). These passages, together with Prov. xxx. 32, and Isai. xx. 1, in which the pronominal affix is wanting, further suggest the conviction, that the infinitive in this form of expression denotes an action, which marks the time or occasion of that other action which is expressed by the principal verb of the sentence. From these considerations we are entitled to infer, (1) that if the infinitive in באסרם is transitive, the agent who "binds" cannot be, either the "nations" (for in that case we should have harshly to supply אותם for the object) or "God" (for after אספו this subject would require to be explicitly introduced); but must be the Israelites themselves; (2) that the action expressed by the infinitive marks the time or occasion of the "nations assembling together," and not their object in coming together. This last result is further proved true by its being באסרם and not לאסרם. In respect to עונה, the meaning of "furrow" which has been assigned to it is conjectural; and no tolerable explanation of the passage has been given with this rendering of the noun. The vocalisation עֲוֹנָתָם (LXX. ἀδικίαις, Vulg. iniquitates,) is a violation of the Masora, and gives no clearly ascertainable sense; for there is nothing to determine what "two iniquities" are meant. The conjectural reading עֵינָתָם, understood as "eyes," gives a vapid turn to the clause, and is opposed to the *usus loquendi*; for "eyes" is always עינים, and never עינות. The rendering given in the foot-note is the only one in accordance with the usage of the Hebrew noun.

14. There was an Arbela in the valley of Jezreel, and another near Pella, both of them now called *Irbid*: also one in Adiabene, afterwards made famous by the defeat of the last Darius. Dr Pusey, with Joseph Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Keil, Can. Rawlinson and others, thinks "Shalman" is an abridged form of "Shalmaneser;" and he has woven together a theory, that Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727—722), in that invasion of his which is mentioned 2 K. xvii. 3, fought a battle in the valley of Jezreel, in which he broke the power of Samaria in fulfilment of the prediction in Hos. i. 5, and about the same time stormed the neighbouring town of Arbela. But, not to insist upon the precariousness of a theory composed, as this is, of several hypotheses each lacking historical proof, this invasion falls inconveniently late; for it has been seen (Introd. p. 403), that a later chapter of Hosea, ch. xii., appears to belong to a time prior to the close of the reign of Pekah. Schrader ('Keilinschriften, &c.' pp. 283, 284) mentions, that in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser, among other names of persons from whom he received tribute about the year 732, is the name of "Salamanu (*i.e.* Shalman) of Moab." See the inscription in Ménant, 'Annales,' p. 144. The Moabites, who had made an incursion into the country of Israel in the time of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 20), had been, it is true, subjugated by Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 25); but in the confusion which ensued upon Jeroboam's death, they no doubt reasserted their independence; and it is very possible (Schrader thinks) that their king "Shalman" made an inroad into Transjordanic Israel, in which Arbela, here called Beth-arbel, was captured in the way described. The bare mention of Shalman's name, without any further adjunct, agrees well (he adds) with his being a *contemporary* prince, ruling over a *neighbouring* nation.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *The ingratitude of Israel unto God for his benefits.* 5 *His judgment.* 8 *God's mercy toward them.*

WHEN Israel *was* a child, then I loved him, and [a]called my son out of Egypt. [a] Matth. 2. 15.

CHAP. XI. 1. *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt*] **and out of Egypt called my son.** This translation of the Hebrew, which is lit. "from Egypt I called to my son," is fully borne out by Gen. xxxi. 4, "And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah (lit. to Rachel and to Leah) to the field unto his flock." The words may mean, "from (the time of) Egypt I called to my son (to come near to me)," as in *v.* 2, "as they called them," lit. "called to them;" but the rendering of A.V. is the most obvious,

2 *As* they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burned incense to graven images.

3 I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them.

4 I drew them with cords of a man,

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and has been generally accepted. This and the three next verses set forth Jehovah's love to His people from their earliest days, contrasted with the insensibility and disobedience which they on their part had shewn towards *Him*. "Child:" referring to the early period of the nation's development; cp. ch. vii. 9, "gray hairs." "Then," even thus early. It is literally "and," as it is also in the Hebrew of Isai. xxviii. 18, "then." "Out of Egypt" stands first with emphasis to mark the greatness of the deliverance which God had wrought for them; out of that degradation and misery, from which to human view rescue seemed impossible. Cp. Exod. xx. 2; Ps. lxxxi. 10. "My son:" this expression, which points in part to the Divine origin of Israel as the child of promise and miracle, but which is also used as a term of endearment, is recited from God's message to Pharaoh (Exod. iv. 22, 23). Cp. Jer. xxxi. 20. This calling out of Egypt gave to Israel, both its first being as a separate nation, and its position as Jehovah's peculiar people.

St Matthew (ch. ii. 15) cites the passage in reference to the fact, that the Infant Jesus was taken down into Egypt and continued there till the death of Herod; his object being to obviate the prejudice which might arise in the mind of a high-caste Jew, from the circumstance of the early infancy of Jesus being passed in a polluted, heathen land. As Jehovah's interposition in bringing Israel out of Egypt proved, that the misery and pollution of their Egyptian sojourn was no bar to His love to them, so also the distress and pollution attendant upon the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt constituted no just ground of objection to Jesus being the Messiah; Jesus came forth out of Egypt the Son of God nevertheless. "St Matthew apparently quotes these words, not to prove anything, but in order to point out the relation of God's former dealings with the latter, the beginning and the close, what relates to the body, and what relates to the Head." Dr Pusey. A similar apologetic purpose reigns in Matt. i. 3, 5, 6. ii. 23. The manner in which the Evangelist employs these words of Hosea, gives no warrant for the supposition that they are strictly predictive of our Lord.

It may, however, further help us in understanding how the passage was available for the use which the Evangelist makes of it, if, with that reverential diffidence which becomes us when speculating upon matters so high and mysterious, we venture to surmise—that Jehovah's love to Israel was connected with the relation, which in the course of time His Eternal Son was to bear to that nation;—that this relation, though not, so far as we know, in the mind of Hosea, was, however, present to the view of "the Spirit of Christ" which "moved" him;—and that it was by special guidance that the prophet was led, when, in setting forth Jehovah's distinguishing love to His people while yet in Egypt, he did so in terms which should afterwards be so directly apposite for warding off reproach from the head of the infant Messiah.

2. *As they called them*, &c.] Or, "As they called them, so they went away from them: to Baals would they offer sacrifices, and to graven images burn incense." "As," which is wanting in the Hebrew, is to be supplied as in Isai. lv. 9; Judg. v. 15, see note. The "call" of verse 1, addressed by Jehovah to His people through Moses, summoning them forth from Egypt, suggests the other "calls" which were addressed to them by the continued succession of prophets who followed Moses. Cp. 2 K. xvii. 7—17; Jer. xxv. 4—7. "Went away from them," literally "went from their face;" sought to evade the presence of their earnest and best advisers. "Baals," plural as in ch. ii. 13, where see note. On the prevalence of the worship of Baal in Israel, from the earliest days, cf. note on ch. ii. 8. The change from the singular number in the first verse to the plural in the second is founded in the nature of the case. The collective nation was God's "son," and was brought out of Egypt in one body; while the behaviour ascribed to Israel in the second verse was that of the people acting individually.

3. *I taught*, &c.] The literal rendering is probably this: "And I on my part was a go-nurse to Ephraim, who took them as one taketh a child over his arms." "I on my part;" the insertion of the pronoun in the Hebrew makes it emphatic. So in Amos ii. 9, 10. The exact translation of the former part of the verse is somewhat uncertain; but the rendering given above, the sense of which underlies that of the Authorized Version, has in the main the support of the great majority of critics. Jehovah represents Himself as shewing in His dealings with Ephraim the condescension and tender, patient care, which a nurse shews to a child in first training him to walk. "When a young child is first taught to go, the nurse places herself behind its back; and putting her hands forward, over its shoulders, brings them under its arm-pits; and, supporting the child in this manner, paces slowly

with bands of love: and I was to them as they that † take off the yoke on their jaws, and I laid meat unto them.

† Heb. *lift up.*

5 ¶ He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king, because they refused to return.

6 And the sword shall abide on his

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after it, taking step for step with the child." Horsley. The point illustrated is, not merely God's instructing Israel in his duty, but also and more particularly His patient condescension in dealing with him. The imagery carries on that of *v.* 1. There is an abrupt interchange in the number of the pronoun in the words "took *them* over *his* arms," which is disguised in our English Bible, as it also is in the next verse ("unto them," Hebrew "unto him"). Here the singular "his" after the plural "them" is more suitable, because the words "over his arms" belong closely to the image of the child. Another rendering of the second clause is, "one who took them up in his arms." So Keil, Wünsche, and, as an alternative, Dr Pusey. This view is favoured by the many passages which represent Jehovah as τροφοφορῶν (Acts xiii. 18) towards His people, such as Deut. i. 31, xxxii. 10, 11, xxxiii. 27; Isai. xlvi. 3, 4, lxiii. 9. But the clause so rendered does not agree so well with the image of a go-nurse, which, as is generally agreed, is presented in the first clause.

knew not] That is, would not know; as in Isai. i. 3.

healed] Was the only source of their well-being and comfort in trouble, ch. v. 13, vii. 1.

4. *I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love*] Comp. Song of Sol. i. 4, "draw me, we will run after thee;" which passage shews that "I drew them" means, "I drew them to myself." So also Isai. v. 18, "draw" (plainly, "to themselves") "iniquity with cords of vanity and sin as it were with a cart rope." Jehovah used every means of condescension and love to draw Israel into union with Himself. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 3. "Cords of man;" man as contrasted with God, and not (as some suppose, referring to Ps. xxxii. 9) as contrasted with beasts; it means, Not with the cords with which a holy, Almighty God might have been expected to coerce sinful creatures, but such as a man might use with a fellow-man, a father with his child.

take off the yoke on their jaws] Rather, **lift the yoke up over their cheeks.** The "cords" and "bands" suggest the image of a steer drawing by a yoke. Israel was a steer treated with unwonted tenderness by a kind-hearted Owner; such an Owner, as would, every now and then, in the midst of his beast's toilsome drawing, lift up the heavy Oriental yoke when it was beginning to heat and gall its neck, and bring it forward upon the cheeks, for a few minutes' relief. So Kimchi. The meaning is, that, all through, Jehovah made the course of obedience easy to His people by manifold indulgence and refreshment. Cp. Micah vi. 3. Much more is the "yoke" of Jesus under the new dispensation "kind" and "light." Cp. Matt. xi. 29, 30, with Acts xv. 10.

and I laid meat unto them] Or, "and dealing gently with him, I gave him meat;" namely, as before, in the midst of his toil. This rendering is justified by the comparison of the Hebrew of 2 S. xviii. 5; 1 K. xxi. 27. So Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Keil. But the general sense remains the same, if we follow the more common rendering, "I reached out to him, gave (him) to eat;" the conjunction being omitted before the second verb, as in Ps. xvii. 6, lxxxvi. 1; 1 K. xviii. 19.

5. *He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king*] Or more closely, **but the Assyrian, he shall be his king.** The threatening that Israel should return to "Egypt," which has before been pronounced (ch. viii. 13, ix. 3), is probably, as we have seen, to be interpreted mystically. Here the language appears to be literal. The prophet makes the explicit announcement that the place of Israel's captivity should be Assyria and not Egypt. This departure from the mystical reference to Egypt elsewhere prevailing in Hosea may be ascribed to the literal and historical reference in *v.* 1. We may paraphrase thus: Though I have said that he shall go back into Egypt, yet into that land of Egypt, out of which I brought Israel when a child, shall he not return; not even to take refuge in that country, as he fain would do: a worse Egypt than Egypt awaits them, and a worse Pharaoh than Pharaoh, even the king of Assyria. How terrible the Assyrian would prove, is shewn in the next verse. This appears the best way of explaining the seeming contradiction in the prophet's words.

return] Put absolutely, for "return to my obedience." So Isai. i. 27, "her converts," literally "her returning ones."

6. *And the sword*, &c.] Rather, "And the sword shall light [or whirl down] upon his cities, and shall make an end of his liars, and shall devour, because of their counsels." "Sword," figuratively as Lev. xxvi. 25; 2 S. xii. 10; Ezek. xiv. 17. "Light upon," come with a whirling motion, burst down upon. The verb is used in the same sense in Jer. xxiii. 19 ("fall grievously"); xxx. 23 ("fall with pain"); 2 S. iii. 29 ("rest").

cities, and shall consume his branches, and devour *them*, because of their own counsels.

7 And my people are bent to backsliding from me: though they called them to the most High, †none at all would exalt *him*.

† Heb. *together they exalted not.*

8 How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? *how* shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as [b]Admah? *how* shall I set thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together.

[b] Gen. 19. 24. Amos 4. 11.

9 I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim: for I *am* God, and not man; the Holy One in the midst of thee: and I will not enter into the city.

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branches] Rather, "liars." The Hebrew noun (*baddim*) means also "limbs" of a body or of a tree, and "bars;" and all these different renderings have been given to the word in this passage. Rendered in any one of these ways, it must be explained as a figure; and accordingly it has been conjectured to mean "mighty men," "villages," or "fortresses." Some indeed take it for the "bars" of city gates; but this yields a tame sense. The word would seem less enigmatical in its reference, if rendered "liars" as by A.V. in Isai. xliv. 25; Jer. l. 36 (—which latter passage has the appearance of being a reminiscence of Hosea's word—): it points to those, whether prophets, priests, or statesmen, who uttered falsehoods concerning Jehovah and concerning Israel's real circumstances, and so advised the nation to its ruin. Comp. ch. iv. 9, vii. 13; Jer. v. 12. And this view the best agrees with the last words, "because of their counsels."

7. *And my people*, &c.] Or, "And my people is bent upon backsliding from me: and though they call him up on high, yet not one of them all will lift himself up," *i.e.* they one and all refuse to raise their thoughts and wishes upwards to Me. Such is the sense which most recent critics give to this somewhat obscure verse; and this sense, as well as that given to it in A.V., if it can be fairly found in the words, is easy enough to understand. The literal rendering is, "My people (are) hung to my defection [*i.e.*, to defection from me]; and call they him to on high" (or, it may be, "to the Most High"), "together he will not raise aloft," or "exalt." The renderings of LXX., Targum, and Vulg. are altogether different both from this and from each other; but are far less satisfactory.

8. This is one of the most pathetic passages in all Scripture; and is accordingly marked with the parallelism which is so characteristic of poetry in Hebrew, in a much higher degree than is usual with Hosea.

How] Expressive not of mere deliberation, but of strong reluctance: cp. Gen. xxxix. 9, xliv. 8, 34; Exod. vi. 12; Song of Sol. v. 3.

deliver thee] **deliver thee over**, viz. to thy enemies, or to destruction. The Hebrew verb (*miggen*) occurs besides only in Gen. xiv. 20; Prov. iv. 9.

Admah...Zeboim] These, though not named in Gen. xix., are yet implied in Gen. xix. 25, compared with Gen. xiv. 2 and xix. 21, and are particularly specified in Deut. xxix. 23. It is highly probable that Hosea's words are an indirect reference to the very commination, in the passage last referred to.

mine heart is turned within me] "Turned," from its bent (here, of anger) into a new direction. Cp. Exod. xiv. 5; Lam. i. 20. "Within me;" the expression in the Hebrew is the same as in 1 S. xxv. 36; Ps. xlii. 4, 5, 6; Jer. viii. 18.

my repentings are kindled together] **my relentings yearn, one and all.** The Hebrew verb properly means, either "boil," "get heated;" or "weave," "fold in," "wrinkle." In strict propriety it describes the internal bodily sensation produced by vehement feelings of compassion, as in Gen. xliii. 30; 1 K. iii. 26, "her bowels yearned." As "bowels" is frequently used as a figure for "feelings of compassion," so "relentings" here pays back what it borrows and is used as if equivalent to "bowels." So Horsley.

9. *I will not return to destroy Ephraim*] *i.e.* After having again and again visited to chastise, I will not again come, to utterly destroy. Since we have immediately before a reference to the Cities of the Plain, and since the same verb "destroy" is used in Gen. xix. 13, 29, we are authorized to paraphrase: to destroy Ephraim as I destroyed Admah and Zeboim.

for I am God, &c.] **for God am I, and not man; in the midst of thee Holy.** This magnificent sentence exhibits Jehovah, as, in the grandeur of His covenant-steadfastness and *μακροθυμία*, removed to an infinite height above the vacillations and impatience of man. Cp. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 S. xv. 29; Mal. iii. 6; Rom. xi. 29. "In the midst of thee;" allying Myself to thee as a Dweller in thy midst. Isai. xii. 6; Ezek. xxxix. 7.

I will not enter into the city] Or rather, "I will not come in wrath." "Come in wrath:" the same Hebrew words in 1 S. xxiii. 7 mean "enter into the city," which is indeed their more obvious import. Many explanations

10 They shall walk after the LORD: he shall roar like a lion: when he shall roar, then the children shall tremble from the west.

11 They shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria: and I will place them in their houses, saith the LORD.

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have been proposed of the words as thus rendered, but none are satisfactory. The least improbable is that which, among others, Calvin and Dr Pusey have adopted: "I will not enter into the city as I entered into the Cities of the Plain," comparing also Exod. xxxiii. 5. But Jehovah's "coming" does not of itself express an angry visitation: He may "come" to bless (Exod. xx. 24). We are therefore driven to the view, that the Hebrew noun rendered "city" is a congener of that rendered "enemy" in 1 S. xxviii. 16, and means "boiling anger." So Rashi, De Wette, Maurer, Ewald, Henderson, Simson, Keil, Wünsche, Gesenius and Fürst.

10. Abruptly, after his manner, the prophet makes good his words, that God would not return to *destroy* Israel. He suddenly discloses in the future, Jehovah with a loud call summoning His banished ones; their hurrying to Him from all countries; and their reinstatement in their own land.

They shall walk, &c.] Or, **After the Lord shall they go, as after a lion that roareth: for He, even He, shall roar, and sons shall hurry unto Him from the sea.** The image of a roaring lion sets forth, both the far-reaching loudness of the summons, answering to the "great trumpet" of Isai. xxvii. 13, and also the terrible majesty of Israel's King, resistless in the work which He is taking in hand. Cp. Joel iii. 16; Amos i. 2, iii. 8; Jer. xxv. 30; Rev. x. 3. The image is not, as some suppose, that of a lioness gathering her whelps. "They shall go after the Lord:" He taking the lead of His people, as Isai. lii. 12. They shall follow Him in penitence, faith, and obedience. Cp. ch. iii. 5. "Shall haste," literally "shall tremble." Cp. ch. iii. 5 and note, and the Hebrew of 1 S. xvi. 4. "Sons," not "His sons;" there shall come to Jehovah those whom He will acknowledge as sons; cp. *v.* 1, and ch. i. 10. "From the sea;" the meaning may be, as in A.V., "from the west;" but cp. Isai. xi. 11, "the islands of the sea:" meaning those countries on the Mediterranean or beyond, then but imperfectly known, in which Israelites should be found dwelling.

11. *as a bird...as a dove*] Rather, **like as birds, like as doves**; the singular nouns are used as nouns of multitude, presenting the image of the multitudinous flights of birds of passage or of gregarious birds. "As doves," in swiftness; cp. Ps. lv. 6; Isai. lx. 8.

place them] Or rather, **cause them to dwell**; as in Jer. xxxii. 37. For the thought compare also Zech. x. 10.

saith the LORD] This phrase, so rarely (ch. ii. 16, 21 only besides) found in Hosea, and introducing Jehovah as Himself again speaking, adds especial solemnity to the prediction.

In this verse we have once more brought before us "Egypt" and "Assyria;" but added to them "the sea;" for *vv.* 10 and 11 form one sentence. Cp. the enumeration in Isai. xi. 11. Hosea's enumeration, like Isaiah's fuller one, is probably intended to include all parts of the world in which Israelite exiles would be dwelling; and therefore in this passage the word "Egypt" is probably not used mystically.

In regard to the predictive import of this passage, the Spirit of God may be, in part, considered as contemplating the conversion of all those who were to be gathered by "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" into the adoption of the spiritual Israel (John xi. 52); but this view of the words does not necessarily exclude the supposition, that they refer also to the literal return of Israelite exiles; such a return as took place in the sixth century before Christ; such also as perhaps in larger measure is even yet to take place.

The chapter should plainly, as Ewald has observed, end here: "with this verse the prophesying has reached the goal, to which in conformity with ch. iii. 5 it should properly have been brought." This is the opinion also of most modern commentators.

12. *compasseth me about*] *i.e.* "compasseth me all round" (cp. Ps. xxxii. 7, 10), *i.e.* in whatever direction I look, I meet with insincerity and falsehood in Ephraim's dealings with Me.

lies] Cp. ch. vii. 13; Isai. xxx. 9, lix. 13.

but Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the saints] Or rather, "but Judah is yet firm with God and faithful with the **Thrice-Holy One**." See Note below. Though Judah is repeatedly through our prophet censured and threatened (ch. v. 5, 10, 13, vi. 4, viii. 14, x. 11, xii. 2), yet here, as also in ch. i. 7 and iv. 15, she stands contrasted with Israel as holding a more advantageous position. In fact, she still obeyed the divinely appointed dynasty of David; she still had, with whatever corruptions (cp. 2 K. xviii. 4; Isai. xxix. 13), the Levitical worship in the temple which Jehovah had Himself chosen; and many of her kings (in Hosea's own time Uzziah, Jotham, and Hezekiah) merited God's approval.

12 Ephraim compasseth me about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit: but Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful [1]with the saints.

[1] Or, *with the most holy.*

the saints] Literally, "the Holy Ones." The most probable view appears to be, that it is a designation of God, as in Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3; in which passages we have as here the plural. Whether the plural number points to the triune nature of God, or is simply a *plural of majesty*, it is adequately represented by "the Thrice-Holy One."

NOTE on CHAP. XI. 12.

ויהודה עד רד עם־אל ועם קדושים נאמן. The verb רד is taken here in the sense of "were strong," or "ruled," by the Chaldee paraphrast, Kimchi, Rashi, Aben Ezra, Luther, Pococke, Calvin, Mendelssohn, Horsley and Dr Pusey. On the other hand, Gesenius, Ewald, Keil, Wünsche and Schmoller follow Schröder in giving רוד the sense of what is supposed to be its Arabic congener *rada*, which sense it probably has in Ps. lv. 2; Jer. ii. 31, "go hither and thither" like a restless sheep or wild beast; and so they render "waver," "vacillate." We thus gain the rendering, "and as for Judah, he is also (*or* yet) inconstant with God and with the faithful Thrice-Holy One." But there are several objections to this view. (1) There is no parallel to be found for the addition of the adjective "true" to the other adjective used to designate God. "The Holy One of Israel" is an expression which occurs frequently, but never with an adjective. The nearest approach is that afforded by a pronominal suffix, as Isai. x. 17. (2) The construing of the singular נאמן with the plural adjective קדושים is scarcely justified by the cases in which a singular adjective is joined with אלהים (2 K. xix. 4; Ps. vii. 9) and אדנים (Isai. xix. 4); which though plural in form have a fixed singular sense. (3) The accumulation of words to designate the Divine Being, "with God, and with the faithful Holy One," is not likely to be found in so concise a writer.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *A reproof of Ephraim, Judah, and Jacob.* 3 *By former favours he exhorteth to repentance.* 7 *Ephraim's sins provoke God.*

EPHRAIM feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind: he daily increaseth lies and desolation; and they do make a covenant with the Assyrians, and oil is carried into Egypt.

2 The LORD hath also a controversy with Judah, and will [1]punish

[1] Heb. *visit upon.*

CHAP. XII. 1. *feedeth on wind*] *i.e.* maketh the wind his pasture. Ephraim's pining commonwealth tries to draw sustenance where sustenance cannot be gained. The Hebrew verb for "feed," which is used indifferently of the shepherd tending his sheep and of the sheep eating its pasture, is used here in the latter sense, and, as in Prov. xv. 14 and Isai. xliv. 20, applied figuratively. "Wind;" see note on ch. iv. 19.

followeth after the east wind] *i.e.* **chaseth the east wind**; an impracticable task! who can hope to outrun that powerful courser of the skies? For the stormy character of this wind, cf. Ps. xlviii. 7; Job xxvii. 21; Isai. xxvii. 8; Jer. xviii. 17; Ezek. xxvii. 26. The fleetness of the east wind is here referred to, rather than its blasting influence as illustrated in Gen. xli. 6, &c.

daily] **all the day long**, as Ps. lxxiii. 14.

lies and desolation] "Lies," as in ch. xi. 12. "Desolation," that is, ruin. His ruin is increased, instead of being remedied, by the never-ceasing unfaithfulness, towards God and towards man, by which he endeavours to retrieve himself. The word rendered "desolation" is also used for "violence," "oppression," as *e.g.* Hab. i. 3; and many so render it here; but the strain of the context, as well as ch. ix. 6, favours the other sense.

and they do make a covenant with the Assyrians, and oil is carried into Egypt] Exemplifying the preceding words. Comp. ch. v. 13, vii. 11. The prophet is not reprobating, as some suppose, Ephraim's treachery towards Asshur and Egypt, in endeavouring to play off the one against the other; but his unfaithfulness to the principles of the theocracy in seeking help away from Jehovah. "Oil" was a commodity comparatively rare in Egypt, while Palestine produced it largely; Deut. viii. 8; 1 K. v. 11; Ezek. xvi. 19, xxvii. 17.

2. The charges which the Divine Accuser (cp. iv. 1) has to urge against Judah, though not so heavy as those which He pleads against Ephraim, are yet weighty enough to make the punishment of the whole nation ("Jacob") a matter of inexorable necessity. Here again,

Jacob according to his ways; according to his doings will he recompense him.

3 ¶ He took his brother [a]by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he [†b]had power with God:

4 Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him *in* [c]Beth-el, and there he spake with us;

[a] Gen. 25. 26.
† Heb. *was a prince*, or, *behaved himself princely.*
[b] Gen. 32. 24.
[c] Gen. 35. 9, 10.

as in chap. x. 11 (where see note), the reference to "Jacob" has more point, if taken to mean the whole of the Twelve Tribes.

3. The "Jacob" of *v.* 2 suggests the recollection of the patriarch, who represented the nation which rudimentally was in him; comp. Heb. vii. 10.

He took his brother by the heel in the womb] Or, more exactly, **In the womb he supplanted his brother.** Cp. Gen. xxv. 26, "his hand took (*i.e.* had) hold on Esau's heel, and his name was called Jacob (Supplanter)." Esau uses the same verb "supplant" in commenting on Jacob's name in Gen. xxvii. 36. The verb however cannot in the present passage denote any guile practised by Jacob; rather (according to the view taken by Targ., Rashi, Jerome, Theodor., Calvin and Dr Pusey), his posture when he came out of the womb is treated as prophetically significant of the destiny, which Providence had from the first assigned him, that "the elder should serve the younger" (Gen. xxv. 23; Mal. i. 2, 3). As if it were: Let the nation of Israel put forth, as their forefather did, persistent efforts to obtain the blessing; for by God's preventing goodness, it is already theirs, if only they will lay hold on it.

and by his strength he had power with God] Rather, **and in his strength he put forth prowess with God.** "In his strength," that is, in his adult vigour. The same noun is used Gen. xlix. 3; Deut. xxi. 17; Ps. cv. 36. As the words "in the womb" point to God's electing grace, so "in his strength" refers to the time when he could and did put forth hearty endeavours of his own. "Put forth prowess." The verb *sarah* (see Note), whence the name *Israel*, which the prophet has in his eye, occurs only here and in Gen. xxxii. 28, which passage is plainly referred to: "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power (*or*, for thou hast put forth prowess) with God and with men, and hast prevailed;" where also the verb "hast prevailed" is the same as we have in *v.* 4.

4. *Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed*] Or, "Yea, he **put forth prowess against** the angel and prevailed." Jacob's antagonist is here styled an "angel;" in *v.* 3 "God." This variation is paralleled by Gen. xvi. 10, taken with ib. *v.* 13; xlviii. 15, taken with ib. *v.* 16; and elsewhere. The "angel" we feel authorized in identifying with "the angel of the covenant" (Mal. iii. 1), in whom was God's "Name" (Exod. xxiii. 21). In the original account in Genesis xxxii., there is no mention of an "angel;" the mysterious Wrestler is described in *v.* 24 as "a man," but afterwards in *v.* 30 is identified by Jacob with "God." "Prevailed:" see note on *v.* 3.

he wept, and made supplication unto him] The "weeping," not mentioned in Genesis xxxii., was however a natural concomitant of the earnestness with which Jacob (*v.* 26) solicited a blessing, and of the distress of Jacob's mind at the time, which is strongly brought out in the narrative (*vv.* 7—12; cp. Gen. xxxv. 3). Cp. Heb. v. 7; though perhaps the "strong crying and tears" may there be a fragment of apostolical tradition additional to the evangelical history. The rendering, "so that he [the angel] wept and made supplication unto him [sc. Jacob]," adopted by "Saadia," Rashi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi and Hitzig, pointing to the words, "Let me go, for the day breaketh," would impose an intolerable exaggeration upon the anthropomorphism of the original passage in Genesis. To see the relevancy of this reference which Hosea makes to Jacob's wrestling, we must bear in mind, that the justly offended Esau had in the Divine Mind his counterpart, namely, the righteous displeasure with which Jehovah regarded those treacherous wiles, which His servant, beloved as he was, had however been guilty of. It was only upon his repentance and earnest solicitation that Jacob was forgiven and became "Israel." Let "Jacob" (*v.* 2), who now likewise needed deliverance from most imminent danger, employ the same arts of repentance and prayer, and he too would be forgiven and owned as "Israel."

he found him in Beth-el] Or, **at Beth-el also he found him.** From Penuel the prophet turns to Beth-el, where two several visions were accorded to Jacob. The first was at the commencement of his flight to Padan-aram, related in Gen. xxviii. The second was many years later, after his return home; it is mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 9—15. On this latter occasion Jehovah renewed to him the gift of the name of "Israel," and likewise assured him of a blessing to his posterity. The prophet probably refers chiefly to the second of these two visions, as following upon that at Penuel, which has just before been mentioned. There is an ambiguity in reference to the subject of the verb "found." Some suppose it to be God; and no doubt the verb "find" is sometimes used of meeting with an object not sought for, as in Gen. xxxvii. 15; 1 S.

5 Even the LORD God of hosts; the LORD *is* his [d]memorial.
6 Therefore turn thou to thy God: keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually.
7 ¶ *He is* [1]a merchant, the balances

[d] Exod. 3. 15.

[1] Or, *Canaan.*

xxx. 11; but since, previously to this second vision, Jacob is distinctly described as having set himself to the performance of very solemn acts of worship (Gen. xxxv. 2—4), it is agreeable to the way in which "finding the Lord" is so often mentioned in connection with "seeking Him," to paraphrase thus: at Beth-el likewise he sought Him with his whole heart and found Him.

and there he spake with us] "With us:" as the term "Jacob" passes at the beginning of *v.* 3 from the nation to the patriarch, so here the language of kind promise held to the patriarch is viewed as addressed to the nation which sprang from him, to which in effect those promises were principally given. The prophet's object is to indicate to his people the preventing willingness of Jehovah to be their Friend, if they will only turn to Him.

5. *Even the* LORD *God of hosts; the* LORD *is his memorial*] Stress is laid upon the fact, that the Being who gave Israel and his seed those promises had IHVH for His Name. This sacred Tetragrammaton, the Name of Israel's covenant God, no doubt denotes His eternity and therewith His unchangeableness, as "the God of Hosts" does His Almightiness. And this is urged upon Israel as an argument that they should repent. As He had shewed Himself to Jacob when He accepted *his* repentance and blessed *him* as "Israel," so now the unchangeableness of His character might encourage them to have recourse to Him as their forefather had done, and to feel assured that He was already their gracious God. The verse is an echo of Exod. iii. 15; while on the other hand, in its application of the word יהוה to God's unchangeableness, it probably suggested the striking words in Mal. iii. 6. "Memorial" means in this connection something more than a "proper name;" it is a name which is also a remembrancer of the great characteristic of the Being spoken of.

6. *Therefore turn thou to thy God*] Lit. "and thou, in thy God thou shalt (*or* shouldest) return," or, "and thou, by thy God thou shalt return." Adopting the former rendering, we may get the sense which Dr Pusey gives, "and thou, thou shalt turn so as to lean on thy God," or (as Keil and Wünsche), "so return as to enter into intimate communion with God." But the second rendering (favoured by Aben Ezra, LXX., Rosenmüller) seems easier; the words "by thy God" being used as ch. i. 7, "I will save them by the Lord their God" (cp. Deut. xxxiii. 29), and "return" as ch. xiv. 7 of both moral and outward restoration. Jehovah, who promised to Jacob that He would be the God of his seed, will be ready with His aid, and will bring thee back to the full enjoyment of His favour. Compare God's promise to Jacob when he first went into exile, Gen. xxviii. 15, "I will bring thee again (cause thee to return) into this land." Such an assurance of course presupposes the condition of obedience, the requirement of which is added: but let this only be there; and God will not fail His people!

keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually] Cp. Mic. vi. 8, "to do justly" (literally "judgment") "and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." "Wait on thy God," let thy hope rest on thy God (Ps. xxvii. 14, xxxvii. 34). This last command is also a statement of privilege; acting in obedience to Jehovah, it will be Israel's happiness to be able to rely upon His help. "Continually:" for sooner or later He will deliver thee.

7. *He is a merchant*, &c.] Rather, **Canaan** is he, with **the deceitful balances in his hand: he loveth to oppress.** The Hebrew word *Canaan* originally denotes the son of Ham (Gen. ix. 18), the father of the race which in the very beginning of the sacred history was marked for malediction. It next denotes the country which that race had occupied. Sometimes (Isai. xxiii. 8; Zeph. i. 11) it is used for "merchant," which *Canaani*, the Hebrew word for "Canaanite," is also employed to denote (Job xli. 6, see note). "Canaan" is never found to mean "Canaanite." As the context has made so prominent the relation of the Israelitish nation to its progenitor, it appears most probable, that with an abrupt transition in his tone, the prophet indignantly and most pointedly marks the contrast with the ideal Israel, which the actual Israel of his time exhibited, displaying as it did anything rather than the "justice" and "mercy" mentioned *v.* 6. As if he had said: "Thy name can no more be *Israel: Canaan* art thou! an accursed race; a nation of traffickers!" Hosea's "Canaan" may be compared with the "Phœnician" of the 'Odyssey.'

Δὴ τότε Φοίνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδὼς,
τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.
'Od.' Ξ. 290, 1.

"Deceitful balances;" cp. Amos viii. 5; Micah vi. 11. "Oppress" can hardly mean "overreach;" it denotes rather the open violence, with which Israelitish covetousness would gratify itself, wherever, having the power to oppress, it needed not to have recourse to underhand fraud.

of deceit *are* in his hand: he loveth to [1] oppress.

8 And Ephraim said, Yet I am become rich, I have found me out substance: [2] *in* all my labours they shall find none iniquity in me [†] that *were* sin.

9 And I *that am* the LORD thy God from the land of Egypt will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles, as in the days of the solemn feast.

10 I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions,

[1] Or, *deceive.*
[2] Or, *all my labours suffice me not:* he shall have *punishment of iniquity in whom* is *sin.*
[†] Heb. *which.*

8. *Yet I am become*, &c.] Rather, **I have only become rich, have found me out substance: none of my gains shall find out iniquity against me; which were sin!** In the face of the accusation of *v.* 7 founded upon manifest fact, Ephraim unblushingly affirms his innocency: he had done nothing wrong: all that he had done was that he got rich: none of his gains would be found to fasten guilt upon him. "Substance:" the same Hebrew word, generally "strength," is rendered "goods" in Job xx. 10. "Gains:" the Hebrew noun, which occurs often, never (with the exception of Gen. xxxi. 42) means "labour," but always "the gains of labour" (Deut. xxviii. 33; Ps. cxxviii. 2; Isai. xlv. 14, &c.). The tone of Ephraim's words reminds us of the "money-loving" Pharisees in Luke xvi. 14, 15. "Which were sin:" this may be taken in two ways; either, connecting it with "iniquity,"—"(iniquity) which can reckon as sin;" *i.e.* which deserves to be severely visited; or, "if iniquity were found in any of my ways of getting rich, that would indeed be sin." According to this, Ephraim protests that he would not do anything wrong on any account: "μὴ γένοιτο." The tone of conscious innocence thus assumed, is like the pious "Blessed be the Lord," in Zech. xi. 5. In respect to the historical bearing of this verse, we may observe that Ephraim, speaking as a nation, might use such language during the gleam of national prosperity which belonged to the era of Jeroboam II., but hardly in the period of public decline and wretchedness which marked the later time of Hosea's prophesying. But perhaps it is the language of money-getting individuals only; if so, it might have been used at any time.

9. *And I that am the* LORD, &c.] Rather, "**And yet I am** the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt: **I will yet again**, &c." The first clause is a complete sentence, as the precisely same words are ch. xiii. 4. The words, "thy God from the land of Egypt," imply the fact, that Israel owed its very existence as a nation to that which Jehovah did for them at the exodus. He therefore was the only proper Source to which they should look for good things to come to them: that is, those things were to be sought, not in the ways of fraud or violence, but of obedience to His laws and of dependence upon His blessing. The God that gave them their wealth could also take it away, and was now ready to do so. *will yet make thee to dwell*, &c.] *i.e.* by severe and yet merciful discipline your worldliness shall be chastised out of you. The "solemn feast" here referred to must be the Feast of Tabernacles, which in 1 K. viii. 2; 2 Chro. vii. 8, is similarly referred to simply as "the feast;" being, of all others, the most remarkable, both for the degree in which the people then departed from their customary habits of life, and for its protracted and extreme joyousness. Cp. Lev. xxiii. 43. Israel was to forfeit all her blessings in punishment for her misuse of them (ch. ii. 9—13). But after she had been stripped of her worldly all by "returning into Egypt" (ch. viii. 13, ix. 6), she should be again brought out of captivity, and then, feeling that she was cast upon the care of One all-sufficient to bless, she should "sing" in the wilderness, "as in the day when she went up out of the land of Egypt" (ch. ii. 14, 15). To the fleshly mind this was a threatening; to the true theocratic spirit it was a word of promise. For in fact the sentiment which the Feast of Tabernacles was designed to instil into the Israelitish mind, was that of contented and even joyous recognition of Jehovah as the Giver and Possessor of all that they enjoyed, and of happy dependence upon Him as His guests, as "strangers and sojourners with Him." That such a sentiment really was called forth in the pious few, is shewn by the striking passages which Dr Pusey in his note on this verse has quoted from 'Dachs Succa,' one of which is as follows: "Because, at the time of the gathering of the increase from the field, man wishes to go from the field to his house to make a fixed abode there, the law was anxious, lest on account of this fixed abode, his heart should be lifted up at having found a sort of palace, and he should 'wax fat and kick.' Therefore it is written, 'all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths.' Whoso begins to think himself a citizen in this world, and not a foreigner, him God biddeth, leaving his ordinary dwelling, to remove into a temporary lodging, in order that, leaving these thoughts, he may learn to acknowledge that he is only a stranger in this world and not a citizen, in that he dwells as in a stranger's hut, and so should not attribute too much to the shadow of his beams, but 'dwell under the shadow of the Almighty.'" R. Sal. Ephr. Keli Yakar in Lev. l. c. in 'Dachs,' p. 546.

10. *by the prophets*] lit. **unto the pro-**

† Heb. *by the hand.*

and used similitudes, † by the ministry of the prophets.

11 *Is there* iniquity *in* Gilead? surely they are vanity: they sacrifice bullocks in [e] Gilgal; yea, their altars *are* as heaps in the furrows of the fields.

[e] chap. 4. 15. & 9. 15.

12 And Jacob [f] fled into the country of Syria, and Israel [g] served for a wife, and for a wife he kept *sheep*.

[f] Gen. 28. 5.
[g] Gen. 29. 20, 28.

13 [h] And by a prophet the LORD brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved.

[h] Exod. 12. 50, 51. & 13. 3.

14 Ephraim provoked *him* to an-

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phets. The Hebrew preposition commonly means "upon;" but it is often used for "unto," as Ps. xviii. 41; Neh. vi. 3; Jer. xxv. 2. Of course, it is implied, as in the common phrase "the word of the Lord came to such a one," that the speech of God inwardly addressed to the prophet was designed to be communicated by him to others.

and I have multiplied visions] **and I, even I, have multiplied visions.** "Vision," as in Isai. i. 1; Obad. 1; Nahum i. 1; it includes all forms of Divine communication made to "*seers*." This second clause points to the great abundance with which such communications had been made. The insertion of the pronoun "I," emphasizes the fact that the Almighty had Himself thus stooped to His people.

and used similitudes, by the ministry of the prophets] Lit. **by the hand**, as Exod. ix. 35; Isai. xx. 2. The "similitudes" or "comparisons" were those parables, either of words, or of actions real or visionary, by which the prophets so frequently declared the Divine will. This clause marks the condescending pains which Jehovah took to make things plain to His people's understanding. The prominency which Hosea gives to "prophets" as the medium of Divine communication, naming them twice in this verse, and twice again in *v.* 13, seems designed to confront unbelieving gainsayers.

11. *Is there iniquity*, &c.] Rather, **Is Gilead iniquity? mere vanity are they become** [like the thing which they worship: cp. ch. ix. 10, note]: **in Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks continually. Likewise** shall **their altars** be **as stone-heaps upon the furrows of the field.** The former hemistich is taken up with affirming the prevalence of idolatry: the second denounces the coming desolation of these idolaters. "Gilead" and "Gilgal" are specified as being, the one on the eastern, the other on the western side of Jordan: they thus serve to exemplify the whole kingdom (cp. ch. v. 1 and note). A further motive for their specification lies in the *paronomasia* which the prophet has in view. "Gilead" is "heap of witness;" see Gen. xxxi. 46, 48, and 25. "Gilgal" might sound as "heaping heap;" see Josh. iv. 20. Likewise (says the prophet) shall their altars, both at "Heap of Witness" and at "Heaping Heap," be in ruins, reduced to "heaps" of useless stones such as are gathered by the careful husbandman from his ploughed field. "Heaps" describes ruin in Jer. ix. 11, xxvi. 18. The ruin of the altars infers the utter desolation of the country. "Gilead" has already been noted by Hosea for its "iniquity" (ch. vi. 8): possibly that passage supplies a starting point for this verse: as if it were, "Is Gilead iniquity as it has been already described?" For Gilgal as a centre of idolatrous worship see ch. iv. 15, ix. 15. "Sacrifice bullocks continually;" the conjugation of the verb expresses custom or frequency; and "bullocks" marks the sumptuousness of the offerings. Of course, this sacrificing of bullocks must be understood with that idolatrous qualification which in actual fact attached to it as performed at Gilgal. The verse admits of a considerable variety of interpretation; and it is impossible to feel quite sure of the precise import of the several clauses. The view above given has in the main the sanction of Pococke, Dr Pusey, and Wünsche.

12. *And Jacob*, &c.] Rather, "But Jacob, &c." The meaning of the whole verse is this: And all this idolatry of Ephraim affronts that very history of its first coming into being, which shews that Israel owes all to Jehovah's goodness.

country of Syria] Lit., "field of Aram." The thought of this verse is, the utter destitution originally of the founder of the nation. It forms together with the next verse a brief abstract of Deut. xxvi. 5—9. "A Syrian (Aramite) ready to perish was my father;" by whom Jacob is plainly intended, not Abraham, who was the progenitor of other nations as well. The several terms used in this verse are culled from the history as given in Genesis. "Fled" from Gen. xxvii. 43, xxxv. 1. "Field of Aram" is no doubt identical with "Padan Aram" (Gen. xxviii. 2, &c.): whether "Padan" means "table land" or "arable land." "Served for a wife" from Gen. xxix. 18, 20. The verb "served" occurs perpetually in describing Jacob's relation to Laban. "Kept (sheep)" from Gen. xxx. 31, which reads literally "I will again feed thy flock (and) keep."

13. *Israel*] The import of the word passes from the patriarch to the nation.

by a prophet] *i.e.* "not by bow nor by sword nor by battle, by horses nor by horse-

† Heb. *with bitternesses.* † Heb. *bloods.*

ger †most bitterly: therefore shall he leave his †blood upon him, and his reproach shall his Lord return unto him.

men" (ch. i. 7), but by His own bared agency operating through a mere prophet's word. Cp. again Deut. xxvi. 8.

preserved] Or, "kept," "tended;" the same verb as in "kept," *v.* 12.

14. *most bitterly*] Lit. "bitternesses;" the noun used for the adverb as in ch. xiv. 4, "freely."

therefore shall he leave his blood upon him] Or, **and his blood he will cast upon him.** He will bring upon him in swift visitation the punishment merited by his bloodguiltiness. The bloodguiltiness referred to is that noted in ch. i. 4, iv. 2. The whole phrase is illustrated by 2 S. xvi. 8; 1 K. ii. 33; Acts v. 28. The Hebrew verb means "cast," "hurl;" in Num. xi. 31, "let fall;" Ezek. xxix. 5, "leave thrown;" ibid. xxxii. 4, "leave." It also means "leave," as A. V. here renders it: taken so, it means, "will not purge it away."

and his reproach shall his Lord return unto him] Or, **and his blasphemy shall his Lord return upon him.** "His blasphemy," or "reproach," is Ephraim's gainsaying of Jehovah's true worship. Comp. Isai. lxv. 7, "have blasphemed me upon the hills," namely, by idolatrous rites. "His Lord," or "Master," as the word is rendered 1 K. xxii. 17; Mal. i. 6. Jehovah is meant, who though renounced by Ephraim, was nevertheless (so the word as here introduced indicates) his "Master" still.

NOTE on CHAP. XII. 3.

שרה אֶת־אֱלֹהִים. The verb שרה is identical in meaning with שרר, from which it borrows the future ישר in *v.* 4, and which in Esther i. 22 is rendered "bear rule;" in Isai. xxxii. 1 and Prov. viii. 16, "rule;" and in Num. xvi. 13, in the hithpahel, "make thyself a prince." From שרר also comes the very common word שר, "prince," or, more frequently, "captain." These two verbs are sisters to שור, "reign," in Judg. ix. 22, and in Hos. viii. 4, in the hiphil, "make princes." It thus appears that שרה means "to be prince, chieftain, captain;" and hence, when followed by "with" (את as here, עם as Gen. xxxii. 28), or by "against" (אל as in *v.* 4), it passes on to mean "to assert one's rank with another," "vie," "contend," by which last words it is here translated by Luther, Mendelssohn, Stier, Ewald, Keil, and others.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Ephraim's glory, by reason of idolatry, vanisheth.* 5 *God's anger for their unkindness.* 9 *A promise of God's mercy.* 15 *A judgment for rebellion.*

WHEN Ephraim spake trembling, he exalted himself in Israel; but when he offended in Baal, he died. † Heb. *they add to sin.*

2 And now †they sin more and

CHAP. XIII. 1. *When Ephraim*, &c.] Rather, **When Ephraim spake**, there was **fear; he, even he, lifted up himself in Israel; but he became guilty concerning Baal, and died.** The meaning of the former hemistich is somewhat doubtful in consequence of the uncertain sense of the Hebrew word (*rethēth*) rendered "trembling." It occurs nowhere else. But the import of the same root in Syriac, the use of *retet* found only in Jer. xlix. 24 ("fear"), and the uniform tradition of the Jews, assign to it the sense of "terror," "trembling;" and this can hardly be surrendered for Ewald's conjectural rendering, "rebellion." To render the clause, "When Ephraim spake trembling" or "with trembling," *i.e.* humbly, would give to the tribe of Ephraim, which seems here to be meant, a character out of harmony alike with Hosea's description of it in ch. v. 5 and with the history. It is better, therefore, with the great majority of commentators to render, "When Ephraim spake, there was fear;" his words were listened to with deference, through the power with which he could back them. Cp. Job xxix. 21, 22. For this preeminency of the tribe of Ephraim see Gen. xlix. 26; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1. It is indirectly intimated that Ephraim's elevation led to his religious defection and his ruin. And the history shews that it was so. For it was his *tribal* ambition which prompted him to adopt that calf-worship which paved the way at length to the worship of Baal. Accordingly there follows, "he, even he (who like him?), lifted up *himself* in Israel;" "lifted up" being used intransitively as in Ps. lxxxix. 9 ("arise"). "Became guilty in, *or* concerning, Baal;" so the same verb is rendered, Ezek. xxii. 4, "become guilty in thy blood." "Baal," not the golden calves, but the false gods, to the worship of which these opened the way: cp. ch. ii. 8, 13, xi. 2. "Died," incurred the doom (Gen. iii. 17) of extinction: cp. Amos ii. 2.

2. *And now...craftsmen*] Rather, "And

more, and have made them molten images of their silver, *and* idols according to their own understanding, all of it the work of the craftsmen: they say of them, Let [1]the men that sacrifice kiss the calves.

[1] Or, *the sacrificers of men.*

3 Therefore they shall be as the morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away, as the chaff *that* is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney.

4 Yet [a]I *am* the LORD thy God from the land of Egypt, and thou shalt know no god but me: for *there is* no saviour beside me.

[a] Isai. 43. 11. chap. 12. 9.

5 ¶ I did know thee in the wilderness, in the land of [†]great drought.

[†] Heb. *droughts.*

6 According to their pasture, so were they filled; they were filled, and

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now, they sin more and more, and have made them **of their silver molten images; in their understanding idols**, the work of the craftsmen all of it!" "Now," at the very present time, the evil is still growing. "Molten images," as Deut. ix. 12; 2 K. xvii. 16; 2 Chro. xxviii. 2. The misuse thus made of "their silver" is noted also ch. viii. 4. Jeroboam's calves are not here spoken of: they were of gold. "In their understanding;" the prophet says it in mockery, that they should apply their skill and intelligence to so senseless a work. Another reading of the Hebrew not so well authenticated gives, "according to their understanding," *i.e.* "according to notions of their own." "The work of craftsmen all of it!" there is nothing whatever in the idol but what the craftsmen have made: no divinity; no sense even. Cp. ch. viii. 6.

they say of them, &c.] Rather, **of them those are saying, Sacrificing men, they kiss calves!** *i.e.* We hear people saying of Israelites, "While they sacrifice men, they adore calves!" "Of them;" the same preposition is in the Hebrew found in Gen. xx. 13, "say of me;" Ps. iii. 2, "say of my soul." It is not meant that human sacrifices were offered to the calves, of which there is no evidence: what is noted is, that the Israelites were so senseless in religion, that while they slaughtered in sacrifice men, they honoured brute beasts with the homage of adoration, reversing, as Aben Ezra observes, the proper order of things, according to which they should slaughter calves and (in love) kiss men. The practice of human sacrifices is mentioned in 2 K. xvii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37, 38 and elsewhere. See note on 2 K. xvi. 3. "Kiss," in adoration, as 1 K. xix. 18; Ps. ii. 12; Job xxxi. 26, 27. It has been the practice of idolaters, both in heathenism (see Cic. 'In Verrem,' Act. II. Lib. IV. 43) and in Roman Catholic countries, thus to express affectionate adoration.

3. *the early dew that passeth away*] Rather, **dew which early passeth away.** The tone of indignant derision passes into that of stern wrath. The inflexibility of the purpose to punish is expressed by the accumulation of four several images, all describing utter extermination. The "morning cloud" and "dew" vanish wholly and rapidly in the heat of the sun: cp. ch. vi. 4. The image of "chaff whirled away by the blast from the threshing-floor" occurs repeatedly, as Ps. i. 4, xxxv. 5; Isai. xvii. 13. The utter dissipation of "smoke" is referred to in Ps. lxviii. 2.

chimney] Rather, **lattice.** "The smoke was commonly let escape through lattice-work placed under the wall-plate of the roof." Wünsche.

4. *Yet I am the LORD thy God from the land of Egypt*] Again the tone changes. The arm uplifted to strike is once more stayed, to try the effect of renewed remonstrance. Cp. ch. xi. 9. We had the same words, ch. xii. 9, and used with the same design, of pointing out Jehovah as Israel's God from the very beginning of her history,—at all times, all-sufficient to bless and to save. How senseless then, and how unthankful, to look to other gods!

and thou shalt know, &c.] In the whole history of the nation, thou canst discover the presence and delivering power of no other god except Jehovah. Cp. Isai. xliv. 6, 8, 9, xlv. 5, 6.

5. *I did know*, &c.] Or, "**I it was that knew thee** in the wilderness, in the land of parching thirst." Marvellous, and plainly Divine, was the way in which thou wast cared for in the wilderness, fed with manna from heaven and having water given thee to drink out of the hard rocks. There manifestly was a God *there* who took note of thee: that God was I and none else. "Know;" with a pregnant sense, implying converse, as in Ps. cxliv. 3; Amos iii. 2; Deut. xxxiv. 10, ii. 7, to which last passage the prophet possibly alludes. The Hebrew word rendered in A.V. "great drought" occurs nowhere else: its root, in Arabic, means "to be athirst." Cp. Deut. viii. 15, xxxii. 10.

6. *According to...filled*] Or, "According **as they were pastured**, so they waxed full," *i.e.* according to the care lavished upon them, so did they prosper. Lit. "According to their pasturing;" for the Hebrew noun never signifies the pasture-ground, but either the shepherd's action, as Ps. c. 3, "sheep of his pasture," or the flock, as Jer. x. 21 ("flocks").

their heart was exalted; therefore have they forgotten me.

7 Therefore I will be unto them as a lion: as a leopard by the way will I observe *them:*

8 I will meet them as a bear *that is* bereaved *of her whelps*, and will rend the caul of their heart, and there will I devour them like a lion: †the wild beast shall tear them.

† Heb. *the beast of the field.*

9 ¶ O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me †*is* thine help.

† Heb. *in thy help.*

10 I will be thy king: where *is any*

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they were filled, &c.] "They waxed full, and their heart was lifted up, **therefore it is that** they have forgotten me." "Therefore," by reason of the greatness of My indulgent care, begetting in them pride of heart. "Waxed full—their heart was lifted up—they have forgotten me;" cp. Deut. viii. 11—15, "Beware, lest when thou hast eaten and art full, then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God." After which in Deuteronomy follows the denunciation—"ye shall surely perish," answering to the next two verses in Hosea. We must compare also Deut. xxxii. 13, 14 with "as they were fed," and ibid. 15, 18 with the remainder of the verse. The prophet's language is plainly a reminiscence of these two passages in Moses.

7. *Therefore I will be*] Or, "Therefore **I am come to be** unto them, &c." The prophet, as in Isai. lxiii. 10, after "mentioning the lovingkindnesses of the Lord," now tells how Jehovah "was turned to be their enemy;" but he clothes the thought in a fresh accumulation of images (cp. *v.* 3), which heighten, to an intense degree of sternness, the description of the wrath which Jehovah was now prepared to wreak upon His rebellious people. The difference here noticeable between the sequel in Isaiah and Hosea may probably be ascribed to the fact, that the former was dealing with Judah and the latter with the Northern kingdom, and this last was destined to utter destruction. The imagery carries on that of *v.* 6, in which Israel appears as the pampered heifer. The heifer is here shewn in the fangs of the ravenous beast. Jehovah describes His wrath similarly ch. v. 14. "Lion:" *shachal;* see note on ch. v. 14. "Leopard:" the *namer* is exhibited here, as in Jer. v. 6 (where see note), in strict accordance with its habits; as Pliny states ('Nat. Hist.' x. 73), insidunt pardi condensa arborum, occultatique earum ramis in prætereuntia desiliunt, e volucrum sede grassantur. See Tristram, 'N. H.'

8. *the caul of their heart*] Rather, **the chamber of their heart.** The "chamber" or "covering" of the heart is probably, not exactly the membrane, scientifically named the *pericardium*, but rather, as in popular language, the breast. The Syrian bear elsewhere appears as a most formidable creature (1 S. xvii. 34; 2 K. ii. 24; Amos v. 19), especially when it has lost its young (2 S. xvii. 8; Prov. xvii. 12).

and there will I devour, &c.] "And I will eat them up there as a lioness: yea, the wild beast shall **tear them in pieces.**" "There," *i. e.* on the spot. The wild beast is not to be taken literally as in Deut. xxxii. 24, which would utterly ruin the vigour of the passage. It stands for Jehovah Himself. The whole passage pictures forth in the strongest manner both Ephraim's utter destruction as in *v.* 3, and also the stern exultation with which the wrath of Jehovah accomplishes its work.

9. *O Israel*, &c.] Rather, **It hath destroyed thee, O Israel, that against me** thou hast set thyself, **against thy help.** Such is the sense which the great majority of modern critics concur in giving to this passage. The Hebrew, however, as the margin of A. V. gives us to understand, is elliptical in a most unusual degree. This not improbably is due to the fact, that the profound emotion of the writer interrupts the complete expression of his thought. The preposition rendered "against," though it ordinarily denotes "in," has this sense in Gen. xvi. 12, "against every man," "against him;" in 2 S. xxiv. 17, "against me and against my father's house," and indeed often with words expressing hostility. "Thy help:" cp. Deut. xxxiii. 29; Ps. xxxiii. 20, cxv. 9, 10, 11. The rendering of A. V. cannot be justified, although the ideas it conveys are for the most part (but in a different form) present in the passage.

10. *I will be*, &c.] Rather, **Where, now, is thy king, that he may save thee in all thy cities?** So, according to the unanimous consent of modern critics, must this passage be rendered. The "now" is the unemphasized *now*, added, like *tandem* or ποτε, merely to give more emphasis to "where:" so Judg. ix. 38; Job xvii. 15. The Israelites had asked of Samuel a king, in order that he might "judge them and go out before them to fight their battles" (1 S. viii. 20). To this passage of their history Hosea here refers. Now was come the occasion for their champion to display his prowess. Ruin was threatening "all their fortresses" (ch. x. 14) and "their cities" (ch. xi. 6). There would be an universal cry for help. Which of "all their cities" would their king be able to rescue? In the first clause, the Heb. word *ĕbī* may be either "I

other that may save thee in all thy cities? and thy judges of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes?

[b] 1 Sam. 8. 5. & 15. 23. & 16. 1.

11 I gave thee a [b]king in mine anger, and took *him* away in my wrath.

12 The iniquity of Ephraim *is* bound up; his sin *is* hid.

13 The sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him: he *is* an unwise son; for he should not stay [†]long in *the place of* the breaking forth of children.

[†] Heb. *a time.*

14 I will ransom them from [†]the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: [c]O death, I will

[†] Heb. *the hand.*

[c] 1 Cor. 15. 55.

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will be," as A. V., or "where." See the Note below on *v.* 14.

thy judges...princes] These "judges" or "princes" were the necessary adjunct (ch. viii. 4) of that monarchy, the outward pageantry of which, as presenting a protecting power to their senses, was in reality the object which Israel in desiring a king was mainly craving for.

11. *I gave thee*, &c.] Rather, "I give thee kings [lit. a king] in mine anger and take them away in my wrath." The tense of the verbs "give" and "take away" (in the Hebrew, the future) indicates a reference to the whole history of the monarchy. The regal element, superinduced as it was upon the peculiar political constitution originally assigned to Israel, was, throughout, at once a scourge with which Jehovah chastised His people for their idolatrous and worldly mind, and itself an object of His displacency. Cp. 1 S. viii. 7—18. Being from the first an element alien to the theocratic spirit, and only wrung from the proper Sovereign of Israel by their "hardness of heart" (Matt. xix. 8), it was in the case of Judah preserved from further deterioration, and sanctified, only (and hardly) by a close adherence to what remained of the theocratic institute: in the case of Ephraim, lacking this preserving principle, it preyed as a rank poison upon the very vitals of the commonwealth; and in consequence, after being visited by perpetually recurring inflictions of "wrath" removing individual princes, it was at last itself utterly exterminated, involving in its ruin the nation which had identified itself with it.

12. *bound up...hid*] Rather, **tied up... laid by in store.** "Tied up;" we had the same verb in ch. iv. 19 used of tying up things in a garment for safe custody: cp. Exod. xii. 34; Job xxvi. 8; Prov. xxx. 4. "Laid by in store;" as Song of Sol. vii. 13. Ephraim's guilt will surely be remembered, and in its full entirety punished. Cp. Deut. xxxii. 34, 35; Job xiv. 17, xxi. 19; also Rom. ii. 5.

13. *The sorrows*, &c.] Or, "The pangs of a travailing woman **are coming** upon him." The Divine judgment, which by implication is threatened in *v.* 12, is here seen approaching. It is frequently compared to the pangs of travail; cp. Isai. xiii. 8; Jer. xxx. 6; Matt. xxiv. 8; 1 Thess. v. 3.

for he should not, &c.] Or, **for it is the time that he should not tarry at the place of the breaking forth of children.** The image of travailing is suddenly shifted in its application. In the former part of the verse, Ephraim is in anguish as a travailing *mother:* here, Ephraim is the *child* which is on the eve of perishing because it *will* not be borne. St Paul, who, in rapidity and abruptness of style at times rivals Hosea, furnishes examples of a similar sudden shifting of the application of an image; as in 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3; ib. 13—15. We find in 2 K. xix. 3; Isai. xxxvii. 3, a similar image used to express extreme and hopeless peril: "the children are come to the birth, and there is no strength to bring forth." The Hebrew noun there rendered "birth" is probably (according to Fürst) the very same as that which is here rendered "the place of the breaking forth (of children)." It denotes, as Bishop Horsley expresses it, "the passage between the bones of the pelvis burst open by the throes of labour." Ephraim is charged with unwisdom in that he does not recognize the present as the critical time, when he cannot escape destruction, unless he moves forward: if he continues as he is, he must perish. In other words, unless he comes forth into a new life by repentance, the hour of his destruction is come. The epithet "unwise," which is marked as in Deut. xxxii. 6 by a tone of sadness, though applied to the infant really belongs to Ephraim.

14. Keeping in view the tenor of the closing words of *v.* 13, which exhibit Ephraim as already in the very "hand" or grasp of destruction, from which a speedy repentance alone can rescue him, and also the import of *vv.* 15 and 16, which denounce his coming overthrow, we may consider the following the most probable of the solutions which have been proposed of this difficult verse:

"From the grasp of Hell should I ransom them?
"From Death redeem them?
[That be far from me, thus to favour these guilty ones!]
"Where are thy pestilences, O Death?
[Bring them all forth for Ephraim's destruction!]
"Where is thy striking down, O Hell?
[Let it now appear!]

be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction: repentance shall be hid from mine eyes.

15 ¶ Though he be fruitful among *his* brethren, [d] an east wind shall come, the wind of the LORD shall come up from the wilderness, and his spring shall become dry, and his fountain shall be dried up: he shall spoil the treasure of all [†] pleasant vessels.

[d] Ezek. 19. 12.

[†] Heb. *vessels of desire.*

16 Samaria shall become desolate; for she hath rebelled against her God:

"**Relenting shall be hid from mine eyes.**

[Never more will I relent.]

"For he, riot as he may in fruitfulness among his brethren, yet, &c."

There is, however, another view which has been taken of the passage, which would make it run as follows:

"From the grasp of Hell I will [hereafter] ransom them,

[though now they fall under his power;]

"From Death I will redeem them [comp. Heb. ii. 14, 15];

"Where shall be thy pestilences, O Death?

"Where thy striking down, O Hell?

"Repentance shall be hid from mine eyes.

[*i.e.* After those days, I will never again be wroth with them; *or*, My purposes of mercy shall never be recalled.]

[But it is not so now;]

"For he, riot as he may in fruitfulness among his brethren, yet, &c."

This second view attracts the Christian mind, both by the pleasing surprise which it provides for the reader in the promise of Messianic blessings appearing in the midst of the gloomy predictions of the context, and also by its bringing the tone of the third and fourth clauses into harmony with that in which they are cited by St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55. These recommendations are outweighed by its exegetical improbability. No doubt abrupt transitions often occur in Hosea and in other prophetical writings; but it is always precarious and arbitrary to admit them, unless there be something in the words to warrant the belief that they were in the writer's view. In the present instance, the full import of the terms is satisfied by our taking the entire verse as a commination. Both the prophet and St Paul summon Death and Hell to come forth and do their worst: the prophet, in solemn earnest, because they were still terrible Powers, and had then a work of Divine vengeance to execute; the apostle, in derisive irony, because at the time he refers to, Death and Hell shall be brought utterly to nought. See Note below.

15. *Though he be fruitful*, &c.] More exactly, "**For he, though** among brethren he **riot in fruitfulness**, an east wind shall come, a wind of the LORD coming up from the desert; and his **cistern** shall become dry and his fountain wasted with drought: **he, even he**, shall plunder the treasure of all cherished possessions." The tribe of Ephraim is here referred to with, probably, a two-fold paronomasia, playing upon the assonance of the word "Ephraim," not only with the verb *parah*, "to be fruitful," but also with the noun *pere*, "wild ass;" which latter supposition is countenanced by the fact, that we had before a paronomasia between the words "Ephraim" and "pere," in ch. viii. 9: see Note below. This kind of paronomasia is quite agreeable to the genius of Hebrew poetry, as also it abounds in even some of the most mournful passages of tragic poetry, whether Greek or English; whilst the recondite form in which, according to this view, it here appears is in especial agreeable to the enigmatical and far-fetched mode of expressing thought in which Hosea delights. But whether the prophet intended the verb (*yaphri*) which is above rendered "riot in fruitfulness," to be taken with this two-faced significance or not, he must at any rate be supposed to be further alluding to the words in Jacob's blessing, "Joseph is a fruitful bough by a well (Gen. xlix. 22); for it is this reference which suggests the repeated mention of "the drying up of the fountain," as that from which the fertility of the tree is drawn.

east wind] Both vehement and accompanied by a blasting heat (Ezek. xvii. 10, xix. 12).

the wind of the LORD] Of Jehovah's own, specially summoned by Him for the execution of His wrath: cp. Isai. xxvii. 8, "his rough wind;" ib. xl. 7, "spirit (wind) of the Lord."

from the wilderness] **desert**, the womb of fearful storms (Isai. xxi. 1; Job i. 19; Jer. iv. 11, where see note). This "east wind" points to the conqueror (—the result shews that it was the Assyrian king that was contemplated—), who at the end of the verse comes forth out of the figure in his naked reality, and whose pitiless agency is in the next verse further described in plain terms.

spring] **cistern.** See note on Jer. li. 36.

pleasant vessels] *i.e.* cherished possessions, all valuables capable of being sacked. The Hebrew phrase is the same as in Nahum ii. 9, "pleasant furniture;" Jer. xxv. 34, "pleasant vessel;" 2 Chro. xxxii. 27, "pleasant jewels."

16. *shall become desolate*] Rather, **shall find out her guiltiness.** The verb is the

they shall fall by the sword: their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their women with child shall be ripped up.

same as we had in ch. v. 15, where see the note. "Her God:" with pathos pointing to the ties which had bound her to Jehovah. "Samaria," the capital, represents the whole kingdom. On the remainder of the verse see note on ch. x. 14.

NOTES on CHAP. XIII. 14, 15.

14. The interpretation of this verse is beset with ambiguities. The Hebrew word *ĕbī* may be either the adverb "where" as just before in *v.* 10, which is the opinion of most commentators both ancient and modern, or an apocopated form of the future verb, "I will be:" if the latter, it as well as the other futures in the verse may be either conditional or (as the apoc. 3 pers. sing. *yĕbī* in Ps. lxxii. 16) absolutely predictive. Again, *dĕbhareyka* may be either the plural of *dabhar* "word" (so LXX. δίκη; Jer. *causa;* Targum, Rashi, and Kimchi; and this probably in some way originated St Paul's νίκος, q. d., "victory in thy suit"); or the plural of *debher* "pestilence," and this latter is the view of the by far greater number of commentators. But if we adopt this latter view, in the phrases "thy pestilences," "thy destruction," the pronoun "thy" may cite either the agent or the sufferer. The latter view has found favour with not a few of those among Christian expositors who, like A. V., render *ĕbī* "I will be." Hence the familiar words, "Death of death and hell's Destruction." But "thy pestilences" in the sense of "pestilences destroying thee" is both an unnatural form of expression and also presents an uncouth image. The word rendered "destruction" (*qotebh* or *qetobh*), occurring only here, is no doubt identical with the *qetebh* of Ps. xci. 6, which is there connected with *debher*, "pestilence," of which we here have the plural: it appears in somewhat similar combination also in Deut. xxxii. 24. It is found once more in Isai. xxviii. 2. The unused verb from which it comes is supposed to mean "cut down." Pococke observes that in Arabic a similar noun means "point" or "pointed thing;" and this probably suggested the κέντρον of LXX. Possibly, as Horsley conjectures from Ps. xci. 6, the word meant "sunstroke." *Nocham*, occurring only here, may from its etymology signify, either "consolation" (so LXX., Jerome, Calvin alternatively, Luther); or, which is the prevailing view, "repenting," whether of purposes of vengeance (cp. Exod. xxxii. 14), or of purposes of mercy, as Num. xxiii. 19; Ps. cx. 4; Rom. xi. 29. The phrase "hid from mine eyes," as illustrated by Isai. lxv. 16, denotes "shall never again be seen." The whole verse may be the language either of promise, which is the prevailing view of Christian commentators; or of commination, which is the perhaps unanimous view of Jewish commentators in all times; or possibly a mixture of the two. The first view has been thought to be favoured by the use made by St Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 55 of words, which with whatever variation are however plainly borrowed from the third and fourth clauses; and which in the Textus Receptus are, "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?" ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου ᾅδη τὸ νῖκος; the LXX. having, ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ᾅδη; Many have felt with Jerome: "quod apostolus in resurrectionem interpretatus est Domini, nos aliter interpretari nec possumus nec audemus." But there is no proof that St Paul did so interpret the verse. For (1) there is no indication that the words "the saying that is written" in *v.* 54 cover more than the reference to Isai. xxv. 8. And (2) the apostle often, especially in his more animated passages, weaves into his discourse words, which he borrows indeed from the Old Testament, but with the utmost freedom of application, moulding them not seldom with a plastic hand into a sense, which can neither be with any degree of probability attributed to them in their original place, nor so far as appears was regarded by the apostle himself as being their original meaning. For instances of this see Rom. x. 18; 2 Cor. viii. 15. This being so, to assume that, in the use which the apostle thus makes of Old Testament texts, we have his inspired guidance in determining their proper import in the Old Testament itself, may be simply misleading.

15. There can be little doubt that the verb *yaphrī*, in A. V. "be fruitful," must in the main be referred to the hiphil *hiphrah*, "make fruitful," from which the name of "Ephraim," *i. e.* "Double-Fruitfulness," was at first derived: see Gen. xli. 52. But since the verb admits of being taken as a denominative hiphil (*hiphrī*), from the noun *pere*, in the sense "act the wild ass," it has been plausibly supposed, that there is wrapped up in the expression a covert allusion to Ephraim's arrogant and self-willed bearing among his fellow-tribes: cp. ch. v. 5 and note. This notion of some Jewish commentators (as Abulwalid and Rashi) would serve to account for this somewhat unusual form of the Hebrew verb (יפריא instead of יפרה).

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *An exhortation to repentance.* 4 *A promise of God's blessing.*

O ISRAEL, return unto the LORD thy God; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity.

2 Take with you words, and turn to the LORD: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and ‖ receive *us* graciously: so will we render the [a] calves of our lips.

‖ Or, *give good.*

[a] Hebr. 13. 15.

3 Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses: neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, *Ye are* our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy.

4 ¶ I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely: for mine anger is turned away from him.

CHAP. XIV. 1. *return unto the* LORD] More closely, "return quite home to the Lord." The preposition, denoting the complete attainment of the object sought, points to the entireness of the repentance required. "Our Rabbins say, 'Great is repentance which maketh (men) reach even the very throne of glory'" (Kimchi). Absolute as the prediction of Israel's destruction in ch. xiii. 14—16 at first sight appears, it was however still contingent upon Israel's continued impenitency; as indeed was indicated in *v.* 13. Even yet it may be averted by a thorough-going repentance, cp. Jonah iii. 4 with ib. iv. 2. "Thy God:" for that relation is not yet finally dissolved.

for thou hast fallen] *i.e.* fallen down. Thou art already lying prostrate, and none but He can raise thee up: comp. ch. iv. 5, v. 5.

2. *words*] Not sacrifices or offerings of outward things, but the spiritual offerings of confession and dutiful submission. Cp. Ps. li. 16, 17.

say unto him] There are other passages in which the sacred writers put words into the mouth of their readers: as Ps. lxvi. 3; Isai. xlviii. 20; Jer. xxxi. 7.

Take away all iniquity] "All iniquity do thou forgive." The position of "all" in the Hebrew is peculiarly emphatic: "All do thou forgive of iniquity." Israel is taught to feel that there is a vast load of indebtedness which needs to be all of it discharged. "Forgive:" the word is the same as in Gen. l. 17; Exod. xxxiv. 7; Isai. xxxiii. 24. The petition is equivalent to "blot out all mine iniquities," Ps. li. 9.

and receive us graciously] Lit. "and accept good," *i.e.* accept that which shall be good. Accept the goodness which we hope we shall be enabled to present to Thee, when Thou hast forgiven our sins. Cp. Rom. xii. 1, 2; 1 Thess. iv. 1, &c. The petitioners are to feel that the acceptance of their goodness would be likewise an act of grace. Neither of the renderings in A. V., "receive *us* graciously" and "give good" (margin), can be philologically sustained.

so will we render the calves of our lips] Lit. "So will we render to thee **bullocks, even our lips.**" "Render," "repay," as Ps. lvi. 12. Cp. Deut. xxiii. 21; Ps. xxii. 25, l. 14; in which passages the verb is rendered "pay." As sacrifices of sin-offerings were before replaced by "words" of confession, so here sacrifices of thank-offerings are replaced by utterances of thanksgiving. Cp. Ps. l. 14, li. 14, 15, cxvi. 13; Heb. xiii. 15, "the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name." Instead of "bullocks, our lips," the Septuagint has "the fruit of our lips:" which makes it doubtful whether Heb. xiii. 15 refers to this passage or to Isai. lvii. 19, where the Septuagint has the same expression. Either passage would exactly suit the context in the Epistle.

3. In *v.* 2 Israel renounces "all iniquity:" here he takes account in especial of sins against the theocracy. The fundamental principles of the theocracy required, not only undivided fealty in Jehovah's worship, but also implicit confidence in the protection of the Divine Sovereign; and this Israel was too apt to forget (ch. v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, xii. 1; and Ps. xx. 7; Isai. ii. 7, xxx. 15, 16). Probably in the mention of "horses" reference is made to Egypt as being the country from which the supply of horses was principally drawn. See Introduction, p. 405.

neither will we say, &c.] Or rather, "neither will we any more say, Our God, to the work of our own hands." Cp. Isai. xlii. 17, xliv. 17; ch. ii. 17.

for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy] Or perhaps, "O thou, in whom the fatherless findeth compassion!"—obtains fond protection.

4. Jehovah promises beforehand what He will be to His people, as soon as ever they turn to Him. Cp. Jer. xxxi. 20, following upon *vv.* 18, 19.

heal their backsliding] I will heal, both their heart of its sickness of apostasy (cp. Jer. xxxi. 31—34), and their outward state of all the evils (ch. v. 13) which have accrued to them therefrom. "Backsliding," as ch. xi. 7.

love them freely] Lit. "(with) freeness;" *i.e.* "with spontaneous, overflowing generosity." The noun is often used of "freewill offerings."

5 I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall ‖grow as the lily, and †cast forth his roots as Lebanon.

6 His branches †shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon.

7 They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive *as* the corn, and ‖grow as the vine: the ‖scent thereof *shall be* as the wine of Lebanon.

8 Ephraim *shall say*, What have I

‖ Or, *blossom.* † Heb. *strike.* † Heb. *shall go.*

‖ Or, *blossom.* ‖ Or, *memorial*

Cp. Ps. liv. 6, lxviii. 9, "plentiful rain" [rain of freeness]. The Divine love shall not wait to be earned; it shall at once overflow upon the penitents of its own accord. Cp. Luke xv. 20—24.

for mine anger is turned away from him] There will no longer be anything to check the outgoings of My love upon him. "From him:" another reading of the Hebrew text gives "from me;" the sense in the end remains the same.

5. *I will be as the dew unto Israel*] Reversing the malediction of ch. xiii. 15. The Assyrian was the east wind to Israel; but Jehovah Himself will be to them for dew. His own power shall be immediately engaged in promoting their happiness: comp. Isai. xviii. 4, xxvi. 19, where see note. The copious dew of those countries is frequently thus referred to: cp. Job xxix. 19; Prov. xix. 12; Micah v. 7.

grow as the lily] "Grow," or "blossom." Whatever be the precise species of flower which is thus designated (see Tristram, 'Nat. H.' pp. 462, 463), we cannot doubt that the prophet has an eye both to its extreme beauty (Song of Sol. ii. 1, 2; Matt. vi. 28, 29) and to the rapidity with which it shoots up in its tall shapeliness from the ground. Possibly reference is had also to its prolific nature: Lilio nihil fœcundius; una radice sæpe quinquagenos emittente bulbos (Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.' XXI. 5). Israel shall be quickly and profusely beautified with the flowers of both spiritual and secular prosperity.

cast forth his roots as Lebanon] "Cast forth," *i. e.* strike far and deep. "Lebanon" means here the noble forest-trees which formed the "glory" of Lebanon. So Isai. x. 34, xxxiii. 9; Song of Sol. v. 15. Israel's prosperity shall be as stable as it shall be flourishing.

6. *His branches shall spread*] "Branches," or "shoots," properly "suckers," growing out of the sprouting roots (Isai. liii. 2; Job xiv. 7). The word is found in Ps. lxxx. 11, "her branches unto the river;" which passage suggests the image which Horsley finds here, of "the branches of the parent tree reaching quite down to the ground, where, resting upon the moist soil, each strikes a new root, or more than one, and each root sends up a new tree." "Spread:" lit. "go on."

olive tree] This evergreen ranked high for beauty as well as for serviceableness: Ps. lii. 8, cxxviii. 3; Judg. ix. 9; Jer. xi. 16.

and his smell as Lebanon] Or rather, "and he shall have a fragrancy like Lebanon." The fragrancy of the valleys of Lebanon due to the various odoriferous vegetation which clothes its sides has been highly extolled by travellers. The Rev. J. L. Porter observes, "The fresh mountain breezes, filled in early summer with the fragrance of the budding vines, and throughout the year with the rich odours of numerous aromatic shrubs, call to mind the words of Solomon, 'The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.'" Song of Sol. iv. 11. So likewise Maundrel, quoted by Horsley, and Theophrastus ('Hist. Plant.' x. 7) cited by Dr Pusey. The whole verse represents Jehovah as conferring upon His people,—perpetual fruitfulness in population; the unfailing exhibition of virtues and graces; and sweet acceptableness before God and man.

7. *They that dwell...return*] Rather, **They shall come again who shall dwell under his shadow.** Lit. "dwellers under his shadow shall return." "Return," "be restored," as 1 S. vii. 14; Ezek. xvi. 55, xxxv. 9. "His shadow," that is, Israel's. Israel appears, *v.* 6, as a wide-spreading tree. To suppose that Jehovah's shadow is meant, introduces an unnecessary break in the discourse in which (*vv.* 4—8) God Himself is all along the speaker.

they shall revive as the corn] Rather, **they shall revive the corn,** *i.e.* they shall grow abundant, thriving, crops. The verb "revive" in the Hebrew is transitive. For the sense of the clause cp. ch. ii. 22; Zech. viii. 12; which passages sustain its literal interpretation. Some, as Pococke and Dr Pusey, not so naturally, explain it figuratively of spiritual products. Since in Gen. xxx. 31 the Hebrew for "I will again feed" is "I will return, will feed," and so often, some take "shall return—shall revive," as put for "shall again revive;" but the two verbs being so far apart is opposed to this.

grow as the vine] Or, as in the margin, "blossom as the vine." The profusion with which the vine yields its luxurious fruit was proverbial: Ps. cxxviii. 3. The fruit here indicated admits of being explained mystically; but the more obvious sense is that of a prolific population, distinguished, not only for its numbers, but also (as Ps. cxxviii. 3) for its noble qualities, moral as well as physical.

the scent thereof] Rather, "the **renown** thereof," or "his renown." The vine which Israel shall resemble is one which yields fruit

to do any more with idols? I have heard *him*, and observed him: I *am* like a green fir tree. From me is thy fruit found.

9 Who *is* wise, and he shall understand these *things?* prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the LORD *are* right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein.

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as famed for its excellence as that which produces the wine of Lebanon. See note on the preceding clause. "Renown;" lit. "memorial;" which may possibly, but not so probably, mean "flavour." The wine of Lebanon has been most highly extolled, as well in ancient as in modern times: by Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' XIV. 7; Niebuhr, quoted by Horsley, and others. Von Troil, cited by Dr Henderson, says: "On this mountain are very valuable vineyards, in which the most excellent wine is produced, such as I have never drunk in any country, though in the course of fourteen years I have travelled through many, and tasted many good wines."

8. *Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols?*] The words "shall say" are not in the Hebrew, and somewhat weaken the spirit of the passage. As in Ps. cix. 4 the words, "but I *give myself unto* prayer," are literally, "but I *am* prayer;" so we have here, "Ephraim *is*, What have I to do any more with idols?" meaning, "Ephraim's whole heart shall be, "What have I," &c. The question itself is similar in form to Jer. ii. 18, and means, "What are idols to me?" Another rendering is, "O Ephraim, what have I [the Lord] any more to do with idols?" *i. e.* Why should they any more be joined with Me as objects of thy worship? Am not I all-sufficient? So Mendelssohn, Wünsche, and some others.

I have heard him, &c.] Rather, "**I, even I, have answered** and have observed him: I am as a green pine tree; from me is thy fruit found." In response to Ephraim's renouncing all other trust, Jehovah asserts His all-sufficiency for His people. He it is that will hear Ephraim's prayers (cp. ch. ii. 21; Isai. lxv. 24); that will watch over him, no longer (as in Deut. xxxi. 17) "hiding His face;" that will give him refreshing shade, and supply him with every blessing natural or spiritual (James i. 17).

fir tree] Or, "pine tree." For the exact import of *bĕrōsh*, see Tristram, 'Nat. H.' p. 353. An umbrageous and perhaps down-stooping tree is required, as in Isai. xli. 19. There seems to be here a reminiscence of Song of Sol. ii. 3. "I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste."

9. *Who is wise*, &c.] Or, "Who is wise, that he may understand these things? a man of understanding, that he may know them?" This solemn proclamation challenges attention to the prophet's message. It is similar in import to, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Cp. Jer. ix. 12.

for the ways of the LORD, &c.] Or, "for **straight** are the ways of the Lord, and the righteous shall **go on** in them, but transgressors shall fall therein." The "ways of the Lord" sometimes mean the methods of God's procedure, as Isai. lv. 8, 9; Job xxvi. 14; Ps. cxlv. 17; Ezek. xviii. 25; sometimes, the ways which the Lord prescribes for man's obedience, as Ps. lxxxi. 13, cxix. 3, 37. In the present passage, as also in Ps. xxv. 10, the phrase appears to comprise both senses. Since the course of spiritual and moral obedience, prescribed to us by God's law, must bring us into the most perfect harmony with His own course of procedure in the government of the world, those who faithfully walk therein may confidently expect, not only the Divine aid in their endeavours thus to live, but also the Divine blessing through the orderings of His providence both here and hereafter. "Go on:" the righteous *endeavour* to walk in them, and find that they really *can* do so: they move forward steadily, and without meeting with any real obstacle, even to the very end and goal of their journey. Cp. Ps. cxix. 3, 165. "Transgressors," those who are minded to gainsay God's revelations and refuse to obey His laws, find in them, as they think, plentiful occasion for doubt, for disbelief, for disobedience; but the word of God will infallibly avenge itself sooner or later in their utter confusion and overthrow. Cp. Ecclus. xxxix. 24; 2 Cor. ii. 16; 1 Peter ii. 7, 8. The prophet appears to feel how much there had been of this gainsaying in the men of his own time, and to despair therefore, at least for the present, of Israel's recovery; but he takes leave of his prophetic ministry, saddened, indeed, and foreboding, yet fortified and consoled by the conviction, that, whatever shall befal, the whole course of Divine providence will evermore commend itself to the highest reason and conscience, working out good and ill for all men according as they shall severally be found to deserve. See Introd. p. 405.

JOEL.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

§ I. AUTHOR AND DATE 492
§ II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK . . 494
Its Three Predictions, viz.:—
(1) *The day of the Lord* 494
(2) *The effusion of the Holy Spirit* . 495
(3) *The locusts* 495
§ III. THE FULFILMENT OF THE PREDICTIONS 498

WE have no information respecting Joel, except such as is derived from the book which he has left us. From it we learn his name and country, and we may gather, with less certainty, his date.

I. *The Author and Date.*

Neither his own name nor the name of his father awakens any association. They are entirely unknown to us. Others bore the appellation of Joel, which means "Jehovah is God" or "the man who has Jehovah for his God;" but we have proof that they are not to be identified with the prophet, and it is therefore superfluous to refer to them. That he was a native of the southern kingdom is certain. It is Mount Zion and Jerusalem, the children of Judah and Jerusalem, that he addresses and of whom he speaks (ii. 1, 15, 23, 32, iii. 1, 6, 8, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21). The word Israel is used only three times (ii. 27, iii. 2, 16), and it is plain that it has no reference on any of these occasions to the northern kingdom. Further, the allusions which he makes are to things existing in Jerusalem and Judah, not in Samaria and the Israelitish kingdom; such as the temple of Solomon (ii. 17, iii. 18) and its services (i. 9, 13, ii. 14, 17) and the valley of Jehoshaphat, if in that name a reference is to be seen either to the valley of the Kedron, or to the valley of Berakah (iii. 2, 12, 14).

Of his occupation or profession we can only gather, negatively, that he was not a priest, as supposed by Mr Maurice ('Prophets and Kings,' p. 179, Cambr. 1853) and others. He addresses the priests evidently from without (i. 13, ii. 17). We may notice, however, in opposition to a revived error, that in the prophet, though not a priest, there is no depreciation of the priestly office and of priestly ministrations. The error alluded to supposes the existence of a conscious and direct antagonism between the prophetic and the priestly office, of an "opposition of the prophets to the growth of the priestly and sacrificial system," which is represented as being "based on an eternal principle:" a "conflict" between the two orders, beginning with Joel and continuing down to the time of Jeremiah. There is no such antagonism, opposition, or conflict to be found in the records of the Jewish people. The prophetical office was supplemental, not antagonistic, to the priestly. They were twin powers which co-operated for the maintenance of the faith of Jehovah and of morality based upon the religious principle. When priests or priestly acts are denounced by prophets, it is not because they are priestly, but because they are sinful (Isai. i. 10; Mal. i. 14, ii. 1). In the prophet Joel we find the priests recognized, not as rude slayers of beasts, but as ministers of God, as mediators and intercessors

between God and man, and as the natural leaders of the devotions of the people (ii. 17). There is no hint of any "rebuke of the sacrificial and ceremonial system," which an erroneous interpretation has attributed to the words of Joel. Indeed some, to whom the idea of priesthood and sacrifice are specially repugnant, see so much value attached to the forms of worship in the Book of Joel, as to conclude therefrom that the author was a Levite[1].

The elements out of which we have to form our judgment as to the date of the prophet Joel are (1) the language and style, (2) the references to foreign nations, (3) the references or allusions to occurrences or circumstances in Judah, (4) the quotations made from the book by other prophets, or by it from others, and (5) the position of the book in the Canon.

(1) From *the language and style* we are able to draw no satisfactory conclusion. In sublimity Joel comes next to Isaiah, in tenderness to Jeremiah; but there is nothing either in words or style, although both are peculiar, to shew whether he wrote early or late in the four hundred years over which the prophets of Judah range.

(2) The *foreign nations* named are Tyre, Zidon, Philistia (iii. 4), Greece (iii. 6), Sheba (iii. 8), Egypt and Edom (iii. 19); and the Assyrians may possibly be indicated under the name of "the Northern" (ii. 20). Tyre and Zidon are denounced by Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah; Philistia, by Amos, Isaiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; Edom, by Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, Ezekiel, Malachi; Egypt, by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. There is nothing therefore to be learnt from the fact of these nations being named as enemies of Judah. Their hostility was permanent from B.C. 800 (in the case of Egypt from B.C. 972) to B.C. 400. Greece is mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 13), as by Joel, as a receiver of slaves from Tyre; and Sheba, as trading with Tyre (ib. 22); but there is no reason to suppose that their traffic was carried on more at one date than another. We can therefore learn no more from these two names than from the others. The only remaining name is "the Northern," and it is so uncertain if this means a nation at all, that we can found no argument upon it. We can only say that *if* it means the Assyrians, and that *if* the invasion of Sennacherib is predicted by it, the prophet's date must have been previous to the reign of Hezekiah. An argument is, indeed, drawn by several commentators from the absence of any denunciation of the Syrians, who invaded Judah in the reign of Joash (2 K. xii. 18); but this is too precarious a foundation on which to build with any security.

(3) *Internal allusions.* Here, for the first time, we reach something definite. There can be little or no doubt that Joel's description of the overthrow of the heathen, of the triumph of Judah, and of the judgment by Jehovah in the valley of Jehoshaphat, following upon the great fast to which the prophet had called his countrymen, is based upon the historical facts of the overthrow of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites by the hand of God, and of the rejoicing of the Israelites, in the valley of Berakah, after the fast held by Jehoshaphat (2 Chro. xx.). Here then we have a *terminus a quo;* Joel must have lived and written subsequently to the accession of King Jehoshaphat, B.C. 915. Only one writer places him earlier (Bunsen, 'Gott in der Geschichte,' 1. 321): only one (T. F. Bauer) assigns him so early a date.

The verse previous to that in which the valley of Jehoshaphat is mentioned promises a restoration of "the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem." On account of this expression Vatke has placed the prophet's date so low down as the captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. But this is a mistake. "The captivity" means in general the exiles, not necessarily the Babylonish exiles (see Amos i. 6, 9); and the occupation of the land of Judah is spoken of as a past thing (iii. 2) in relation to the day of requital, not in relation to the prophet. That he was not a prophet of the captivity is proved by his referring to the temple of Solomon and the ministrations at the temple as still existing (i. 9, 13, ii. 17, iii. 18). So far

[1] Davidson, 'On the Old Test.;' Knobel, 'Der Prophetismus.'

then we learn that his date was subsequent to the earlier part of the reign of Jehoshaphat, and before the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar.

His call to a public fast would imply that he did not live in the reign of any of the kings who had lapsed into paganism. This would exclude the reign of Athaliah, the latter part of the reign of Joash, the latter part of the reign of Amaziah, the early part of the reign of Manasseh, and the reign of Amon.

(4) *Quotations.* Amos begins his prophecy with the same words with which Joel almost ends his. Which quoted the words from the other? In Joel they evidently belong to the context. In the account of the last day, after the description of the sun and moon and stars being darkened, there naturally follows, "The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem" (iii. 16). Amos begins abruptly with those words, and prefixes them as a sort of text to his prophecy. Therefore it would seem that it is Amos that quotes from Joel. The date of Amos is known. He lived in the reign of Uzziah, B. C. 810—759, and of Jeroboam, B. C. 824—772; and before he wrote Joel had written. The beginning of the reign of Joash, B. C. 887—839, has been suggested as his date[1]. But we may fix with greater probability on the early years of the reign of King Uzziah[2].

(5) This date falls in with the place that the book holds in *the Hebrew Canon*, which is for the most part, though probably not altogether, chronologically arranged. And we may add (though of course this would prove nothing of itself) that the mention of agriculturists and of agricultural implements and of the vice of drunkenness (the only vice or sin specified by the prophet), and aspirations after conquest and dominion, would seem to be not unsuitable to the days of Uzziah.

Joel then, we may consider, was the earliest prophet of the kingdom of Judah, a contemporary of Hosea in the northern kingdom, and followed in quick succession in Judah by Isaiah, who quotes a sentence from him (xiii. 6), and by Micah[3]. It is this position which gives such an exceeding interest to two of the predictions contained in his book.

II. *Contents of the Book.*

There are three predictions in Joel. The first is of the plague of locusts and drought[4], and the removal, or reversal, of that plague, occupying chap. i. and chap. ii. to the end of *v.* 27. The second is of the effusion of the Holy Spirit, typified by the refreshing rain which brought back verdure to the parched fields, contained in the last five verses of ch. ii. (These verses, according to the Hebrew arrangement, form ch. iii.) The third prediction is of the Day of Judgment, typified by the destruction wrought upon the locust scourge, and of the Reign of Righteousness accompanying and following the judgment. This occupies the remaining chapter. We will consider these predictions in their reverse order.

(1) If Joel and the other prophets had been secular writers, we should say that with Joel originated that apocalyptic literature which culminated in the Book of the Revelation. Being what they are, we say that it pleased God first to reveal to Joel that which He, in a similar, though not in the same, form afterwards revealed to His other prophets respecting the end of the world and the occurrences which were to precede it. The glorious prospect of a future blessedness became the inheritance of the Jewish people from the time of Joel onwards, and with it the terrors of the day of

[1] So Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Meier, Delitzsch, Keil, Auberlen, Schmoller, Wünsche.

[2] So Abarbanel, Vitringa, Ussher, Justi, Rosenmüller, Eichhorn, Holzhausen, De Wette, Knobel, Hengstenberg, Jäger, Bleek, Havernick, Umbreit, Köster, Kuper, Pusey, Davidson, Wordsworth.

[3] The prophet Obadiah is considered by some to have been still earlier than Joel; and it must be allowed that the advocates of this view have strong arguments to urge in its favour; but we do not adopt it. See Introduction to the Book of Obadiah.

[4] The two latest commentators on the Book of Joel, Wünsche and Schmoller, revive the view (urged also with some vehemency by Calvin) that the locust plague is not predicted but narrated by the prophet as a thing already past, and lately witnessed by himself and his countrymen. Their arguments deserve respectful attention, but are not convincing, as against those of Hengstenberg and others.

judgment. The prophetic "form" which the "idea" takes in Joel and his successors is that of an universal reign of righteousness and peace and happiness under the visible headship of Jehovah, the centre of whose kingdom would be the earthly Jerusalem. This glorious period is to be inaugurated by a terrible "Day of the Lord" (itself ushered in by signs and wonders in the universe), wherein, the Jewish exiles having been restored, a judgment will be pronounced by Jehovah in solemn assize upon all the heathen; and the foes of Jehovah and of His people Israel will be exterminated. Our Lord, divesting the "idea," which is permanent, of the "form," which is transitory, declares to us that the "Day of the Lord" shall come, ushered in by the signs and wonders described by the prophet; that He, the Son of Man, shall sit upon His throne of His glory; that, His elect having been gathered from all quarters, He shall give solemn judgment upon all nations collected before Him; and that those who are His foes and the foes of His elect will be dismissed into everlasting punishment, while the righteous are admitted to the inheritance of the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world (Matt. xxv. 31—46). St John, in like manner, in his final apocalyptic visions, sees Joel's vision spiritualized—the gathering of the heathen, the day of judgment, the destruction of the wicked, and the creation of the new Jerusalem, in which God's people shall dwell for ever around the throne of God and of the Lamb; "and God Himself shall be with them and be their God, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away;" "and they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xx., xxi., xxii.). The dearest hopes and the most awful fears which encourage and restrain the human race at the present day were first revealed by God to the prophet Joel, and from his time onwards became the inheritance of His Church.

(2) Looked at in the above light, the apocalyptic descriptions contained in ch. iii. (according to the Hebrew arrangement, ch. iv.) are the most interesting of Joel's predictions. Yet there is another prediction still more important—the promise of the effusion of the Spirit of God upon His people in the latter times. God's ancient Church, as well as the Christian Church, had a participation in the Spirit of God. They could not have been His people without it. His Spirit was the bond of communion, the only inward bond which could, or can, exist between God and men in covenant with God. But in the Old Testament the graces of His Spirit were less rich and less generally bestowed. At times they seemed to be almost confined to the prophets; and even of a prophet it might be said, as of John Baptist, that, with regard to means of participation in the ordinary graces of the Spirit, the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than he. Until Christ had returned to His Father, the Comforter could not come and bestow Himself in His fulness (John xvi. 7). Joel is the first to predict that He should so come—"afterwards," not in the prophet's own day. *Now* God would, in answer to penitent prayer, give the natural rains which were needed to repair the injuries of the locust devastation. *Hereafter* He would rain down his Spirit in an abundance which had never before been vouchsafed. Moses had long ago uttered the ejaculation, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them" (Num. xi. 29). Joel takes up his words and predicts that this longing shall be accomplished "in the latter days." Isaiah (xi. 9, xxxii. 15, liv. 13), Jeremiah (xxxi. 33), Ezekiel (xxxvi. 26), Zechariah (xii. 10), intimate the same truth; but it is Joel who, both from the priority and the clearness of his prediction, is in an especial manner the prophet of the manifestation of the Holy Ghost, as others were prophets of the manifestation of the Messiah.

(3) The rest of the book (i. 1 to ii. 27) contains the remaining prediction, which consists of a threat of a visitation of locusts, a description of the desolation wrought by them, a call to repentance and public humiliation in consequence of them, and a promise upon such repentance of fertilizing rains—types of those streams of refreshing grace from

God, which would in the future create a dispensation characterized in an especial manner by the gifts and graces of the Spirit.

It is necessary to consider, whether by the locusts is meant merely a flight of locusts, or merely an invasion of enemies, or both; and if both, whether it is the flight of locusts or the hostile invasion which is primarily intended. The reasons assigned by Hengstenberg and Pusey for enemies and not locusts being meant are the following: 1. They are described as "the northern" scourge (ii. 20). 2. The priests are directed to pray "Give not thine heritage to reproach, that *the heathen* should rule over them" (ii. 17). 3. The scourge is to be destroyed "because he hath done great things," or, literally, "hath magnified to do" (ii. 20), an expression unsuitable to irrational creatures. 4. Fire and flame are combined with locusts as part of the plague (i. 19), and they at least must be regarded figuratively; therefore the remainder of the plague is probably figurative also. Beasts being desired to rejoice in the tree again bearing its fruit (ii. 22) must be taken only symbolically, because cattle do not eat the fruits of the trees; therefore other creature actors in the scene are probably only symbolical also. 5. The imagery goes beyond any plague of locusts, in that (*a*) peoples are terrified, (*b*) the air is darkened, (*c*) they enter the city (ii. 6, 9, 10). 6. The effects are greater than would be produced by mere locusts, in that (*a*) the meat-offering is destroyed, (*b*) the fruits of more than one year are destroyed, (*c*) the plague is described as worse than any that was remembered (i. 2, 9, ii. 2). 7. Locusts could not have been driven at once into the Dead Sea and into the Mediterranean (ii. 20). 8. The day of the Lord is identified with the scourge, and is far beyond any plague of locusts (ii. 1, 11). Taken separately, it may be said at once that none of these things constitute even a plausible argument, or a conclusion amounting even to a presumption, with the exception of the first. The only question is whether, slight as they are, they tend to confirm a probability established by the use of the one word "northern." For, to take them in the reverse order to that in which they have been enumerated, it may be said (8) that the scourge is only typically identified with the day of the Lord, and that a hostile invasion falls short of it as much as a flight of locusts. 7. St Jerome says that he saw locusts swept into the two seas in the way described: and if it should be granted that it is only a typical description of the plague being driven out of the borders of Judah, it may still be applied to locusts better than to armies of men. 6. (*a*) So utter a destruction that enough did not remain for a meat-offering was *more* likely to be the effect of locusts than of a military invasion; (*b*) a country does not recover the ravages of locusts for more years than one; (*c*) the Assyrian invasion could be described as a worse plague than any that could be remembered no better than the locust flight; the words, in fact, not meaning more than a terrible scourge, typical of the final and most terrible scourge of all. 5. The imagery goes beyond any Assyrian invasion: (*a*) locusts would make peoples (Philistines, Canaanites, Syrians, Israelites, Jews) tremble at least as much as would Assyrians; (*b*) locusts would darken the air more than Assyrians; (*c*) locusts do enter cities, while Sennacherib at least did not take Jerusalem. 4. Locusts generally appear in seasons of drought, and the effects both of drought caused by the burning eastern sun, and of the devastation produced by locusts, are so naturally described as having been brought about by fire and flame, that a writer, so describing them, might be unconscious that his words were metaphorical. Again, cattle might, poetically, be desired to rejoice, first in the springing of the pastures, and then in the trees again bearing their fruit (the last of which, even if it had stood alone, would have implied the restoration of grass to the fields) without our being thereby compelled to attribute a symbolical meaning to the word "cattle." And further, the occurrence of a metaphor or symbol in a minor clause of a passage does not imply that the structure of the whole passage is metaphorical or symbolical.

In these five points there is no confirmation of the theory that men and not locusts are meant, even supposing that the theory were otherwise established.

There remain the expressions "the northern," "that the heathen should rule over them," "hath magnified to do." Of the third it may be said that it is more naturally applied to a rational than to an irrational agent; but we know that, by the simplest of metaphors, intentions and feelings which belong to men are attributed not only to animals, but even to inanimate things; and feelings towards animals and inanimate things are attributed to ourselves, which would only be entertained if they were reasonable and therefore accountable. If pride can be attributed to the leviathan (Job xli. 34) and to the ocean (Job xxxviii. 11), and mockery and scorn to the horse and wild ass (Job xxxix. 7, 22), haughtiness may be also attributed to locusts, on the principle that their acts would have been acts of haughtiness if performed by men. As to the second phrase, the original may be better rendered "use a byword against them," as in margin of A.V., or "mock them;" but if it should be rendered rightly "rule over them," there is no necessity for considering the locusts, or what is represented by the locusts, to be especially referred to by the words. It was ever the climax of suffering to the Jews "that the heathen should rule over them," and in this formula of deprecation, suggested by the prophet to the priest, this climax is introduced. The result of the continuation of the plague would be to leave Judah defenceless to her ever watchful enemies; and so "the heathen" would get the mastery over them, "the heathen" not being identical with the locusts.

There remains only the word "the northern." If this word were absent, there would be no reason, to be derived from the Book of Joel itself, for considering the locusts as a metaphorical representation of enemies. "The northern" may be an expression meaning anything destructive and terrible; or, if not so understood, it may be without any difficulty applied to locusts, as shewn in note on ii. 20; but it may be allowed that, taken alone, it would appear at first sight to be a better designation of an Assyrian invasion than of locusts.

Passing on from the words of Joel himself to other considerations, we find an argument for the metaphorical explanation in Isai. xiii. 6—18, and, to a less extent, in Jer. iv. 8. These passages are based on the prophecy of Joel. In Isaiah, as in Joel, a temporal judgment is described as typical of the day of the Lord; and Isaiah uses words identical with some of Joel's, "Howl ye; for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty." "For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine" (Isai. xiii. 6, 10). Yet the temporal judgment is plainly, in the later prophet, not locusts, of which there is no mention, but the armies of the Medes.

So too in a similar passage of Jeremiah (Jer. iv. 5, 6, 8) a heathen invasion is foreshadowed by the words "I will bring evil from the north." Again, in Amos vii. 1, grasshoppers or locusts are made to symbolize a desolation which we do not conceive to have been brought about by real locusts. And it may be argued that we can trace the source from which Joel derived his locust imagery, viz., Exod. xi. 15; Deut. xxviii. 38, 39.

On the other hand, that God had already used real locusts as an instrument of punishment, we know by the Egyptian plague (Exod. x. 12). That real locusts were dreaded by the Israelites, as one of their chief scourges, we know by the prayer of Solomon (1 K. viii. 37) and from the Pentateuch (Deut. xxviii. 38). Amos describes a real locust plague (iv. 6, 9) as having lately occurred (which, indeed, *may* be the same as that which Joel declares imminent). Joel's description throughout is confessedly and plainly of a locust-scourge; and his comparison of the locusts with men of war certainly suggests, and perhaps proves, that men of war were *not* designed to be metaphorically represented by them, for he would not have compared the locusts to men if by the locusts he had meant men.

In short, on the one side, there is the presumption to be derived from the word "northern," which presumption derives a slight confirmation from a few passages in other prophetical books; but it still remains a bare presumption not amounting to a probable, far less to a certain, conclusion. On the other side

there is the *prima facie* presumption that by a plain, straightforward and marvellously exact, though poetical, description of locusts and their ravages, locusts and their ravages are meant; and inasmuch as "the northern" scourge is not an impossible or very strange epithet of the particular plague of locusts which is being described (see note on ii. 20), the presumption on the metaphorical side is outweighed by the greater probability on the literal side. We conclude that it is of a visitation of real and actual locusts that the prophet speaks, fully admitting that by these locusts there may have been in a subsidiary manner represented the northern or Assyrian enemies of Judah, themselves the types of still future scourges[1].

III. *Fulfilment of his predictions.*

If it be asked, Are the predictions of the prophet Joel accomplished? we have in the first place to distinguish between his direct and his incidental predictions. His direct predictions, as we have said, are three. The first is of the immediate coming of a plague of locusts and its removal. Of the primary fulfilment of this we have no record (unless possibly in Amos iv. 6, 9). Parabolically it may have been fulfilled by the Assyrian invasions of Palestine. The second is of a future abundant effusion of God's Spirit on mankind. This began to be effected on the Day of Pentecost and has found its accomplishment under the Christian covenant, which is specially the dispensation of the Spirit, the Vicar appointed by Christ over His Church. The third is of a future day of judgment, in which evil men would be condemned and overthrown, and the good would be admitted into the peaceful kingdom of Zion, over which Jehovah should reign in glory. This has not yet been fulfilled; but if we believe the testimony of our Lord in the Gospels and of His Apostle St John in the Book of the Revelation, we cannot doubt that in the last days it will be accomplished.

Incidentally Joel also declares that Tyre, Zidon, Philistia, Egypt and Edom should be destroyed. So far as his words are to be regarded as applicable to the actual cities and countries named, they have been fulfilled: so far as the names symbolize the enemies of the spiritual Zion, which "dwells for ever," his denunciations have yet to find their full accomplishment.

There is no direct prophecy of the Messiah in Joel, for we do not hold that "a Teacher for Righteousness" is promised in ii. 23 (see Note at the end of chap. ii.). The latter half of the book, however, is entirely of Messianic times; and we know that He who will sit as Judge on "the day of the Lord" is the "Son of Man" (Matt. xxv. 31), "The Word of God" (Rev. xix. 13). But the characteristic of Joel is rather to be the revealer of the Holy Spirit than of the Word. He is in an especial manner the Old Testament prophet of the Holy Ghost and of His dispensation.

In addition to the general commentaries of St Cyril of Alexandria, St Jerome, Theodoret, Luther, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hengstenberg, Hesselberg, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Pusey, Keil, Küper, Wordsworth, Lange, the following special commentaries may be consulted—

1. Leusden, *Joel explicatus, in quo textus Hebræus per paraphrasin Chaldaicam, Masoram magnam et parvam, perque R. Jarchi, R. Aben-Esræ, et R. Kimchi Commentaria Rabbinica, necnon per notas philologicas explicatur.* Ultraj. 1657.
2. Pococke, *Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel.* Oxf. 1691.
3. Chandler, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel: with Dissertation on c.* iii. *annexed.* Lond. 1735.

[1] The Jews of St Jerome's day interpreted the four locust names found in Joel i. 4 as (1) the Assyrians, Babylonians and Chaldæans; (2) the Medes and Persians; (3) the Macedonians, and especially Antiochus Epiphanes; (4) the Romans. Hengstenberg assents to this interpretation. Cyril of Alexandria considers them to represent (1) Shalmaneser, (2) Nebuchadnezzar, (3) Antiochus, (4) the Romans. Theodoret notices the exposition which understands by them (1) Tiglath-Pileser, (2) Shalmaneser, (3) Sennacherib, (4) Nebuchadnezzar. Similarly Grotius. These interpretations must be put aside as the details of an untenable theory. See note on i. 4.

4. Tychsen, *Illustratio Vaticinii Joelis c.* iii. Gött. 1784.
5. Justi, *Joel neu übersetzt und erläutert.* Leipzig, 1792.
6. Holzhausen, *Die Weissagung des Joel übersetzt und erklärt.* Gött. 1829.
7. Credner, *Der Prophet Joel übersetzt und erklärt.* Halle, 1831.
8. Meier, *Der Prophet Joel neu übersetzt und erklärt.* Tübing. 1841.
9. Diedrich, *Die Propheten Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, kurz erklärt.* Leipzig, 1861.
10. Wünsche, *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Joel übersetzt und erklärt.* Leipzig, 1872.

JOEL.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Joel, declaring sundry judgments of God, exhorteth to observe them,* 8 *and to mourn.* 14 *He prescribeth a fast for complaint.*

THE word of the LORD that came to Joel the son of Pethuel.

2 Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath this been in your days, or even in the days of your fathers?

3 Tell ye your children of it, and *let* your children *tell* their children, and their children another generation.

4 †That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath

† Heb. *The residue of the palmerworm.*

CHAP. 1. 1. *Joel*] "Whose God is Jehovah." See Introduction, § 1.

Pethuel] The name may signify "One who has been enlarged by God," or, "One who has been persuaded by God," or, "The sincerity of God" (meaning, perhaps, "Godly simplicity"), according to the different shades of signification borne by the verb from which it is derived.

2. *Hear this*] Joel's first prophecy, which is contained in the first chapter and in the first twenty-seven verses of the second chapter, consists of three interlaced ideas. (1) A denunciation of punishment to be wrought by a plague of locusts, i. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16—20, ii. 2—11; (2) an exhortation to lamentation, repentance, and public confession of sin, i. 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, ii. 1, 15—17; (3) a promise of deliverance on repentance, ii. 12—14, 18—27. Then follows a promise of future blessings, of which this deliverance was a type, ii. 28—32, forming his second prophecy; and a denunciation of future woes, of which the locust-plague and the vengeance taken upon the locusts were typical, forming his third prophecy, chap. iii.

Hath this] Such as I am about to denounce; not, such as we have witnessed.

the days of your fathers] The famine in the time of Ahab, about a hundred years before, seems to have been confined to the northern kingdom, and it was not brought about by locusts. The "inhabitants of the land" to whom Joel addresses himself are the dwellers in Judah.

3. *another generation*] **the next generation.** Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. There is probably an allusion to the words applied to the Egyptian plague of locusts in Exod. x. 2 and 6. "That thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and thy son's son, what things I have wrought," "Which neither thy fathers, nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day."

4. *That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm hath left hath the caterpiller eaten*] Translate:—**That which the biter hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the licker eaten; and that which the licker hath left, hath the devourer eaten.** The words translated palmerworm (*gâzâm*), locust (*arbeh*), cankerworm (*yelek*), caterpiller (*châsil*), all designate locusts; *gâzâm* (which is found only here and in ii. 25 and in Amos iv. 9) meaning the "biter or cutter;" *arbeh* "the multitudinous one;" *yelek* "the licker;" *châsil* "the eater or devourer." *Arbeh* is the common word for "locust," and Joel uses it in ii. 25 as a generic term embracing the biter and the licker and the eater. Here however he puts the four kinds of destroying things on a level. We have not to occupy ourselves with the task of distinguishing one of these kinds from another. The prophet is not describing the different species of the locust (of which there are said to be eighty or ninety), nor the different stages which may be observed in its development; nor is he threatening several swarms of locusts; but he crowds together a number of locust-names to shew that nothing shall remain undevastated by one and another, and another, and another devourer. The form of the verse shews it to be poetical. Possibly, as Keil suggests, the number four may have a significance of its own. A comparison of Jer. xv. 3 and of Ezek. xiv. 21 leads to the inference that "four kinds" (Jer.), or "four sore judgments" (Ezek.), indicate agents of entire ruin.

the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm hath left hath the caterpiller eaten.

5 Awake, ye drunkards, and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it is cut off from your mouth.

6 For a nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number, whose teeth *are* the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion.

7 He hath laid my vine waste, and †barked my fig tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast *it* away; the branches thereof are made white.

† Heb. laid *my fig tree for a barking.*

8 ¶ Lament like a virgin girded

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5. *ye drunkards*] The persons specially called upon to lament are the wine-drinkers (*v.* 5), the husbandmen and vinedressers (*v.* 11), and the priests (*v.* 13), because they would be the chief sufferers; the vines and fruits of the earth being destroyed, and even the meat-offering and drink-offering being cut off. The only specific sin laid to the charge of his countrymen by Joel is drunkenness; which however is only incidentally mentioned, not declared to be the cause of the punishments which were about to be inflicted. Drunkenness and its kindred vices, as we learn from Isaiah and Micah, were rife among the nobles of the southern kingdom in the reign of Uzziah, as they had been in Samaria in the century previous to its fall.

6. *nation*] Cf. the use of the similar words "people," and "folk," as applied to ants and conies, Prov. xxx. 25, 26, and Homer's use of the word "tribes" or "nations" of geese, cranes, bees, &c. The nation's weapons are declared to be, not swords and spears, but its teeth.

without number, whose teeth are the teeth, &c.] The words "without number" and "teeth" are to be noticed, as the ordinary name of the locust, *arbeh*, is derived from its *multitude*, while the other three names are epithets derived from the voracity with which it employs its *teeth*. See note on *v.* 4.

the cheek teeth of a great lion] The **grinding-teeth of a lioness.** In Gen. xlix. 9 the A. V. renders the second word "old lion:" in Num. xxiii. 24, xxiv. 9, "great lion:" in Deut. xxxiii. 20; Job xxxviii. 39; Isai. v. 29, "lion:" in Job iv. 11, "stout lion:" in Isai. xxx. 6, "young lion." See note on Gen. xlix. 9.

6, 7. *my land...my vine...my fig tree*] The prophet's, in his character of representative of the people of God.

7. *barked*] Or, "broken off the branches of."

cast it away] Thrown down to the ground the vine-twigs and the fig-branches that they had broken off and barked.

made white] The result of the bark having been gnawed off. See note on Exod. x. 5. "The jaws of the locust are excessively hard and strong, capable of devouring not only the leaves, but when these fail, the bark and even the solid wood of trees" (Newman, 'Hist. of Insects,' Book I., Lond. 1841). "From 1778 to 1780 the empire of Morocco was terribly devastated by them; every green thing was eaten up, not even the bitter bark of the orange and pomegranate escaping. A most dreadful famine ensued." (Kirby and Spence, 'Introduction to Entomology.') The whole of Letter VII., in the work last quoted, is illustrative of the exactness of Joel's descriptions; and the same may be said of the accounts given by numberless travellers, who unconsciously use the very words of the prophet in describing what they have themselves seen. The last recorded visitation of the Holy Land by locusts was in the year 1866, which is thus described by an eye-witness. "The valley of Urtas was first attacked, and has now become a desolate wilderness. The olive yards of Bethlehem, Beitjalah and Jerusalem were next covered, until the trees became a dull red colour. They are now barked white. But yesterday (June 1) will be a day long remembered. From early morning till near sunset the locusts passed over the city in countless hosts, as though all the swarms in the world were let loose, and the whirl of their wings was as the sound of chariots. At times they appeared in the air like some great snow-drift, obscuring the sun and casting a shadow upon the earth. Men stood in the streets and looked up, and their faces gathered blackness. At intervals, those which were tired or hungry descended on the little gardens in the city, and in an incredibly short time all that was green disappeared. They ran up the walls, they sought out every blade of grass, or weed growing between the stones, and after eating to satiety, they gathered in their ranks along the ground or on the tops of the houses. It is no marvel that as Pharaoh looked at them he called them 'this death.' To day (June 2) the locusts still continue their work of destruction. One locust has been found near Bethlehem measuring more than five inches in length. It is covered with a hard shell and has a tail like a scorpion." 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' 1866. See also 'Ecclesiastical Gazette,' Sept. 1865, for the description of a similar visitation in that year.

8. *Lament*] O land (Maurer), or O congregation of Israel (Rosenmüller, Pusey), or both (Keil). The verb is in the singular number. It is found only here.

with sackcloth for the husband of her youth.

9 The meat offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the LORD; the priests, the LORD's ministers, mourn.

10 The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: the new wine is ‖dried up, the oil languisheth.

‖ Or, *ashamed.*

11 Be ye ashamed, O ye husbandmen; howl, O ye vinedressers, for the wheat and for the barley; because the harvest of the field is perished.

12 The vine is dried up, and the fig tree languisheth; the pomegranate tree, the palm tree also, and the apple tree, *even* all the trees of the field, are withered: because joy is withered away from the sons of men.

13 Gird yourselves, and lament, ye priests: howl, ye ministers of the altar: come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the meat offering and the drink offering is withholden from the house of your God.

14 ¶ [a]Sanctify ye a fast, call a ‖solemn assembly, gather the elders *and* all the inhabitants of the land *into*

[a] chap. 2. 15.

‖ Or, day of *restraint.*

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like a virgin...for the husband of her youth] One whose husband had been snatched from her when she was betrothed to him, but had not yet been taken to his house. The length of the period of betrothal varied from a few days in the patriarchal age (Gen. xxiv. 55) to a full year in later times. During it, the betrothed woman lived with her relatives, no communication being carried on between the bridegroom and herself except through the intervention of "the friend of the bridegroom" (John iii. 29), who was deputed for the purpose; but she was regarded, in common estimation and by law, as a wife. See Luke i. 27; Deut. xxii. 23, 24. With the expression "husband of her youth" compare that of "wife of youth" in Isai. liv. 6.

9. *meat offering*] *Minchah.* The daily meat-offerings accompanying the daily burnt-offerings are here meant. They consisted of fine flour and oil and frankincense, of which a handful of the flour and oil and the whole of the frankincense was burnt upon the altar; the remainder of the mixed flour and oil being reserved for the priests. See notes on Lev. ii. 1. They were accompanied by *drink offerings* of wine. See note on Exod. xxix. 40. The daily meat and drink offerings symbolize an acknowledgment of God's goodness by a presentation of the first fruits of his gifts to Himself, thus bearing a similar character with the offerings made in the Holy Eucharist. To the Jews the suspension of the daily sacrifice was the suspension of the appointed sign indicating that they were in covenant with God, and therefore the last of evils. The daily sacrifice was maintained throughout almost the whole of the Roman siege of Jerusalem. See Joseph. 'Antiq.' VI. 2. 1.

10. *The field is wasted, the land mourneth*] There is an alliteration in the original, which may be indicated by "field is fallow, land laments."

the corn...the new wine...the oil] mentioned specially as being the component parts of the meat-offering and the drink-offering.

is dried up] The reading of the text "dried up" is preferable to that of the margin "ashamed;" although in the next verse the same verb, used in a derived meaning, is rightly translated "ashamed."

11. *Be ye ashamed...howl*] A similar effect of a drought is depicted by Jeremiah (xiv. 3).

12. *The vine...the fig tree...the pomegranate tree...the palm tree...the apple tree*] The result of the drought. The palm is not a tree easily injured by locusts.

because] This, like the "because" of *v.* 11, refers back to "howl," "be ashamed," in *v.* 11, passing over the intermediate words.

13. *Gird yourselves*] with sackcloth.

come] Rather, "lead the way" into the court of the temple.

14. *Sanctify ye a fast*] So when the Moabites and Ammonites and Edomites were about to attack Jehoshaphat, "Jehoshaphat feared, and set himself to seek the Lord, and proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah. And Judah gathered themselves together, to ask help of the Lord: even out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the Lord" (2 Chro. xx. 3, 4). And again, in the reign of Jehoiakim, "they proclaimed a fast before the Lord to all the people in Jerusalem, and to all the people that came from the cities of Judah unto Jerusalem" (Jer. xxxvi. 9). Similarly Ezra proclaimed a fast when afraid of danger (Ezra viii. 21), and the people of Nineveh on the denunciation of Jonah (Jonah iii. 5). Cf. Judith iv. 11. From these passages it would appear that the essentials of an extraordinary fast day were a religious gathering of the people, a mourning garb, abstinence from food, and a confession of sin.

solemn assembly] See note on Lev. xxiii. 34.

the elders and all the inhabitants of the land] The whole congregation, consisting of the

the house of the LORD your God, and cry unto the LORD,

[b] Isai. 13. 6. 15 Alas for the day! for [b] the day of the LORD *is* at hand, and as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come.

16 Is not the meat cut off before our eyes, *yea*, joy and gladness from the house of our God?

[t] Heb. *grains.* 17 The [t] seed is rotten under their clods, the garners are laid desolate, the barns are broken down; for the corn is withered.

18 How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate.

19 O LORD, to thee will I cry: for the fire hath devoured the [l] pastures of the wilderness, and the flame hath burned all the trees of the field.

[l] Or, *habitations.*

20 The beasts of the field cry also unto thee: for the rivers of waters are dried up, and the fire hath devoured the pastures of the wilderness.

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elders and the rest of the inhabitants of the land, are called upon to do their part. The priests are representatives of the people, not their substitutes; the leaders of the people in their devotions, not their deputies.

15. *Alas for the day*] Words suggested by the prophet as the cry to be raised to Jehovah.

for the day of the LORD is at hand] The first intimation that the visitation of the locusts is typical of, and completed in, the final visitation on the great day of judgment. This idea is afterwards expanded ii. 1, 2, 10, 11, 30, 31. The mention of the day of the Lord is first found in Joel. See Introduction, § ii. 2, and cf. Isai. ii. 12—21.

as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come] Quoted in Isai. xiii. 6. The name "Almighty" is used, because in the original the word "destruction" is derived from the same root as the word "Almighty." We may imitate the alliteration by "Ruin from the All-ruler."

16. *meat*] Corn, wine, oil. Cf. *v.* 10.

before our eyes] "I saw *under my own eyes* not only a large vineyard loaded with young grapes, but whole fields of corn, disappear as if by magic; the crops of the husbandman vanish like smoke." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 418. London, 1864.

joy and gladness] On making their offerings at the temple, the Israelites were especially ordered to rejoice before the Lord their God. Deut. xii. 6, 7, xvi. 10, 11.

17. *The seed*, &c.] The effect of the drought is that the hope of a future crop, as well as the present crop, is ruined, and the storehouses fall into decay, there being no use for them or any expectation of their being of use again. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

18. *they have no pasture*] "A field over which this flood of desolation has rolled shews not even a blade for even a goat to nip." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 418. Cf. Deut. xii. 7, 12, xvi. 11; 1 Chro. xxix. 22.

are made desolate] Lit. suffer for sin.

19. *the fire...the flame*] Probably the heat of the burning sun and drought; but possibly the following extract from Lord Carnarvon's 'Portugal and Galicia' may throw a new light on the passage: "Farther on, where some woodland lay in the immediate line of the advancing columns, *heath set on fire and trees kindling into a blaze* testified the general horror of a visitation which the ill-fated inhabitants endeavoured to avert by such a frightful remedy. They believed that the smoke arising from the burning forest and ascending into the air would impede the direct march of the column, throw it into confusion, drive the locusts out to sea, and thus deliver the country from their desolating presence." Chap. III. p. 51. London, 1861.

pastures of the wilderness...trees of the field] All green things, far off or near.

NOTE on CHAP. I. 17.

There are so many uncommon words in this verse that it has led to singular misinterpretations. The LXX. render *ἐσκίρτησαν δαμάλεις ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις αὐτῶν, ἠφανίσθησαν θησαυροὶ, κατεσκάφησαν ληνοί.* The Vulgate reads *Computruerunt jumenta in stercore suo, demolita sunt horrea, dissipatæ sunt apothecæ.* The Chaldee אתמסיאו נרבי חמר תחות מגופתהון צדיאן אוצריא אתפגרו חסניא ארי סף עבירא, that is, "the wine casks are rotted under their covers, the granaries are destroyed, the barns are broken down." The Syriac also goes very far astray in the same direction with the LXX. and the Vulgate. The A. V. rendering is in the main correct. "The seeds פרדות (derived from פרד, to scatter, because sown broadcast) are rotten (more exactly, are shrivelled up) under their clods (מגרפות, derived from גרף,

to wash away, the original meaning of the word being pieces of earth swept away and broken into fragments by the force of water): the garners (or treasuries, אצרות, see 2 Chro. xxxii. 27) are laid desolate, the barns (ממגרות, see Hagg. ii. 19) are broken, or fallen down."

CHAPTER II.

1 *He sheweth unto Zion the terribleness of God's judgment.* 12 *He exhorteth to repentance,* 15 *prescribeth a fast,* 18 *promiseth a blessing thereon.* 21 *He comforteth Zion with present,* 28 *and future blessings.*

BLOW ye the ‖ trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the LORD cometh, for *it is* nigh at hand;

‖ Or, *cornet.*

2 A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong; there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, *even* to the years † of many generations.

† Heb. *of generation and generation.*

3 A fire devoureth before them; and behind them a flame burneth:

CHAP. II. 1. *Blow ye*] There is no break here. This verse is an expansion of i. 14, and it is still further expanded in ii. 15—17.

the trumpet] **the cornet.** The cornet, made of the horn of a ram or goat or ox, or, in later times, of metal curved in shape like a horn, differed both in shape and use from the straight metal trumpet, of which a representation is given in the note on Exod. xxv. 23. Inasmuch as the "Feast of Trumpets," supposed to have been ushered in by frequent blowing of the cornet (see on Lev. xxiii. 24), was the introduction to, and preparation for, the great annual fast, the Day of Atonement, the prophet's cry of "Blow ye the cornet" would at once suggest to his countrymen to prepare themselves for a solemn fast.

my holy mountain] *i.e.* Mount Zion. This is the first intimation that the prophet belongs to the southern kingdom.

the day of the LORD] Again the temporal visitation is represented as typical of, and completed in, the final and great judgment. The temporal visitation "cometh," takes place; the final judgment "is nigh at hand," not yet come.

2—11. A description of the destroyers; the previous chapter had described the land which they had destroyed.

2. *A day of darkness*] "And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt. Very grievous were they...for they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened." Exod. x. 14, 15, where see note. "I saw a flight of locusts extending above a mile in length and half as much in breadth. They appeared, as the sun was in the meridian, like a black cloud at a distance." Forbes, 'Oriental Memoirs,' II. 273. The natural darkness caused by the clouds of locusts is typical of the supernatural darkness which is conceived as accompanying God's judgments.

a day of clouds] Zephaniah repeats Joel's words (i. 15). Cf. also Ezek. xxx. 2, "Howl ye, Woe worth the day! For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day; it shall be the time of the heathen."

as the morning spread upon the mountains] This is usually taken only to designate the wide extent of the locust bands, far stretching as the morning light breaking over the hills. See Pococke and Chandler, in loc. As however the word used for "morning" is not *boker*, which is the proper word for "morning," but *shachar* (derived from *shâchar*, which in one of its significations means "to be dark"), it is better to understand by it the twilight or dusk which precedes the full brightness of the day, connecting it closely with the darkness and gloominess just described, and translating "like the glimmering twilight of the morning," such as it is when it is as yet "spread upon the mountains" only, and has not descended into the valleys. Other explanations have been given. Schmoller, supplying the word "comes," translates "as the morning dawn spread on the mountains, comes a people great and strong." Keil and others, referring to the yellow light thrown before them by an approaching swarm of locusts, supply the words "is the glimmer on their wings" after "like the morning dawn spread upon the mountains." But this is far-fetched; and it is only in some parts of the world that the phenomenon in question has been noticed.

there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be] A proverbial expression for a very terrible visitation of locusts: "Before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such." Exod. x. 14.

3. *before them*] The singular "it" is used, in the original, in *vv.* 3, 4, 6, 10, referring to the singular collective noun "people." The fire and the flame may, as in i. 19, mean the drought preceding and following the flight of locusts (Rosenmüller), or the fires purposely lit by the inhabitants; but it is best to

the land *is* as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.

4 The appearance of them *is* as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run.

5 Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array.

6 Before their face the people shall be much pained: all faces shall gather †blackness.

† Heb. *pot.*

7 They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war; and they shall march every one

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refer them to the locusts themselves, whose devastation had the effect of a sheet of fire flying before and rushing after them. "Every blade of grass and leaf is gnawed off as though it had been scorched by fire." Ludolf, 'Hist. Æth.' I. 13, 16. Keil sees a reference to "the fire which ran along the ground," Exod. ix. 23, and "the fire," Deut. iv. 12.

garden of Eden] A testimony by the earliest Jewish prophet to the first chapter of Genesis. Cf. Gen. ii. 15, iii. 23, 24. The expression may be rendered, Garden of Delight. The reverse of the threat is found in Ezek. xxxvi. 35, "They shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden." There may be a reference also to Gen. xiii. 10.

and nothing shall escape them] Rather, "nothing shall be left to it," *i.e.* to the land. Lit. "that which has escaped (devastation) has not remained (undevastated) to it." "And there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt." Exod. x. 15.

4. *of horses*] Chiefly on account of their speed and their compact ranks; but also on account of a similitude in the locust's head to the horse's head (whence the Italian name *cavallette*, and the German name *Heupferde*). So Bochart, 'Hieroz.' III. p. 307, and Theodoret, who was a bishop in Syria. Cf. Rev. ix. 7.

5. *Like the noise of chariots*] "And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle." Rev. ix. 9.

like the noise of a flame of fire] "The sound of their feeding, when in swarms, is as the rushing of flames driven by the wind." Newman, 'Hist. of Insects,' v. 1. "The noise made in marching and foraging was like that of a heavy shower on a distant forest." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 417.

as a strong people set in battle array] The locusts are here and in the following verses compared to soldiers. This is a strong argument, if not a proof, that soldiers were not *primarily* meant by them.

6. *the people shall be much pained*] peoples, *i.e.* the neighbouring nations. "They overshadow the sun, while peoples look up in dread lest they may settle on their soil." Plin. 'H. N.' II. 29. "I need not say with what an anxious eye we marked their progress, fearful lest the delicacies of our garden should allure them to a repast." Forbes, 'Oriental Memoirs,' II. 273. "Travelling along the western coast of Africa, I once beheld this terrible infliction... A few hundred yards to our right, darkening the air, the great innumerable host came on slowly and steadily advancing in a direct line and in a mighty moving column... At the extremity of the field I saw the husbandmen bending over their staffs, and gazing with hopeless eyes upon that host of death, which swept like a destroying angel over the land, and consigned to ruin all the prospects of the year; for wherever that column winged its flight, beneath its withering influence the golden glories of the harvest perished, and the leafy honours of the forest disappeared. There stood those ruined men, silent and motionless, overwhelmed with the magnitude of their calamity, yet conscious of their utter inability to control it." Lord Carnarvon, 'Portugal and Galicia' (in 1827), c. III. p. 51.

gather blackness] Or, "are blanched;" lit. "collect"—in the unusual sense of "*draw into themselves*—their colour." See Note at the end of the Chapter. The idea of paleness being produced by the blood being summoned from the face to the heart is illustrated by Shakspeare's conceit of "the blood," in the death struggle,

> "Being all descended to the labouring heart;
> Who, in the conflict that it holds with death,
> Attracts the same for aidance 'gainst the enemy:
> Which with the heart there cools, and ne'er returneth
> To blush and beautify the cheek again."
>
> 'Henry VI.,' Second Part, Act III., Sc. 2.

Joel's words are quoted, with a slight textual variation, by Nahum (ii. 10), "Much pain is in all loins, and the faces of them all gather blackness."

7. *they shall climb...they shall march...they shall not break their ranks*] "They climbed over, as they advanced, every tree or wall that was in the way. Nay, they entered into our very

on his ways, and they shall not break their ranks:

8 Neither shall one thrust another; they shall walk every one in his path: [1] Or, *dart.* and *when* they fall upon the [1]sword, they shall not be wounded.

9 They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief.

10 The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: [a] the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: [a] Isai. 13. 10. Ezek. 32. 7.

11 And the LORD shall utter his voice before his army: for his camp *is* very great: for *he is* strong that executeth his word: for the [b] day of the LORD *is* great and very terrible; and who can abide it? [b] Jer. 30. 7. Amos 5. 18. Zeph. 1. 15.

12 ¶ Therefore also now, saith the

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houses and bed-chambers." Shaw's 'Travels,' p. 187. "When the head of the mighty column came in contact with the palace of the Emeer Assaad in Abeih, they did not take the trouble to wheel round the corners, but climbed the wall like men of war and marched over the top of it. So when they reached the house of Dr. Van Dyck, in spite of all his efforts to prevent it, a living stream rolled right over the roof." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 418.

8. *the sword*] Any defensive weapon, 2 Chro. xxxii. 5.

they shall not be wounded] Rather, "be broken into fragments (as a host)." "On they came like a living deluge. We dug trenches and kindled fires, and beat and burned to death heaps upon heaps, but the effort was utterly useless. Wave after wave rolled up the mountain side, and poured over rocks, walls, ditches, and hedges,—those behind covering up and bridging over the masses already killed. After a long and fatiguing contest...I gave over the vain effort to stop its progress. By the next morning the head of the column had reached my garden, and, hiring eight or ten people, I resolved to rescue at least my vegetables and flowers...At length, worn out with incessant skirmishing, I gave up the battle. Carrying the pots into the parlour, and covering up what else I could, I surrendered the remainder to the conquerors." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 416. See also St Jerome ad loc.

9. *climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows*] According to Moses' threat, Exod. x. 6, where see note. The eastern windows would have had lattice-work in them, not glass. "If not carefully watched, they would have devoured the flowers which were carried into an inner room in pots." Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 418. "Australian papers state that in the Riverina district the grasshoppers, or locusts, have been very troublesome recently, not only destroying crops, but filling up wells and water-tubs, and even consuming textile fabrics, such as blinds and window-curtains in the houses." *Times*, Jan. 1875.

10. *The earth shall quake*] "In their terror the sufferers will think that the heavens are falling and the earth reeling." St Jerome.

the sun and the moon shall be dark] The description is now passing on from the type to the antitype; from the terror of the locusts and temporal foes to the terrors which are to precede the last day. Yet without any violence done to the type. "As they approached, the density of the host obscured the solar rays, cast an awful gloom like that of an eclipse on the garden, and caused a noise like the rushing of a torrent." Forbes, II. 273.

11. *his army*] Shewing that those who afflict and destroy, whether temporally or at the end of all things, are still Jehovah's executors of vengeance. In Isai. xiii. 3 the Medes and Persians are "his sanctified ones" for the destruction of Babylon.

his camp is very great] "As an enemy they are far worse to Algiers than fire and sword of fanatic Moslem. The news is hurried into Teniet, that the army of locusts which ate up every green thing three years ago is on the march! The van of the locust army is approaching! Five hundred men are already on the march, to meet the host before it reaches the fertile plains. At night, when they are tired and torpid, the soldiers gather them in heaps and throw lime upon them. By day they fight them back with branches of trees and noises—guns, drums, trumpets, blunderbusses. ...The masses of locusts not only darken the sun, but their migration is conducted on a plan so remarkable that human reason can hardly out-march, out-flank, or out-general them." Cox, 'Search for Winter Sunbeams,' New York, 1869.

the day of the LORD] Cf. Obadiah 15.

who can abide it?] Cf. Mal. iii. 2.

12. *Therefore*] Up to this point Joel's denunciation has consisted of lamentation and mourning and woe, in a pathetic strain of unbroken severity and sternness. Here the first gleam of hope and tender anticipation of better things breaks in.

now] Though all this be so, and though you have previously neglected warnings, and the punishment is at your very doors.

[c] Jer. 4. 1. LORD, [c] turn ye *even* to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning:

13 And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the [d] Exod. 34. 6. Psal. 86. 5. Jonah 4. 2. LORD your God: for he *is* [d] gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.

[e] Jonah 3. 9. 14 [e] Who knoweth *if* he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him; *even* a meat offering and a drink offering unto the LORD your God?

15 ¶ Blow the trumpet in Zion, [f] sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly: [f] chap. 1. 14.

16 Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet.

17 Let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O LORD, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the

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turn ye even to me] Supposed by Vitringa and others to be referred to in Isai. xxii. 12, "And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: and behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine." If there were a reference to Joel in these words of Isaiah, we should have to suppose that the people were not obedient to the prophet's call, and that the day of fasting and humiliation described in *vv.* 15, 17 was not held. But Isaiah's words are with greater probability to be referred to the days of Hezekiah. See note ad loc.

13. *rend your heart, and not your garments*] A recognition common to the Old Testament and to the New, that penance is vain without penitence, the letter without the spirit, the shell without the kernel; that "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;" that the rent robe is only of use as symbolizing and conducing towards "a broken and a contrite heart" (Ps. li. 17). Cf. Deut. vi. 5; 1 S. vii. 3; Ezek. xviii. 27.

gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness] As Jehovah proclaims Himself in Exod. xxxiv. 6, where see note. The words are also quoted in Jonah iv. 2.

repenteth him of the evil] The doctrine of "God's repentance" in inflicting evil, dwelt on so strongly and so often in Holy Scripture (Exod. xxxii. 14; 2 S. xxiv. 16; Jer. xviii. 8; Jonah iv. 2), is not merely the result of the infirmity of human language in its application to the Divine Being. Its object is to impress upon us (1) the personal character of God, totally distinct and differing from a Law; (2) that in this character the first quality is mercy, which displays itself immediately that obstacles are withdrawn; (3) that His threatened judgments are conditional and may be averted, as in the case of Nineveh; (4) that the power of human repentance is boundless. "If we repent of our sins, He too repents of His threat, and the evil with which He had threatened us He does not bring upon us, and with our change of mind He too is changed." St Jerome. "God's *general inclination* is that all men might be saved...but...there is in Him sometimes a more private *occasioned will*, which determineth the contrary." Hooker, 'Eccl. Polity,' v. 49. 3. The "occasion" being withdrawn, the "general inclination" comes again into play.

14. *Who knoweth*] Cf. Jonah iii. 9.

leave...behind him] On his return "to his place" (Hos. v. 15) in heaven, after turning back from taking vengeance.

a blessing] Materials out of which a gift or offering might be made, *i.e.* some of the fruits of the earth (cf. 2 K. v. 15), which would again supply the daily meat offering and drink offering, abandoned on account of the devastation caused by the drought and by the locusts.

15. *Blow the trumpet*] **the cornet.** *Vv.* 15—17 are an expansion of ii. 1 and i. 14.*

16. *sanctify the congregation*] Proclaim a sacred or solemn assembly, as on a national fast day.

elders...children...bridegroom...bride] All, with no exceptions or exemptions. See Deut. xxiv. 5. The words rendered "bridegroom," "bride," would bear the meaning of "son-in-law," "daughter-in-law."

17. *Let the priests, the ministers of the* LORD] The priests are regarded by the prophet as the natural representatives of the people in their sufferings, and as the mediators and intercessors between the people and God. Cf. the position of Aaron in the plague which followed the rebellions of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, Num. xvi. 48. So the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that their ordinary duty was "to offer up sacrifices for their own sins and the sins of the people" (vii. 27).

between the porch and the altar] The porch

heathen should ‖ rule over them: ε wherefore should they say among the people, Where *is* their God?

18 ¶ Then will the LORD be jealous for his land, and pity his people.

19 Yea, the LORD will answer and say unto his people, Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith: and I will no more make you a reproach among the heathen:

20 But I will remove far off from you the northern *army*, and will drive

‖ Or, *use a byword against them.*
ε Psal. 42. 10. & 79. 10. & 115. 2.

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or portico was the eastern entrance to the temple, 30 feet wide, like the temple, of which it formed the front. The altar of burnt sacrifice, which stood before it in the court, was of the same width as itself, being 30 feet square and 15 feet high. See notes on 1 K. vi. 3; 2 Chro. iii. 3. Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, was stoned in this space "between the temple and the altar" (2 Chro. xxiv. 21; Matt. xxiii. 35); and it was here that Ezekiel saw the twenty-five sun-worshippers (Ezek. viii. 16). On ordinary occasions the priests were to be seen on the steps and platform of the altar, arrayed in white mantles and brilliant sashes. On the present occasion they were to occupy the space between the altar and the portico (that is, in respect to the worshippers, who entered the court from without, the space *behind* the altar, where they would be invisible except from the north and south sides), dressed in black goats'-hair sackcloth. They would prostrate themselves towards the temple, their faces thus turned away from the people, and would then offer their cry, "Spare thy people," &c. Cf. Judith ix.

Spare thy people] Hence this form in the litanies of the Church.

should rule over them] Rather, "use a proverb among them," viz. "Where is their God?" In the margin of the A. V. "use a byword against them," where "among" should be substituted for "against." That *mâshal* may be so used is proved by Ezek. xii. 23, xviii. 3; Num. xxi. 27, and other passages: that it is employed in that signification here is made probable by Deut. xxviii. 37 (to which Joel's litany seems to allude), where the threat of locust-devastation (*vv.* 38, 42) is combined with that of becoming an astonishment, a proverb (*mâshâl*) and a byword: and this interpretation is made almost certain by the last clause of *v.* 19 ("I will no more make you a reproach among the heathen"). If, however, it should be accepted in the sense of "rule over them," the expression would refer to the future results, rather than to the present effects of the existing affliction. See Introduction, § ii. 3; and Note at the end of the Chapter.

people] **peoples**, *i.e.* neighbouring nations.

Where is their God?] Cf. Exod. xxxii. 12; Ps. lxxix. 10, cxv. 2; Micah vii. 10.

18. *Then will*] This and the first clause of the following verse continue to be predictive. They do not constitute a narrative link between two parts of Joel's work, as is supposed by some commentators. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

jealous for] Resenting their wrongs.

19. *the LORD will answer and say*] The force of the tenses is ruled as in the previous verse.

corn, and wine, and oil] The constituent elements of the meat-offering and the drink-offering, as well as, in general, symbols of the necessaries of life. Cf. Hos. ii. 22.

make you a reproach among the heathen] This promise almost decides the meaning of the passage in *v.* 17 to be "that the heathen should use a proverb among them," rather than "should rule over them."

20. *the northern army*] **the northern.** The word "army" should not be introduced, as it suggests an interpretation. It is most probable that Joel gave the name of "the northern" to the host of locusts, with which he threatened his countrymen, because in vision he saw it enter Palestine from the north. The movements of locusts being entirely dependent upon the wind, the creatures' flight is naturally directed from their breeding-place to whatever quarter the wind may bear them. This host would therefore have been probably bred in the Syrian Desert, or the Desert of Palmyra, or in the northern districts of Mesopotamia. The Syrian Desert is stated to be a home and breeding-place of locusts (see Keil and Wünsche ad loc.); and Niebuhr ('Beschreib.' p. 169) testifies to having seen *young* locusts, covering a large tract of land, as far northwards and eastwards as the road between Mosul and Nisibis. These locusts, whether Mesopotamian or Syrian, would be carried by a north-east wind direct to Palestine, and therefore "the northern" would be as natural an expression to use in describing them as could be well imagined. There is a special propriety in the present locust-host having this northern origin, because it typified, among other scourges of God's people, the Assyrian and Chaldæan invasions, which were to be made from the north.

But it is not necessary to assume that Joel's locust-host sprang from Syria or Mesopotamia, in order to account for their having entered Palestine from the north. It might have proceeded from the usual breeding-

him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the east sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea, and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up, because †he hath done great things.

† Heb. *he hath magnified to do.*

ground, the Arabian Desert, and having been carried into Syria by the south wind, which regularly blows in the spring, and thence to the north of Palestine by the east wind, which blows as regularly in the early summer, have been swept into and out of Judæa by the north wind which blows in like manner in the later summer (see Pusey, 'Introduction to Joel,' p. 100, who, although he takes an opposite view, notices "the regularity with which the winds blow in Palestine —the south wind chiefly in March, the east wind in summer, the north winds mostly about the autumnal equinox"). In this case "the northern plague" would have been a natural expression for an inhabitant of Jerusalem to use in speaking of the locusts; as natural, as it would be for a Londoner to speak of a pestilence that had commenced its ravages in Great Britain at Edinburgh, as coming to him from the north, though it were originally imported from France or Spain.

Further, it is not certain that the word "northern" is used in a strictly geographical sense. The north being the quarter whence fierce winds and storms arise (and in later times that from which irresistible enemies were wont to burst upon the Israelites), the word "northern" is supposed by Justi to have been used by the Hebrew prophets in the sense of "calamitous" or "ill-omened;" any great destruction being said to come "from the face of the north," without regard to geography. In Jeremiah "evil" and "the north" are constantly combined (i. 13, iv. 6, vi. 1); and, which is still more to the point, the prophet declares that for the judgment of Babylon "a people shall come *from the north*" (l. 41), whereas the Persians, who are indicated by these words, lie rather to the east than to the north of Babylon. "The northern" may therefore be perhaps regarded rather as a symbolical than as a geographical expression, meaning "the disastrous one." Cf. Isai. xiv. 31, xli. 25. Schmoller translates "the destroyer," but, like Hitzig, wrongly connects the word with "Typhon," denying that it means "northern" in this place. Von Cöln, Ewald and Meier, to avoid the difficulty of the word, propose to read *tsipponi*, supposed to mean "marshalled," for *tsĕphōni*, "northern." Davidson is "averse to shifts of this kind;" Keil "rejects them as arbitrary;" and they are entirely inadmissible. The word means "northern," but it does not therefore disprove the theory of the literal acceptation of the locusts.

a land barren and desolate] The neighbourhood of the Dead Sea and the Arabian Desert southwards of it.

the east sea] The Dead Sea, or Salt Sea, as it is called in Scripture.

the utmost sea] The hinder sea, *i.e.* the Mediterranean. It is argued by the antagonists of the locust-theory that it would be impossible that the same wind should drive the creatures into opposite seas. But this is doing violence to language which is plain, if metaphorical. It might as well be said that a fire could not burn at once "before" and "behind" them (*v.* 3). It is hardly possible that a more graphic picture of an entire deliverance could be given than by depicting the pest driven east, west, south, beyond the border of the protected land. "It is a rhetorical picture of rapid and total destruction" (Keil). St Jerome, however, in the passage quoted immediately below, testifies to the actual phenomenon taking place.

his stink shall come up] See on Exod. x. 19. "In our own times we have seen swarms of locusts covering the land of Judæa, and afterwards, by the mercy of God, when the wind rose, they have been driven into the front and hinder sea. And the shore of both seas being covered with heaps of dead locusts thrown out by the water, they have putrefied, and their stink has been so noxious as to infect the air and produce a pestilence of men and beasts." —St Jerome. "Carried away by a sudden wind and driven into round masses, they were borne through the air for a long time, and then precipitated into the African sea. The waves threw out immense heaps of them all along the shore, and the putrefying mass exhaled a horrible savour and pestilential beyond belief, the result of which was such a plague of all creatures that birds, beasts and cattle perished through the infection, and their putrefying carcases added to the impurity of the air." Orosius, 'Adv. Pagan. Histor.' v. 11, p. 312, Lugd. Bat. 1737. "In the month of August, an incalculable number of locusts came from the east, and devastated almost all France. They advanced in regiments, so that you could see a military discipline in the little animals. They reached the English Channel, covering the face of the earth; and then by the Providence of God they were driven into the sea by strong winds and swallowed up. But being thrown up again by the tide, they covered the shore; and there was such a heap of them that they were piled up like hills. The air became infected from their decomposition, and stunk, and caused a terrible pestilence in the neighbourhood, of which many died." Reginonis Chronicon ad an. 873, in Pertz, 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' I. p. 585.

21 ¶ Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice: for the LORD will do great things.

22 Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field: for the pastures of the wilderness do spring, for the tree beareth her fruit, the fig tree and the vine do yield their strength.

23 Be glad then, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the LORD your God: for he hath given you ‖the former rain †moderately, and he ‡will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain, and the latter rain in the first *month*.

24 And the floors shall be full of wheat, and the fats shall overflow with wine and oil.

25 And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the cankerworm, and the caterpiller, and the palmerworm, my great army which I sent among you.

26 And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the LORD your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you: and my people shall never be ashamed.

27 And ye shall know that I *am* in the midst of Israel, and *that* I *am*

‖ Or, *a teacher of righteousness.*
† Heb. *according to righteousness.*
‡ Lev. 26. 4. Deut. 11. 14.

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ill savour] Or, "corruption." The word is only found here.

because he hath done great things] Lit. "has magnified to do." This expression slightly favours those who understand enemies rather than locusts to be meant: but only very slightly, for if the sea can be called proud (Job xxxviii. 11), locusts may be represented as haughty. See Introduction, § ii. 3.

21. *O land*] A summons to earth (*v.* 21), beasts (*v.* 22), men (*v.* 23), to rejoice in their deliverance from drought, starvation, calamity.

will do] Rather, **doeth.** As the locusts had done, so Jehovah now does to them.

22. *the pastures of the wilderness*] Previously described as burnt up, i. 19. All is now reversed.

23. *Zion*] Joel being a prophet of the southern kingdom.

the former rain] The autumn rain. At the end of the verse the latter or spring rainfall is also promised, but the former or autumn rains are separately mentioned at the beginning of it, because they were necessary for the germination of the newly-sown seeds; and this was the first step towards recovery from the sufferings inflicted by the drought, and the first sign of restoration to God's favour. For a critical examination of the passage see Note at the end of the Chapter.

moderately] Rather, "in accordance with righteousness;" as in the margin of A. V. "according to righteousness." After the fast and the prayer and the repentance, it is in accordance with the righteousness of God, who repents him of the evil, that He should send the rains. "If we confess our sins, He is *faithful and just* to forgive us our sins" (1 John i. 9). "If that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them" (Jer. xviii. 8). Cf. Job xiii. 3, 6, and Jonah iii. 10. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

in the first month] **in the first place.** The rain of the first month would be the latter, or spring, rain, which falls in the month Nisan, answering to part of March and April, when the corn is coming into ear. The word has been translated "as soon as it is wanted" (R. Tanch. and S. Jer. in Pusey): the LXX. and Vulgate understand by it "as of old:" Hengstenberg, "for the first time." It undoubtedly means "in the first place," and is used in contrast to the "afterward" of *v.* 28. The following is a paraphrase of the whole verse: "And be glad, ye children of Zion: rejoice in the Lord your God, for according to His righteousness, He is giving you the autumn rains after your repentance: as His immediate blessing, He is sending you the rain, the autumn rain and the spring rain, and afterwards, in the latter days, He will pour His Spirit upon all flesh," &c.

25. *the years*] It would follow from this expression not that the plague of the locusts lasted more than one year, but that the effects of their visitation would be felt for several years. The names are in a different order from before, shewing that they do not represent different stages of locust-development, nor different foreign nations, who would have been spoken of chronologically. The absence of the conjunction "and" between "the locust" and "the cankerworm, and the caterpiller, and the palmerworm," shews that the prophet regards "the licker, the devourer, and the biter" as three species, or three epithets, of the one generic name "the multitudinous one," which is the ordinary term for "locust." This is of importance for the right understanding of i. 4. Translate, as in i. 4, **the years that the locust hath eaten, the licker and the devourer and the biter.**

27. *Israel*] The first time that the prophet of the southern kingdom uses the word Israel; elsewhere, except in iii. 2 and 16, Judah and Jerusalem.

the LORD your God, and none else: and my people shall never be ashamed.

28 ¶ And it shall come to pass afterward, *that* I [f]will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams,

[f] Isai. 44. 3. Acts 2. 17.

28—32. *And*, &c.] According to the arrangement of the Hebrew Text these verses form a chapter by themselves. And then follows, introduced by them, the description—the first description given—of the last things.

it shall come to pass] To the Hebrew prophet, temporal judgments and the final judgment, temporal deliverance and the great Messianic deliverance, cannot be dissevered. One is typical of the other; one suggests the other; and the words which he uses apply primarily, sometimes to the type, sometimes to the antitype. Further, the Messianic times, foreshadowed by present blessings, are in themselves twofold. Sometimes they are the times which follow the first coming of the Messiah, sometimes those during which He shall reign after His second coming; the blessings consequent on His first coming being the antitypes of the previous temporal blessings, and themselves typical of those which are to come hereafter. Accordingly the prophet Joel passes on from the immediate blessings of his countrymen to the future blessings which were to be bestowed on the whole world, (1) on the coming of the Messiah, and (2) in His final reign.

afterward] This word refers back to the **in the first place** of *v.* 23. It is paraphrased by St Peter (Acts ii. 17) by "in the last days." Both these expressions "afterward," "in the last days," are formulas by which the Messianic times are meant. The promise of the full bestowal of the blessing in a future dispensation does not imply that God's Spirit was not in a degree communicated to His ancient people. But under the Old Testament His Spirit was communicated less freely to each recipient, and less generally. What is now promised is that there shall be a time or dispensation, when He shall not be imparted scantily, but poured out copiously as rain, so that His gifts and graces should become the characteristic of that dispensation. "For the word 'pour' does not mean merely to give in drops but in great abundance" (Calvin).

pour out my spirit] The effusion of the Holy Spirit may be shewn by the manifestation of His gifts or of His graces. His gifts are "the gifts of healing, of miracles, of prophecy, of discerning of spirits, of divers kinds of tongues, of interpretation of tongues" (1 Cor. xii. 9, 10). His graces are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance" (Gal. v. 22, 23). During the apostolic days He manifested Himself in both of these ways. On the Day of Pentecost, as it was the first occasion of the promised effusion, He shewed Himself in a way which could not but strike the eye and ear of the most heedless, the gift of tongues: and whenever the apostles laid their hands on the baptized, the gift of tongues and of prophesying was vouchsafed to at least some of the confirmed (Acts viii., x., xix.). But the effusion of God's Spirit is no less really proved by an abounding of His graces than by an exhibition of His gifts. "Charity" is but another word for the ordinary working of God's Holy Spirit in the heart; and this "charity" St Paul prefers to "the best of gifts," "more excellent" than miracles, healing, tongues, knowledge, prophesying (1 Cor. xii. 31), and greater even than "faith and hope" (xiii. 13). When His gifts have been withdrawn, His graces still remain, to prove that God's Spirit has been poured upon His Church.

my spirit] The cause of spiritual life, as in the beginning of physical life. (Gen. i. 2.) A glimpse at the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost is here prophetically given, as elsewhere of the doctrine of the personality of the Word. It is only by the New Testament that it is made clear that the Spirit, by which men have wisdom, knowledge, faith, and other gifts, is a Divine Person in the Unity of the Godhead, who "divides to every man severally as He will" (1 Cor. xii. 11); but there are hints and anticipations of this great truth scattered throughout the Law and the Prophets, Num. xi. 25; 1 S. x. 10; Ps. li. 11; Isai. xliv. 3; Ezek. xxxix. 29.

upon all flesh] It is probable that these words teach, by anticipation, the truth which it was vouchsafed to Isaiah rather than to Joel to declare plainly (Isai. lxv. 1, 2; Rom. x. 20); that God's Church should not be confined to the Jewish nation, but should embrace all mankind. The "all flesh" in the present passage is distinguished into its component species as "your sons, your daughters, your old men, your young men;" the promise, however, is not thereby limited to the Jewish nation, but overleaps the bounds of race.

prophesy...dream...visions] The vision and the dream are means by which God communicates with the prophet (Num. xii. 6; Dan. i. 17). The "vision" is the ecstatic trance, from which the prophetic "dream" only differs in this, that in the dream the action of the ordinary faculties is suspended by natural causes, in the trance or vision by supernatural and extraordinary causes. In both vision and dream the bodily senses are closed to external

your young men shall see visions:
29 And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit.
30 And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke.
31 [k] The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the LORD come.
32 And it shall come to pass, *that* [l] whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered: for in

[k] chap. 3. 15.
[l] Rom. 10. 13.

objects, the reflective and discursive faculty is still, and the spiritual faculty of immediate perception by means of an inward sense alone energizes. The prophet being in this state, the subject manifested to him by God is unfolded before his inner sight. The visions of Isaiah (vi.), Ezekiel (i.), Daniel (viii., x., xi., xii.), Zechariah (i., iv., v., vi.), St Peter (Acts x.), St Paul (2 Cor. xii.) are prominent instances of scenes presented in the ecstatic trance; Gen. xv. and Dan. vii. of similar scenes presented in the prophetic dream. On returning from the state of ecstasy, or dream, to his ordinary state, the prophet declared, for the edification of God's people, the things which he had seen or heard, though still without any attempt of his own at systematizing or arranging them. Hence the fragmentary character of prophecy, its disregard of times, its imagery, its dramatic form, its obscurity.

The words, "They shall prophesy, they shall dream dreams, they shall see visions," are the specifications and expansions of the fundamental promise, "I will pour out my Spirit upon them." They neither add to its latitude nor take away from it. Prophecy, visions, dreams are naturally selected by Joel as being the recognized forms of the manifestation of the Spirit under the Old Testament. When therefore the power of speaking with tongues, exhibited in many persons on the Day of Pentecost, made manifest the abundant presence of the Spirit, St Peter's auditors would at once acknowledge that "this was that which was spoken by the prophet Joel," without waiting for the specific manifestation of His working by means of dream, or vision, or prophecy. That the promise was exhausted on the Feast of Pentecost, St Peter is so far from stating that he implies the contrary (Acts ii. 39). The Pentecostal miracle was a proof that the dispensation in which the Spirit was outpoured had begun. The effusion then begun would afterwards exhibit itself by all the gifts and graces of the Spirit, most of all by charity.

29. *the servants...the handmaids*] Slaves. The extraordinary character of this promise is shewn by the use of the word "also." There is no instance of a slave having the gift of prophecy in the Old Testament. The new dispensation holds out a prospect even to the slaves of being equalized with their lords by receiving the "free Spirit" of God as well as they. Man's slaves become God's servants, as in the LXX. rendering, quoted by St Peter, Acts ii. 18.

in those days] The Day of Pentecost, with the period immediately succeeding it, is the time primarily signified by "those," *i.e.* the Messianic "days;" but from these first-fruits we look onwards, for a still farther and larger fulfilment of the promise, to the Second Coming, the preceding signs of which are described in the next two verses.

spirit] In Acts ii. 18 there are added the words, "and they shall prophesy;" exhibiting the effect of the Spirit being poured upon them, and giving prominence to the equal favour shewn to master and slave.

30. *And I will shew*] The vision of the prophet passes on (with a glance at the destruction of Jerusalem) to the final judgment (typified by the judgment on locusts and enemies), which is to precede the inauguration of the reign of righteousness. This verse and the two next verses are quoted by St Peter (Acts ii. 19—21) as well as the previous verses, though apparently unconnected with the Pentecostal miracle. They probably were the text for those "many other words with which he testified and exhorted, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward generation" (ii. 40).

blood, and fire] Cf. Exod. vii. 20. "The waters that were in the river were turned into blood," *i.e.* blood-red. See note on Exod. vii. 17. "The Lord sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground," Exod. ix. 23, where see note. There may be a reference to Deut. vi. 22, "And the Lord gave signs and wonders great and sore upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household." The plagues of Egypt, which preceded the deliverance of the Israelites and the overthrow of the Egyptians, were typical of the signs and wonders that are to precede the final deliverance and overthrow.

pillars] Or, "wreaths," as the smoke that ascended on Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 18.

31. *The sun...the moon*] Our Lord, in His discourse on the Mount of Olives (Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxi. 25), announces that the same signs are to precede the last day; and they are seen by St John at the opening of the sixth seal, before "the great day of His wrath" (Rev. vi. 12). The connexion of these passages is unmistakeable.

mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the LORD hath said, and in the remnant whom the LORD shall call.

The application of the prophet's words is made certain by them.

32. *whosoever shall call on the name of the* LORD *shall be delivered*] Quoted in Rom. x. 13, in the argument for the admission of the Gentiles.

in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance] Those who have, at the last, escaped will be gathered into the new Jerusalem, described in Rev. xxi., prefigured here by the earthly Jerusalem freed from her calamities.

deliverance] **such as shall have escaped.** Cf. Obad. 17.

as the LORD *hath said*] by me His prophet. Joel declares the promise to emanate not from himself, but from God. Those who give a very early date to Obadiah see in the words a reference to Obad. 17. See Introduction to Obadiah.

the remnant whom the LORD *shall call*] This is the first appearance of the doctrine of "the remnant" in Scripture. It is developed by Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, but specially by Isaiah; and it is enforced by St Paul (Rom. ix. 27, xi. 5). In most passages the word is used simply to designate those of the exiles who remain alive to the end, so as to be brought back again from captivity (Isai. xi. 11, 16; Jer. xxxi. 7); the surviving captives being opposed both to those who have died in exile and to the dwellers in Jerusalem. But elsewhere the Israelites are divided into the majority and the remnant, the ungodly and the righteous. And thus "the remnant whom the Lord shall call" is the Old Testament form of the doctrine of the election of grace (Rom. ix. 27, xi. 5); Mount Zion representing the Church of Christ, and the remnant representing the elect gathered within it. In the present passage the meaning is that salvation will be found among the dwellers in Zion and those of the exiles who have been brought back thither safe. St Peter refers to these words of Joel in Acts ii. 39, "For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, as many as the Lord our God shall call," evidently in allusion to the LXX. rendering of Joel. It would seem from this, that St Peter understood by "the remnant" the restored exiles, whom he regards as types of the far-off Gentiles, who are to be brought home by the call of God.

NOTES on CHAP. II. 6, 17, 18, 23.

6. The substantive פארור is derived from פאר (*piel*), "to adorn," and therefore means "brightness," or "colour." It is a distinct word from פרור, "a pot," which is derived either from פרר, "to break in pieces," or from the kindred word פור, "to boil up." Consequently, the etymology suggested by the marginal reading "pot," and the reading in the text, founded upon that etymology, "blackness," must be exchanged for "redness," "brightness," or "colour." The more common acceptation of the verb קבץ is "to collect," or "to gather," but it will bear the meaning of "to gather into itself," that is, "to withdraw:" and this is the meaning that must be given to it in this passage. Gesenius has noticed that, four verses lower down, אסף, "to collect," or "to gather," is similarly used in the sense of "to gather into itself," that is, "to withdraw" (Joel ii. 10, as 1 S. xiv. 19). Accordingly, the force of כל־פנים קבצו פארור is, "all faces are blanched."

17. It has been argued by those who favour the rendering "the heathen should rule over them," (1) that the verb משל cannot be used in the sense of "use a byword or proverb," unless followed by the kindred noun משל. This is disproved by Ezek. xvi. 44, where the words עליך ימשל occur alone. It has been argued (2) that, when followed by ב, it cannot bear the sense of "use a byword or proverb." This is an arbitrary *dictum*, which may be true, if it means that we are not to translate "use a proverb *against*," but is not true, if it means that we may not translate "use a proverb *among*." Compare Ezek. xviii. 3—משל המשל הזה בישראל. Joel's expression למשל־בם should be translated "use a proverb *among* them:" the idea is repeated in the next clause, where the same preposition is used, יאמרו בעמים, "say *among* the peoples," and then follows the proverb itself, which would be used "among them" (the Jews) and "among the peoples" (the Gentile nations), "Where is their God?"

18. The two futures ויקנא, ויחמל, having the *vau* prefixed, would express a past time, if a past tense had preceded, but only if a past tense had preceded. This is not the case here, for the locust-devastation and the observance of the fast-day are, as we hold, things predicted as about to take place, not events related as having occurred. If they had followed a descriptive narration, or (as Keil assumes), some such clause as "Then the people observed the fast" (in the past

tense), they would have expressed past time, but not otherwise.

23. המורה לצדקה has been rendered, (1) "The teacher for righteousness," (2) "The former rain moderately," (3) "The former rain in accordance with righteousness." It has been rendered, "The teacher for, or of, righteousness," by the Chaldee, Jonathan, the Vulgate, the margin of A.V., Jarchi, Abarbanel, St Jerome, Grotius, Hesselberg, Hengstenberg, Keil, Pusey, Wordsworth. המורה has been rendered, "The former rain," by the A.V., Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Tanchum, Calvin, Pococke, Chandler, Rosenmüller, Holzhausen, Credner, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Meier, Umbreit, Schmoller, Wünsche. לצדקה has been rendered, "In right measure" (which is substantially the same as the rendering of the A.V.), by Calvin, Rosenmüller, Holzhausen, Credner, Maurer, Hitzig, Wünsche; "for justification," by Ewald, Meier, Umbreit; "for a blessing," or "for salvation," by Schmoller.

The following is a summary of the grammatical arguments for each of the three renderings of המורה לצדקה.

I. For the first as against the second and third, in respect to the word מורה:

1. The word מורה generally means "teacher," יורה being used for "latter rain."

2. The word expressing "former rain," whether יורה or מורה, is not found elsewhere with the article attached to it, המורה.

II. For the second and the third as against the first, in respect to the same word:

1. In the only other place in which Joel uses the word מורה he confessedly uses it in the sense of "former rain," not in that of "teacher." This creates a probability (greater than the adverse probability founded upon the usage of other writers) that he uses it in the sense of "former rain" here. This probability is strengthened, when we find that it is in the same sentence as that in which the doubtful word occurs, that the same word, מורה, is certainly used in the sense of "former rain." It is probable that מורה the more readily admits of being substituted for יורה, inasmuch as both מורה and יורה are derived from the same root, ירה, "to shoot forth."

2. The article is not required in other passages where "former rain" is spoken of. Here it is at least admissible, and therefore there is no reason why it should not have been used by the author.

3. The clause, "and He will cause to come down for you the rain," is attached to the previous clause, "He hath given you *eth-hammōreh litzĕdâkâh*," by the vau conversive prefixed to the verb in the future tense, ויורד. Consequently the verb expresses, not a future, but the same time as the tense in the previous clause, which is a perfect tense; and the passage ought to be translated, "For He hath given you *hammōreh litzĕdâkâh*, and He *hath caused* to come down for you the rain," &c. The coming down of the rain is by the Hebrew idiom represented as the result of giving *hammōreh litzĕdâkâh*, or, at any rate, as contemporaneous with that act (Keil) or subsequent to it (Pusey). Now if *hammōreh* means "the former rain," no difficulty arises; there is a good reason for naming the autumn rainfall first, and then the general rains (see note ad loc.). But if it mean "the teacher," it must mean a teacher contemporary with, or preceding, the rainfalls. Then who is the teacher? Hofmann holds it to be the prophet Joel himself; Hengstenberg the idealized collective teacher; Keil understands by it Moses, the priests, and the prophets that preceded or were contemporary with Joel, "not excluding a reference to the Messiah:" but he allows that the context and the grammatical construction will not admit of the Messiah (who was future) being directly meant. But if *hammōreh* does not mean the Messiah, the probability that it means "the teacher" at all is greatly diminished.

III. For the first and third as against the second, in respect to the word צדקה:

The ordinary meaning of צדקה is "righteousness," or "justice," or "fairness," *sensu ethico*, not "correctness of measure," *sensu physico*. The translations "for righteousness," and "in accordance with righteousness," retain the ethical sense of צדקה, and are therefore preferable to "moderately."

IV. In respect to the particle ל:

The preposition ל, which is here prefixed to צדקה, means (1) "to," "at," "for," "with a view to," (2) "in reference to," "in accordance with," or (3) it may be translated adverbially by our "-ly." There is therefore no preference to be given to any one of the three renderings, "for righteousness," "moderately," "in accordance with righteousness," on account of this particle.

The conclusion of the grammatical argument is that the balance of probability is in favour (1) of המורה meaning "the former rain," as in the second and third renderings, and (2) of לצדקה meaning "for, or, in accordance with righteousness," as in the first and third renderings. Consequently, "the former rain in accordance with righteousness," is grammatically preferable to either "the teacher for righteousness," or "the former rain moderately."

The argument from the context leads to the same conclusion.

First, as to מורה:

The prophet begins by denouncing two physical woes—locusts and drought: he proceeds to promise, on the people's repentance, "in the first place," the physical removal and reversal of those evils, by the destruction of the locusts and the supply of fertilizing rains; and

finally he shews that these two physical blessings are typical of two future spiritual blessings, to be bestowed "afterwards"—the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the overthrow of the enemies of God's people. The prophet places before us (1) drought, (2) rain, (3) the Holy Spirit; and again, (1) locusts, (2) their destruction, (3) the judgment of the enemies of God's people. There is no place at all for the teacher of righteousness in the same division with the physical rains, and the removal of the locusts.

Next, as to לצדקה:

The visitation of the locusts and drought had been represented as a punishment from God for the sins of the people. The reversal of the visitation is therefore aptly represented as the reward of their repentance, and, like the punishment, in accordance with the righteousness or justice (צדקה) of God. The physical qualification that we should have expected to be applied to the rain is not so much "moderately" as "abundantly."

On all grounds therefore the words את־המורה לצדקה should be translated, "the former rain in accordance with righteousness."

CHAPTER III.

1 *God's judgments against the enemies of his people.* 9 *God will be known in his judgment.* 18 *His blessing upon the church.*

FOR, behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem,

2 I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and *for* my

CHAP. III. 1. *For, behold*] This is the first picture of the coming golden age, as it is drawn for us by a Hebrew prophet. Its details are filled in by almost every subsequent prophet, and they are substantially adopted and confirmed by the authority of our Lord and of His Apostle St John. In this first picture we may note the following features, (1) signs and wonders in the heavens (Joel ii. 30, iii. 15; cf. Isai. xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Rev. vi. 12); (2) the Day of the Lord (Joel ii. 1, 31; cf. Obad. 15; Zeph. i. 15; Zech. xiv.; Mal. iv. 1); (3) the restoration of the Jewish exiles (or what is typified by them) (Joel iii. 1, 7; cf. Amos ix. 14; Isai. xi. 11; Jer. xxxi. 7; Zeph. iii. 20; Acts ii. 39); (4) the judgment, overthrow, and subjection of all their enemies (Joel iii. 2, 8, 12, 19; cf. Dan. vii.; Zech. xiv. 12; Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xix., xx.); (5) Zion the seat of deliverance and salvation (Joel ii. 32, iii. 16, 17, 21; cf. Obad. 17, 21; Zech. xiv. 11); (6) Jehovah's universal reign of triumph and peace in Zion (Joel iii. 16, 17; cf. Zech. xiv. 9; Rev. xi. 15). And these are all the features that are essential. Little more is added by the later prophets. The great day is dwelt upon by Joel with more emphasis than by any of the seers who followed him.

For] The conjunction *for* is used, because the prophet proceeds to explain why he had used the words "remnant" and "such as shall have escaped." An escape will be needed (this is the connecting idea), *for* the wrath of God will be exhibited in the earth.

Judah and Jerusalem] Still there is no mention of the Ten Tribes.

2. *all nations*] More exactly **all the nations** or Gentiles. So in Obad. 15, 16, "all the heathen," *i.e.* all who have wronged Israel.

the valley of Jehoshaphat] In the reign of Jehoshaphat the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites gathered an immense army, "a great multitude," and encamped near Engedi, to the west of the Dead Sea. A great terror fell upon Jerusalem. Jehoshaphat proclaimed a fast, and after his prayer Jahaziel promised that God would fight for Israel. The Israelites marched to the head of one of the valleys leading down to Engedi, in which the allied force was encamped, but before they had reached the battle-field the enemies had turned their arms against themselves; Moab and Ammon attacked and destroyed Edom, and then each other. Jehoshaphat and his army spent three days in spoiling the slain, and on the fourth day they held an assembly in the valley and solemnly named it the valley of Berakah, or Blessing (2 Chro. xx.). This occurrence took place about a hundred years before the time that we have assigned to Joel, and it is not improbable that the imagery which he here uses is derived from the tradition of this great deliverance. "The great multitude" (2 Chro. xx. 2), "the great company" (ib. 12), "multitudes, multitudes" (Joel iii. 14) are again gathered in the valley, for the Lord there to sit in judgment upon them. It is no longer, however, called the valley of Berakah, *i.e.* of Blessing, but the valley of Jehoshaphat, *i.e.* the valley of the judgment of Jehovah. The name is coined by Joel on account of its meaning, and for the purpose of recalling the historical association. There is no place so named either in the valley of the Kidron or elsewhere.

plead] The word in the original is still connected with the name Jehoshaphat. So in

heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land.

3 And they have cast lots for my people; and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.

4 Yea, and what have ye to do with me, O Tyre, and Zidon, and all the coasts of Palestine? will ye render me a recompence? and if ye recompense me, swiftly *and* speedily will I return your recompence upon your own head;

5 Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly †pleasant things:

† Heb. *desirable.*

6 The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto †the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border.

† Heb. *the sons of the Grecians.*

7 Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head:

8 And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off: for the LORD hath spoken *it.*

9 ¶ Proclaim ye this among the

Isai. lxvi. 16, "By fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh;" and in Ezek. xxxviii. 22, "And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood."

parted my land] This cannot be referred to anything that had taken place at the time that Joel wrote, nor was there anything in the age of Uzziah to suggest its probability. It must refer to the Chaldæan and Roman conquests, and to the future oppression of God's people of which those conquests were types.

3. *cast lots*] As was usual for prisoners whom they regarded slightingly, Nah. iii. 10.

a boy...a girl] The Jewish prisoners were held so cheap that a slave-girl was sold by her captor for a draught of wine ("an old song," as we might say) and a slave-boy was given in place of the small coin thrown to a prostitute (Gen. xxxviii. 16; Hos. iii. 2). During the Jewish war Titus took 97,000 prisoners, of whom he publicly sold all that were under 17 years of age. After Hadrian's Jewish war four Jews were sold for a measure of barley at Hebron.

4. *Yea, and what have ye to do with me*] *i.e.* "Why do ye too harass my people?" He passes, in the next four verses, from the future antagonists who should carry his countrymen captive and seize their land, to the enemies who in his own day had plundered them of their goods, and had sold such of them as they caught for slaves.

O Tyre, and Zidon] The crime of the Tyrians and Sidonians consisted in being the receivers of the slaves, whom they bought from the Philistines and sold to the Greeks of Asia Minor.

the coasts of Palestine] The word so rendered may mean the coasts on to which the sea rolls, or the circuits or districts belonging to each of the five chief cities of Philistia or Palestine. The Philistines and Arabians had plundered Jerusalem in the reign of Jehoram, and carried off the king's sons and wives (2 Chro. xxi. 17).

will ye, &c.] Have I done anything for which you should avenge yourselves? No; but if you raise the question of requital, I will avenge myself on you for your deeds.

5. *my silver*, &c.] Mine because my people's, not because it belongs to the temple.

temples] Or palaces.

6. *sold unto the Grecians*] The Tyrians and Sidonians, owing to their maritime character, would naturally come in contact with the Greeks. About 200 years before the time of Joel, the Greeks had colonized Asia Minor, and would there be the ready recipients of Tyre's slaves. We have no Greek historical records of this date to consult; but to sell as slaves those taken in war was the universal practice at this period of the world's history. Ezekiel mentions the trade of the Tyrians with the Greeks (xxvii. 13). Movers gives many instances of early slave-dealing on the part both of Tyrians and of Greeks ('Phönizier,' II. 3, pp. 70, 80; see also Wilkins, 'Phœnicia and Israel,' p. 119, 1871). There is no reason for supposing a town named Javan in Yemen to be meant by Joel.

8. *the Sabeans*] **the Shebans**, *i.e.* the people whose country was situated in Arabia Felix, at the S.W. extremity of Arabia, to the east of the Red Sea; probably descended from Sheba, son of Joktan. The Sabeans, a Cushite tribe, lived on the opposite side of the Red Sea, and therefore in Africa. See notes on Gen. x. 7, 28; Job i. 15; Ps. lxxii. 10; and Clarke's 'Bible Atlas.' As the Tyrians sold Jewish prisoners to the maritime people of the far west, so the Jews should sell Tyrians to the traders of the far east. Philistines may have been sold by Uzziah (2 Chro. xxvi. 6) and by Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 8). We learn

Gentiles; [†] Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up:

10 [a] Beat your plowshares into swords, and your [‖] pruninghooks into spears: let the weak say, I *am* strong.

11 Assemble yourselves, and come, all ye heathen, and gather yourselves together round about: thither [‖] cause thy mighty ones to come down, O LORD.

12 Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about.

13 [b] Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the fats overflow; for their wickedness *is* great.

14 Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of [‖] decision: for the day of the LORD *is* near in the valley of decision.

[†] Heb. *Sanctify.*

[a] Isai. 2. 4.

[‖] Or, *scythes.*

[‖] Or, *the LORD shall bring down.*

[b] Rev. 14. 15.

[‖] Or, *concision, or threshing.*

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from Diod. Sic. (XVII. 46) that more than 13,000 Tyrians were sold into slavery after Alexander's conquest.

9. *Proclaim ye this*] He returns from the parenthetical denunciation of Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia to "the Gentiles" in general, the "all nations" of verse 2, whom He had said that He would gather together. This verse contains their summons to come with their arms in their hands to receive their overthrow. Cf. Zech. xiv. 2, 3, "Behold I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle...then shall the Lord go forth and fight against these nations." Cf. also Ezek. xxxviii. 16. The whole of these two chapters should be read in elucidation of the text.

Prepare] Lit. "sanctify" by sacrifices and religious rites.

10. *plowshares...pruninghooks*] This expression, which afterwards became proverbial, was perhaps suggested to Joel by seeing around him the agricultural activity which was fostered by king Uzziah; "for he had much cattle, both in the low country, and in the plains: husbandmen also, and vinedressers in the mountains, and in Carmel: for he loved husbandry" (2 Chro. xxvi. 10). Joel's cry is addressed to the heathen before the judgment of Jehovah upon them. Isaiah (ii. 4) and Micah (iv. 3) reverse the words when describing the state of the world after the judgment has been passed, and the Lord has assumed His kingdom in Zion. "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Martial's epigram (XIV. 34) on the pruninghook that was made out of a sword illustrates Isaiah and Micah:—

Pax me certa ducis placidos conflavit in usus:
Agricolæ nunc sum; militis ante fui.

Virgil and Ovid illustrate Joel:—

Squalent abductis arva colonis;
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
'Georg.' I. 506.

Sarcula cessabant, versique in pila ligones;
Factaque de rastri pondere cassis erat.
'Fast.' I. 697.

let the weak say, I am strong] No excuse on the ground of infirmity is to be admitted.

11. *Assemble*] Rather, **Hasten.** The word, found only here, is connected with one which means "to hurry."

thy mighty ones] Either the angels, 2 K. vi. 17; Ps. ciii. 20 (Hitzig, Hengstenberg, Pusey, Keil), or the Jewish heroes (Wünsche, Schmoller), or the mighty ones of the heathen that He is about to overthrow, who are still His.

12. *valley of Jehoshaphat*] As in *v.* 2. "The Mohammedans have borrowed from the Jews a tradition, which locates the judgment in the Kidron, or 'valley of Jehoshaphat.' It has its origin in a misinterpretation of Joel iii. 12. But be this as it may, the belief exercises a powerful influence alike on Jews and Mohammedans. The favourite burying-place of the latter is the narrow ledge outside the Haram wall on the brow of the Kidron; and the Jews often travel from the ends of the earth that they may lay their bones in the vast cemetery which covers the opposite bank of the ravine" (Porter, 'Giant Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places,' Lond. 1866, p. 122).

will I sit to judge] Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Matt. xxv. 31; Rev. xx. 4.

13. *the harvest is ripe...the press is full*] Two metaphors applied to the congregated heathen. They stand thick together and ready for destruction in the valley of judgment, as the ripe ears of corn at harvest; awaiting to be trodden under foot, as grapes in the press. Cf. Matt. xiii. 39. In Rev. xiv. 18, the same metaphors are used with a similar application.

get you down] Rather, **tread** (the wine-press).

for their wickedness is great] Probably an allusion to Gen. vi. 5, suggesting that the cause of the first great visitation and of the last is the same.

14. *Multitudes*] *hamonim.* Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 11, "There shall they bury Gog and all his multitudes: and they shall call it the valley of Hamon-gog."

in the valley of decision] Or, "of sharp

15 The [c] sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.

16 The LORD also shall [d] roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the LORD *will be* the [†] hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel.

17 So shall ye know that I *am* the LORD your God dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be [†] holy, and there shall no [e] strangers pass through her any more.

18 ¶ And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* the mountains shall [f] drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall [†] flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the LORD, and shall water the valley of Shittim.

19 Egypt shall be a desolation, and

[c] chap. 2. 31.
[d] Jer. 25. 30. Amos 1. 2.
[†] Heb. *place of repair*, or, *harbour*.
[†] Heb. *holiness*.
[e] Rev. 21. 27.
[f] Amos 9. 13.
[†] Heb. *go*.

judgment" (from a word meaning "to decide," 1 K. xx. 40; Isai. x. 22). It is a name of similar import with the valley of Jehoshaphat. St Jerome, following Aquila and Symmachus, translates "destruction;" Holzhausen and Credner, referring to Isai. xxviii. 27, xli. 15, render it "threshing instrument." Cf. the word Armageddon = mountain of cutting to pieces, Rev. xvi. 16.

16. *shall roar*] As a lion, cf. Hos. v. 14; and His thunder (His voice) shall shew His presence at Jerusalem. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16, "For the Lord Himself shall descend with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God." Amos commences with the same words, "The Lord will roar from Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (i. 2), probably to attach his prophecy as closely as possible to Joel's. See Introduction, § 1.

but the LORD] The remainder of the book describes the reign of Jehovah after the judgment.

17. *there shall no strangers pass through her any more*] So Isai. xxxv. 8; Jer. xxx. 8; Obad. 17. In Zech. xiv. 21 the promise stands thus: "In that day there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the Lord of hosts." It is spiritualized in the book of the Revelation into "And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life," Rev. xxi. 27.

18. *the mountains shall drop down new wine*] The same expression is used by Amos, ix. 13. He therefore begins and ends his prophecy by a citation from Joel.

the hills shall flow with milk] Cf. Ovid, 'Met.' I. 111:—

"Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris, ibant; Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella."

Eurip. 'Bacchæ,' 142:—

Ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον,
Ῥεῖ δ' ἄνῳ, ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσᾶν
Νέκταρι.

a fountain] This characteristic of the reign of peace is found also in Ezek. xlvii., in Zech. xiv. 8, and in Rev. xxii. 1. Ezekiel sees the stream issue from the eastern threshold of the temple and flow down to the Dead Sea, and heal its waters, while by the banks grow all manner of trees for food and medicine. In Zechariah's vision it parts into two branches, flowing into the Dead Sea and into the Mediterranean. The two later prophets therefore preserve the same imagery, and see the stream flowing (in one of its branches, after it had become divided) in the same direction as Joel; for *the valley of Shittim* is, no doubt, the valley of the Acacias, on the borders of Moab, on the other side of Jordan, where the Israelites halted and sinned (Num. xxv.). The stream then is first to fill the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, and then to spread itself even beyond the borders of Judah. It symbolizes the healing and fructifying power which was to emanate from Jerusalem. St John spiritualizes the image still more by making the stream proceed not from the material Jerusalem, but "out of the throne of God and of the Lamb" (Rev. xxii. 1). Thus we see that the stream is the Holy Spirit's grace. The emblem was no doubt originally suggested by the existence of the "gushing fountain under the temple" mentioned by Tacitus ('Hist.' v. 12).

19. *Egypt...Edom*] The desolation of these nations is introduced into the picture in order to serve as a contrast to the peace enjoyed by the servants of Jehovah. The only *violence* recorded in the historical books to which Joel could refer is the invasion of Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 25), and the Edomite war in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chro. xxi. 8). There may be many unrecorded instances (cf. Amos i. 11). The blood that they shed "in their land" must have been that of Jewish prisoners. Egypt and Edom stand here, as often elsewhere, for types and representatives of the various enemies of God's people, some far off and some near. For Edom, see Introduction to Book of Obadiah.

Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence *against* the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land.

20 But Judah shall ‖dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation.

21 For I will cleanse their blood *that* I have not cleansed: ‖for the LORD dwelleth in Zion.

‖ Or, *abide.*

‖ Or, *even I the* LORD *that dwelleth in Zion.*

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20. *shall dwell*] *i.e.* shall be dwelt in, the land being personified, as in Isai. xiii. 20.

21. *I will cleanse their blood that I have not cleansed*] Egypt and Edom had been condemned (*v.* 19) for shedding innocent blood. Jehovah will prove that it was innocent (cleanse it), wherever He has not already proved it, by avenging it. "At the last judgment, wherein the truth in all things shall be made manifest, He shall declare the blood of His people adhering to Him and His truth, which in this world had been shed (and by their enemies thought justly and deservedly as of guilty persons so to have been), to have indeed been innocent, by absolving them from eternal destruction, to which He shall then adjudge their enemies for shedding it" (Pococke ad loc.). "I will not absolve the blood that hath been spilt, nor suffer it to go unpunished" (Chandler ad loc.). Thus it comes to mean, "I will avenge on their enemies the innocent blood of my people which I have not yet avenged;" a stern but not uncharacteristic conclusion of the first Hebrew apocalyptic description of the last things. The thought left with us is that of eternal peace and happiness face to face with eternal desolation and punishment.

AMOS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

1. *His occupation, and home* 520

2. *His call, date, subject and style* . . 521

1. *His occupation, and home.*

THIS prophet's name, though so like that of Isaiah's father (Amoz), is of a totally different origin. According to a probable derivation, it would mean *burden*, or *burdensome*, and would then agree well with the heavy tidings with which he was charged, concerning Israel, Judah, and the neighbouring nations. Like six of the minor prophets, he does not mention his father's name; but he gives us some interesting details about himself, his home and manner of life, as well as the way in which he was called to exercise the office of a prophet of the Lord.

At the opening of his prophecy he says that he *was among the herdmen of Tekoa.* In his answer to Amaziah the priest of Bethel (vii. 14), he states that he was *a herdman.* It is not, as in the A. V., the same word that is used in each case. In the latter passage the word (bokēr) properly designates one who has the care of oxen and cows; yet may be applied to a shepherd. And with this agrees the term employed in the former place. It is not the common word used for a shepherd, but one that marks the peculiar breed of sheep or goats that he tended. Amongst the Arabs this still bears the name of *nakad*, and their keeper is styled *nakkâd*, as Amos here speaks of himself as *nokēd.* It was unsightly and small, but was highly prized for the softness of its wool or hair. The word used by the prophet to designate his employment means one who owned such cattle as well as kept them. In the former sense it is used in the only other place in the O. T. where it is found (2 K. iii. 4). "Mesha king of Moab was *a sheep-master.*" Amos then may have been the possessor of the flock that was under his care. Yet as he describes himself (i. 1) as "among the herdmen of Tekoa," it would not appear that he was wealthy. And his condition in life is further indicated when he says (vii. 14) that he was *a gatherer* (or rather *cultivator*) *of sycomore fruit.* Such an occupation belongs to one in an humble class, and may perhaps indicate that he worked for hire. "Only the very poor, at this day, gather sycamore fruit or use it." (Thomson's 'The Land and the Book,' p. 23.)

Tekoa is generally believed to have been his birth-place, though Amos does not expressly say this. He speaks of himself as *among the herdmen of Tekoa.* In the same way Jonah is described (2 K. xiv. 25) as *of Gath-hepher*, and Jeremiah (i. 1) describes himself as *of the priests that were in Anathoth.* Tekoa can hardly have been a place of importance in early times, for it is not mentioned in that part of Joshua which has been well called the "Domesday Book of Israel." Its name may signify *a place where tents are pitched*, and agrees well with the nature of the soil in the neighbourhood, which is suited chiefly for pasture. The city was one of those *built for defence* in Judah by Rehoboam, as we read in 2 Chro. xi. 5, 6. It was situated on an eminence six miles south of Bethlehem, through which the road to it from Jerusalem lay, and gave its name to the wilderness frequented by the shepherds (2 Chro. xx. 20). Jerome, who lived at Bethlehem, thus describes it in his prologue to Amos: "Beyond it there is no village, not even rude cottages or huts. Such is the vast wilderness which stretches

to the Red Sea and the borders of the Persians, Æthiopians, and Indians. And because no grain at all is grown on this dry and sandy soil, it is all full of shepherds, that they may make amends for the barrenness of the land, by the multitude of flocks." The place retains its ancient name, but slightly altered, *Tekua*. "It lies," says Robinson (II. p. 182), "on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad on the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres." "Its high position gives it a wide prospect. Toward the north-east the land slopes down towards the Wady Khureitun; on the other sides the hill is surrounded by a belt of level table-land; beyond which are vallies, and then other higher hills. This belt is tilled to a considerable extent, and there were now several fields of grain upon it. On the south, at some distance, another deep valley runs off south-east towards the Dead Sea. The view in this direction is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab, with frequent bursts of the Dead Sea, seen through openings among the rugged and desolate intervening mountains." "The whole country," writes Thomson ('The Land and the Book,' p. 606), "is now deserted, except by the Arabs, who pasture their flocks on those barren hills."

2. *His call, date, subject and style.*

It was from such a country, and from such occupations, that Amos was called to be a prophet of the Lord. He tells us this plainly in recording his words to *Amaziah the priest of Beth-el. I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son* (vii. 14). He had not been trained by human teachers for the task assigned to him. He had not been reared in any school of the prophets. "The Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel." He who *took David from the sheepfolds* of the same region—who *brought him from following the ewes great with young to feed Jacob His people, and Israel His inheritance*, now chose the shepherd and sycamore gatherer of Tekoa to denounce His judgments against the neighbouring nations, to threaten Judah, and foretell the approaching doom of idolatrous and profligate Israel.

In the reign of Jeroboam I. *a man of God came out of Judah by the word of the Lord unto Beth-el* (1 K. xiii. 1), confronted the king at his altar, and foretold its desecration by a prince yet unborn. In the same sudden manner, we may suppose, did Amos appear within the dominions of Jeroboam II., rebuking the sins of monarch, princes, priests and people, within the precincts of the court and sanctuary at Bethel (vii. 13). The journey was but a short one. For Bethel was about the same distance to the north of Jerusalem that Tekoa was to the south, and in a single day the shepherd of the wilderness might traverse the 24 miles that separated him from the chief scene of his mission. He says that his prophetic vision was granted to him *in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake*. His words indicate the time when those two kings were contemporary, *i.e.* from B.C. 809—784. His mention (vi. 14) of *the entering in of Hemath* as the northern border of Israel, implies that he prophesied after its recovery by Jeroboam (2 K. xiv. 28). Besides this, there does not appear to be any limitation of time. The kingdom of Israel was prosperous and secure, and the sins that are rebuked are such as agree with a season of peace and plenty—idolatry, debauchery, oppression of the poor, bribery, extortion, covetousness and fraud. During what period Amos uttered his warnings cannot be determined. But it would appear that he must have raised his voice in more than one place, and at several times, for thus we can more easily explain the words of Amaziah: *Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words.*

There is a tradition that Amos suffered death at the hands of his countrymen for the boldness of his denunciations, but it has not the support of early authorities. Jerome merely says that the prophet's tomb was, in his days, still pointed out in Tekoa.

As Amos follows Joel in our Bible, so he takes up the subject of his prophecy, and as if to link their words together he begins by using a phrase of his predecessor's. Joel had predicted the judgments to be inflicted on Tyre, Zidon,

Philistia and Egypt, for their violence towards Judah. Amos does not mention Egypt, but adds Damascus, Ammon, Moab, and Judah herself.

There is a remarkable unity about the prophecy. The judgments of God are denounced, first, against the neighbouring nations. The thunderstorm (to borrow the illustration of Umbreit) rolls successively over Syria, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. Judah does not escape. But it bursts with all its force on Israel (i.—ii. 6). Israel is the main subject. The people are rebuked for their manifold sins (ii. 6—vi. 14). Then follows a series of visions, or prophetical symbols, which are described and interpreted (vii. 1—ix. 7). The latest utterance of the prophet is not one of woe. The overthrow of Israel is certain. But the house of Jacob is not to be utterly destroyed. There was a day coming in which *the fallen tabernacle of David* should be reared up again, and the people of Israel should enjoy blessings far higher and more enduring than had been theirs in their earlier history.

From the days of Jerome downwards the force, beauty, and freshness of the images freely employed by Amos have been pointed out. They are almost all drawn from those aspects of nature with which his place of abode and manner of life rendered him most familiar. His addresses to his countrymen shew great oratorical power. He exhibits the hideousness of vice by graphic details. He is no unlettered peasant, but a man of great natural powers of thought, of observation and expression—all subordinated to the will of Him who called him to his office and fitted him for his work. Throughout he speaks not as of himself, but as uttering the words of Him Who had been pleased to *reveal His secret to His servant* (iii. 7). Bp Lowth well describes the peculiarities of the prophet's style and manner, when he says: Æquus judex, de re non de homine quæsiturus, censebit, credo, pastorem nostrum *μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν ὑπερλίαν προφητῶν*, ut sensuum elatione et magnificentia spiritus prope summis parem, ita etiam dictionis splendore et compositionis elegantia vix quoquam inferiorem.

The form of strophes into which he has thrown his predictions against the seven nations, and the repetition of that phrase which marks the aggravation of their offences, invest his words with great solemnity. In other places, too, certain words often recur. Such are those with which chaps. iii. iv. and v. open: *Hear this word;* the emphatic *therefore* of iii. 11, iv. 12, v. 11, 16; the tender expostulation, *yet have ye not returned unto me* (iv. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11).

It must also be noticed that Amos abounds in terms, idioms, and ritual allusions which prove great familiarity with the Books of Moses, and imply it on the part of those whom he addressed. And as he has employed in his writings the words that are found in the earlier books, so later prophets have incorporated several of his expressions in their works. These points of resemblance are noticed in the passages where they occur[1].

[1] The following are instances: Cf. ii. 10 with Deut. xxix. 5; iv. 6, 8, 9, 10 with Deut. iv. 30, xxx. 2; iv. 9 with Deut. xxviii. 22; iv. 11 with Deut. xxix. 23; v. 11 with Deut. xxviii. 30, 39; v. 12 with Num. xxxv. 31. In i. 2 Joel iii. 16 is cited; in ix. 13 Joel iii. 18. i. 4 is referred to in Jer. xlix. 27; i. 13 in Jer. xlix. 3; v. 1 in Ezek. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 12, xxxii. 2; iv. 9 in Hag. ii. 7.

For the expressions that occur in Hosea and Amos, see Introduction to Hosea, at the end.

AMOS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Amos sheweth God's judgment upon Syria, 6 upon the Philistines, 9 upon Tyrus, 11 upon Edom, 13 upon Ammon.*

THE words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the [a] earthquake.

[a] Zech 14.

2 And he said, The LORD will [b] roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the habitations of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither.

[b] Jer. 25. 30. Joel 3. 16.

3 Thus saith the LORD; For three [‖] transgressions of Damascus, [‖] and for

[‖] Or, *yea, for four.*

CHAP. I. 1. *The words of Amos*] The prophets do not all use the same formula as the preface of their message. Frequently it is *The word of the* LORD *came*. The opening of Jeremiah is exactly the same as we find here—*The words of Jeremiah*. In each case the context shews that *the words* of the prophet were not his own, strictly speaking, but had a divine origin. Here Amos says that he *saw* these *words*, and the verb which he uses is limited to prophetic vision. What he utters, therefore, was not revealed to him by *flesh and blood*, but by the God of Israel. In describing himself as one *among the shepherds of Tekoa*, he does not employ the common term to describe his occupation, but one of rare occurrence, expressive of the breed of sheep under his care. On this and the situation of *Tekoa* see the Introduction.

The *Jeroboam* here mentioned was the second of that name—the great-grandson of Jehu. At his accession he found his kingdom weakened and stripped of some of its possessions. In the course of his long reign of forty-one years he recovered what had been lost, and restored the prosperity of his country. The writer of the Book of Kings (2 K. xiv. 27) says, *The Lord said not that He would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but He saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash*. And when their prosperity did not bring them back to God, Amos was sent to foretell that ruin which the long-suffering of Jehovah had for a season averted. The warning voice of the prophet was raised *two years before the earthquake*. In the historical books we find no notice of this, but the consternation it produced may be inferred from the language of Zechariah (xiv. 5) several centuries later: *ye shall flee, as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah*.

2. *The* LORD *will roar*] Amos here repeats the words of Joel (iii. 16), and thus links his own prophecy with his. It has been observed by a recent writer (Wilton's 'Negeb,' p. 42) that the incidental allusions in the Old Testament to the *lion* generally connect it with the Negeb, the southern border of Palestine; and he gives a calculation shewing that the references to a lion in Amos, "the prophet of the Negeb," are, proportionally, far more numerous than those of any of the other prophets (ib. p. 45, note). At the sound of that voice all nature withers. The prophet seems to trace its effects from the south, where his own home lay, *the habitations of shepherds*, to the headland of *Carmel* on the north. This is the *Carmel* spoken of, as shewn by the mention of its *top*. The same expression occurs in a later chapter (ix. 3). Its name is expressive of the richness of its soil and its fitness for the vine and olive. Rising 1200 feet above the sea, its bold front forms the south end of the Bay of Acre. From the abundance of its dews it is still green and flowery, even in midsummer. Its flowers are numerous and various. Amid all its neglect it still retains its old character—it is a wilderness of luxuriant vegetation.

3. *Damascus*] The first mention of this very ancient city as the seat of a kingdom is in the reign of Solomon. From 1 K. xi. 23—25 it may be gathered, that during the reign of David, *Rezon*, a subject, and probably a general, of *Hadadezer king of Zobah*, threw off his allegiance, and, gathering around him a band of men, succeeded in making himself master of Damascus. This city became subsequently the capital of Syria. Rezon was the adversary of Solomon throughout his reign. Of his successors seven are named in Scripture. We find them always at war with the neighbouring kingdom of Israel.

For three transgressions...and for four] This is not to be understood as *four transgressions*

four, I will not ‖turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron:

‖ Or, *convert it*, or, *let it be quiet*: and so ver. 6, &c.

4 But I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad.

5 I will break also the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitant from ‖the plain of Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from ‖the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD.

‖ Or, *Bikath-aven*.

‖ Or, *Beth-eden*.

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added to *three* that had gone before, but of a fourth transgression that, as it were, filled up the measure of iniquity of three others. This meaning is conveyed by the marginal rendering, *yea, for four*. The phrase is a favourite one with the prophet. It occurs eight times in the prediction of the evil that was to befall the guilty nations. We meet with this form of expression in the book of Job (v. 19): *He shall deliver thee in six troubles: yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee.* Again, of the ways in which God calls men to repentance (xxxiii. 29): *All these things worketh God, oftentimes* (in the margin, lit., *twice and thrice*) *with man.* In the one case, it is the severest trouble of all from which deliverance is promised; in the other, it is some crowning act of mercy that is referred to. So in the sayings in Prov. xxx., of the four things mentioned, the fourth has some pre-eminence. Similar is the use of numbers in Eccles. xi. 2; Prov. vi. 16—19.

I will not turn away the punishment thereof] Lit. *I will not turn it back*, or *reverse it*, as the same word is rendered in Num. xxiii. 20. Clearly it is the sentence of condemnation that should not be reversed. But the compression of the prophet's language makes it more solemn and emphatic. In Isai. xliii. 13 the same verb is used of undoing, or reversing, what is done by God: *I will work, and who shall let it?* See the margin: *who shall turn it back?*

because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron] The agricultural implement here spoken of is described by Jerome as "a sort of wain, that moves on iron wheels set with teeth, so that it threshes out the corn, and breaks the straw in pieces."

The cruelties practised by the Syrians are noticed in 2 K. x. 32, 33: *Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.* This was in Jehu's reign. In that of his son, *the king of Assyria oppressed them... and had made them like the dust by threshing.* In this savage way had Hazael carried on war in this lovely land, and thus fulfilled the prediction of Elisha respecting him (2 K. viii. 12). *Gilead* here includes all the country occupied by the Israelites on the eastern side of Jordan.

4. *The fire* here threatened, as in the other predictions, may include more than the devouring flame itself. It is used elsewhere as a symbol of all the severities of war, as in the ancient saying: *a fire is gone out from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon;* it hath *consumed Ar of Moab, the lords of the high-places of Arnon* (Num. xxi. 28), and an emblem of God's wrath, as in Deut. xxxii. 22: *a fire is kindled in Mine anger, and it shall burn unto the lowest hell.* By *the house of Hazael* may be meant his family, no less than his dwelling. It had been founded in blood, for Hazael had murdered his master, Benhadad II. (2 K. viii. 15). His son and successor bore the name of Benhadad. Hadad, supposed to have been a title of the Sun, was the chief god worshipped by the Syrians, and is found in other names, as Hadadezer. *Benhadad* means *a son, i.e.* a *worshipper, of Hadad.*

5. *the bar*] of brass (1 K. iv. 13), or iron (Ps. cvii. 16), which secured the strong gate of a city. To *break* this was to lay open the city to the enemy.

the plain of Aven] Or, as it is in the margin, *Bikath-aven.* The first part of this compound name signifies a *cleft*, and so, a valley between mountains. Almost the same word, El-bukāa, is still used by the Arabs to designate the country between Libanus and Antilibanus, which was known by the Greeks under a name of similar meaning, Cœle-Syria, or *Hollow Syria.* Amos probably called it the *Valley of Vanity*, or *iniquity*, in allusion to the idolatrous worship that disgraced that region. So Hosea (iv. 15, x. 5) speaks of Beth-el (*house of God*) as Beth-aven (*house of vanity*), because it was the seat of the calf-worship. In Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7 the same word (Bikah) is used for the "*valley* of Lebanon." And the names Baal Gad (ibid.) and Baal Hermon (Judg. iii. 3) point to the worship of Baal or the Sun in early times. In the middle of this valley, on its highest part, stood Heliopolis, *the city of the Sun*, which is said by ancient writers (Lucian, 'de Syr. D.' § 5; Macrobius, 'Sat.' I. 23) to have derived both its name and worship from the Egyptian Heliopolis. Its other name, Baalbek, is of doubtful origin. See Robinson's 'Later Researches,' p. 524.

him that holdeth the sceptre] may describe the king himself, or a subordinate prince. Benhadad is said (1 K. xx. 1) to have brought into the field *thirty and two kings.*

the house of Eden] Or, as a proper name, *Beth-eden.* It means *the house of delight.*

6 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of [c] Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they [‖] carried away captive the whole captivity, to deliver *them* up to Edom:

7 But I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof:

8 And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon, and I will turn mine hand against Ekron: and the remnant of the

[c] 2 Chron. 28. 18.

‖ Or, *carried them away with an entire captivity.*

In the Hebrew there is a slight difference of pronunciation, distinguishing it from the home of our first parents. In that beautiful country there is no lack of places which might fitly be called by this name. But the spot intended by the prophet has not been identified with certainty. Three places have been proposed: (1) a village near Beshirrai, on the road from Tripolis, with a delicious climate, well watered, and very fertile. It still bears the name of Ehden, but similar as the name seems in English letters, the spelling is different in Arabic; and Robinson ('Later Researches,' p. 587, note) considers this a fatal objection. (2) a place that bears a name of the same meaning in Arabic, Beit-el-janne (or *House of Paradise*), situated "about eight and a half hours from Damascus on the way from Banias" (Porter's 'Five Years,' I. p. 313). (3) the Paradisus of the Greeks, one of three towns in Laodicene. But it has not now those natural features that agree with the name used by Amos; and seems rather suited for that which its Greek name properly means, *a park for hunting.*

the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir] In Isaiah (vii. 8) Damascus is spoken of as *the head of Syria, i.e. Aram;* and the use of the name *Syria* alone, after the time of Hazael, in place of the names Aram Zobah, Aram Maachah, &c., intimates that the small kingdoms of earlier times had been united under the sway of the kings who ruled in Damascus. In a later part of his prophecy (ix. 7) Amos speaks of the Syrians as having been brought by God from *Kir*. *Kir* then had been the home of their ancestors, who had migrated in search of sunnier lands and found them. The people having long dwelt in a country often spoken of as an earthly paradise, were to be carried captive back to the same northern clime from which the race had come. The prediction was fulfilled about fifty years afterwards when (as we read in 2 K. xvi. 9) *the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin. Kir* has been supposed to be connected with the river Kur, to the north of Armenia, which flows into the Araxes not far from the Caspian Sea. Other places less well known have been identified with it, but with less probability. It has been objected that Armenia is nowhere in Scripture said to be included in the Assyrian empire, and it may seem to be implied in the flight of Sennacherib's parricide sons thither, that Armenia lay beyond his authority. But in the cuneiform inscriptions the country south of the Kur is often named as invaded and conquered by Assyrian kings. See Rawlinson's 'Herod.' I. p. 460.

The verb translated *shall go into captivity* is very expressive. It means far more than the removal of some captives of war. This is expressed by another word. The prophet's word has the meaning of *stripping, baring, uncovering;* and expresses the transportation of the bulk of the population to another land, while their own was deserted. It is worthy of remark that it is of rare occurrence in earlier books of the Bible, while it is found frequently in Amos, as well as in contemporary and later writers. This of itself would indicate that the practice expressed by it was of recent date. And we have no evidence that a custom, which belonged to the policy of the East in subsequent times, prevailed among the Assyrians in the days of Amos. Such a wholesale captivity he foretells only in the case of the Syrians and the ten tribes.

6. *Gaza*] For Gaza and Ashdod, see note on Josh. xiii. 3.

The Philistines *carried away captive the whole captivity;* they spared none, neither young nor old, neither woman nor child; they tore all from their homes, and then, as an aggravation of their cruelty, gave them over into the hands of their implacable enemy *Edom*. Mention is made of such an invasion of the Philistines in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chro. xxi. 16, 17). Joel (iii. 6) had foretold the punishment of the same sin. Gaza was at this time strong and flourishing, yet the prophet declares that its *wall*, its pride and strength, should be destroyed; and so it came to pass. Jeremiah (xlvii. 1) says that he delivered his prophecies against the Philistines *before that Pharaoh smote Gaza.*

8. By *him that holdeth the sceptre* is meant the king or *lord* of the place, as he is called in our Bible. The Hebrew name given to these rulers of the five combined cities is *Seren*, or *axle*. See note on Josh. xiii. 3.

Ekron may mean *firmly rooted*. Alluding to its derivation, Zephaniah predicts (ii. 4) that *Ekron shall be rooted up.*

the remnant of the Philistines] Of the five

Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord GOD.

9 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not †the brotherly covenant:

† Heb. *the covenant of brethren.*

10 But I will send a fire on the wall of Tyrus, which shall devour the palaces thereof.

11 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and †did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever:

† Heb. *corrupted his compassions.*

12 But I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.

13 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, and for four, I will not turn

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cities of the Philistines Gath alone is not named, and hence some have supposed that *the remnant* is to be taken as including this city as well as others of less note. The general usage of the expression, however, shews that it is to be understood of those who are left after a first destruction. The ruin of Gath is referred to afterwards (vi. 2). It would seem not to have recovered from its overthrow by Uzziah (2 Chro. xxvi. 6).

9, 10. The transgression of Tyre was the same as that of Philistia, but far more heinous, because it involved the violation of a *brotherly covenant*. The reference is to the friendship of Tyre and Israel in the time of David and Solomon. *Hiram was ever a lover of David* (1 K. v. 1), and *Hiram and Solomon made a league together* (ib. 12), and Hiram called Solomon his *brother* (1 K. ix. 13). The word used for *league* is the same as that rendered *covenant* here, and signifies a solemnly ratified treaty. Its conditions are not specified, but as it was subsequent to the arrangement for the exchange of cedars and corn, they must have related to other matters.

In the days of Amos Tyre was tributary to Assyria, as it had been for about 150 years. The fire here predicted fell upon it, when it was taken after a thirteen years' siege by Nebuchadnezzar. See note on Ezek. xxvi. 4.

11. *brother*] Israel had been taught from the first to regard Edom as a *brother*. It is thus that Moses addressed them (Num. xx. 14), *Thus saith Israel thy brother*. And after Edom refused to let Israel pass through his land, Moses still uses the same language. *And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau* (Deut. ii. 8). Mount Seir was given by God to Edom, as much as Canaan to Israel (Deut. ii. 3, 4). Therefore Israel must not attack, nor attempt to dispossess Edom. This forbearance was not requited. From the days of Saul the Edomites were ever ready to attack Israel. Whenever Edom saw his brother weak he assailed him, he *pursued him with the sword*. We have instances enough of their aggressive warfare recorded in the historical books; but the prophet's words imply many more. The language of Jehoshaphat's prayer shews what had been the temper of Edom and Israel respectively. *The children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom Thou wouldest not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned from them, and destroyed them not; behold, they reward us, to come to cast us out of Thy possession, which Thou hast given us to inherit* (2 Chro. xx. 10, 11). Edom's sin and punishment are the burden of Obadiah's prophecy. *He cast off all pity*, literally, as in the margin, *he corrupted his compassions*; he did violence to the feelings of the heart; he deadened the yearnings of pity. Like some ravenous beast, he was ever ready *to tear* and devour. His wrath knew no check, was never satisfied. His malice was insatiable.

12. *Teman* is a district of Idumæa, towards the south, deriving its name from Teman, son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11).

Bozrah (*a fortified place*) is mentioned as early as Gen. xxxvi. 33. This place was clearly in Idumæa, and must not be confounded with Bostra of Auranitis. From the meaning of the name, it was given to several places. Selah, or Petra, is not mentioned by Amos, since Amaziah *took it by war, and called the name Joktheel* (2 K. xiv. 9). *Bozrah* may have been the city next in importance.

13. *children of Ammon*] The Ammonites and Moabites were contiguous and kindred nations, whose character for licentiousness and cruelty too well agrees with their shameful origin (Gen. xix. 30, &c.). The former worshipped Molech or Milchom. The latter's chief idol besides Chemosh was Baal-Peor, representing as it would seem the reproductive power of nature, who was worshipped with licentious rites. Though *an Ammonite or Moabite might not enter into the congregation of the Lord*, because they refused to help Israel, and hired Balaam against them (Deut.

away *the punishment* thereof; because they have ‖ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border:

‖ Or, *divided the mountains.*

14 But I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day of battle, with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind:

15 And their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith the LORD.

CHAPTER II.

1 *God's wrath against Moab, 4 upon Judah, 6 and upon Israel. 9 God complaineth of their unthankfulness.*

THUS saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because he [a]burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime:

[a] 2 Kin. 3. 27.

2 But I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth: and Moab shall die with

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xxiii. 3, 4), these children of Lot might not be dispossessed of the land assigned them by God (Deut. ii. 9, 19). Having repelled the Zamzummim and Emim they occupied the country between the Jabbok and the Arnon. For their history, see notes on Deut. and on Judg. xi.

they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead] No mention is made elsewhere of this barbarity on the part of the Ammonites. But it is in accordance with other proofs of the ferocity of their temper. Such was the proposal to the men of Jabesh Gilead by Nahash, that *I may thrust out all your right eyes, and lay it for a reproach upon all Israel* (1 S. xi. 2). And as the Ammonites had been in league with the Syrians in David's reign (2 S. x. 6), it is not improbable that they may have joined Hazael in his atrocious cruelty towards the Gileadites (2 K. viii. 12, as to *Gilead* see 2 K. x. 32). And, to crown their wickedness, this was done not from the violence of passion, but with a sordid motive, *that they might enlarge their border*, that those who could not resist the invader might not grow up to call them to account.

14. *Rabbah*] That is, *the great*, the capital of Ammon. The full name is *Rabbah of the children of Ammon* (Deut. iii. 11).

I will kindle a fire] Not, as elsewhere, *I will send a fire*, perhaps to intimate that it should begin from within. The *shouting* is the cry of the victorious enemy (cf. Josh. vi. 20). The *tempest* is usually employed of the violent motion of the sea (as in Jonah i. 11, 13); the *whirlwind* (Job xxxvii. 9), the violent eddying wind, that *sweeps* everything before it. The imagery drawn from sea and land at once points to the irresistible violence of the foe.

15. *their king*] The Hebrew for this is *Malcham*, which is used by Jeremiah (xlix. 3, see note) as another title for Molech or Malchom, when quoting this passage of Amos. It is therefore a question whether the word here is to be understood of the *king* or the idol. In the places of Jeremiah, relating both to Moab (xlviii. 7) and Ammon (xlix. 3), *priests* are mentioned as well as *princes*. The omission of *priests* by Amos makes it likely that the English Bible is correct. At the same time this form may have been used in the original language so as to contain an allusion to Milcom. Zephaniah too (i. 5, see note) mentions those *that swear by Malcham*. *Ammon* appears to have been an hereditary monarchy (2 S. x. 1); and in the same place we find that it was *the princes* who induced the king to insult the envoys of David. King and princes should go into captivity, and thus the power of the people be weakened.

CHAP. II. 1. *burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime*] Scripture is silent elsewhere about this deed. Something very like it is recorded in an obscure passage (2 K. iii. 26, 27), which some have taken to mean that the king of Moab endeavoured to cut his way to the king of Edom, and, failing in this, captured his eldest son, and offered him as a burnt-offering on the wall; but see note on 2 K. Jerome states that the Jews had a tradition that *the bones* here mentioned were those of the king of Edom who had been in league with Jehoram and Jehoshaphat against Moab (2 K. iii. 9). Moab wreaked his vengeance on the remains of the dead, and by this act of irreverence and impotent malice drew down the wrath of God.

2. *Kirioth*] Lit. *the cities*; a name given to some large city of Moab, it may be, from its size, consisting of several quarters or *cities*. In Jeremiah (xlviii. 24, 41) Kerioth is mentioned among the cities of Moab.

tumult] In the Hebrew the word used recalls the prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17): *shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of tumult* (where the A. V. has *Sheth*, regarded, less correctly, as a proper name, see note). Jeremiah (xlviii. 45), using the same word as Amos, and combining the expressions of both prophecies, says, *A flame shall devour the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the children of tumult* (A. V. *tumultuous ones*, but in the margin, *children of noise*).

tumult, with shouting, *and* with the sound of the trumpet:

3 And I will cut off the judge from the midst thereof, and will slay all the princes thereof with him, saith the LORD.

4 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they have despised the law of the LORD, and have not kept his commandments, and their lies caused them to err, after the which their fathers have walked:

5 But I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem.

6 ¶ Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because [b] they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; [b] chap. 8. 6.

7 That pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek: and a man and his father will go in unto the *same* [1] maid, to profane my holy name: [1] Or, *young woman.*

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3. *judge*] In Hebrew, *shophet*, the title of the chief magistrate not invested with kingly authority. Such were the judges of Israel. Such too were the *suffetes* of Carthage, who resembled the Roman consuls. The use of the word here indicates that there was no king of Moab at the time; and the same thing is intimated by *princes thereof, i.e.* of the land, not as before in the case of Ammon (i. 15), *his* (*i.e.* the king's) *princes*.

4. *Judah*] The other nations had *sinned without law*; they had violated the dictates of conscience. Edom had been pitiless, Moab impious towards the dead. But Judah knew God, as the Lord, a covenant God. They had His written *law*, the revelation of His will, and despised it. In the *law* and *commandments* of God they possessed the truth. They forsook this for *lies*, idols, images of false gods, and this from very early times. *Their fathers had walked after*—had worshipped these. They preferred Baal-peor, and Baalim and Ashtaroth, to the true God that brought them out of Egypt, Who daily fed, guarded and guided them. The *lies* that they loved deceived them, and their descendants were led astray by their example.

5. *I will send a fire*] This prediction was literally fulfilled. See 2 K. xxv. 9. It is repeated by Jeremiah, xvii. 27.

6. *Israel*] The prophet having threatened the neighbouring nations and Judah for their sins, now addresses the kingdom of *Israel*, and dilates upon their transgressions. Four kinds are enumerated: (1) injustice, (2) hardness of heart towards the poor, (3) incest, (4) luxury combined with idolatry.

they sold the righteous for silver, &c.] The same expressions are repeated in another chapter (viii. 6): *that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes*. In each case a literal selling of the debtor by the creditor may be meant, not the perversion of justice by means of bribes. A poor Hebrew might sell himself, but his master must not treat him as a bondsman, but as a hired servant, through fear of God, Whose servants both alike were (see Lev. xxv. 39—43). But the law did not authorize the sale of a debtor by his creditor. *The righteous* represents one who was insolvent through no fault of his own. *For silver*, the price paid. The phrase *for a pair of shoes* has not the same preposition. It means *for the sake of, i.e.* to procure. The *shoes* are sandals, consisting of a sole of wood or leather fastened to the foot by straps. Those worn by women were sometimes made of finer materials (Song of Sol. vii. 1; Ezek. xvi. 10). The poor man then was sold to get an article either of slight value or mere luxury.

7. *That pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor*] More literally, *those that pant, the panters*. This obscure expression has been interpreted in several ways. Among them the most probable and simple are, (1) That they express the eager desire of the rich to see the head of the poor laid low and rolled in the dust. (2) That they rebuke that greediness after land which, in the prophet's sarcastic language, made men covet the very dust which the oppressed sprinkled on his head in token of mourning (Neh. ix. 1; Lam. ii. 10).

turn aside the way of the meek] Solomon, employing the same verb, speaks of *perverting the ways of judgment* (Prov. xvii. 23). The phrase to *pervert judgment* is common. That in the text may have a wider meaning, conveyed by the substitution of *way* for *judgment*. It may include alike all that is done by corruption or chicanery to defraud the meek, and all endeavours to thwart and defeat his plans and purposes. The sufferer is described by three words, *poor* or *needy*, as to his means; *poor*, lit. *depressed*, as to his condition; and *meek* in temper.

8 And they lay *themselves* down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar, and they drink the wine of [1] the condemned *in* the house of their god.

9 ¶ Yet destroyed I the [c] Amorite before them, whose height *was* like the height of the cedars, and he *was* strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath.

10 Also [d] I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty

[1] Or, *such as have fined*, or, *mulcted*.
[c] Numb. 21. 24. Deut. 2. 31. Josh. 24. 8.
[d] Exod. 12. 51.

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the same maid] There is no express prohibition in the Law of an offence from which natural modesty recoils. *That one should have his father's wife is such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles*, writes St Paul (1 Cor. v. 1.). The context makes it likely that this impurity was connected with idolatrous worship (cf. Hos. iv. 14).

to profane my holy name] Neither weakness nor passion could be pleaded in extenuation of such a sin. It was an open, flagrant, deliberate offence against Him Who said, *Neither shall ye profane My holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel* (Lev. xxii. 32).

8. *they lay themselves down*, &c.] The *clothes* here spoken of are the large outer garment worn over the closer inner one, which served also for a covering at night. In the law it is expressly commanded: *If the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: in any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment* (Deut. xxiv. 12, 13). Here the *pledged* garments are regarded as the property of the creditors, who *reclined* at their ease upon them, and that *by every altar*, beside those many altars reared in honour of idols.

the condemned] More exactly rendered in the margin, *the fined*, or *mulcted*. The fine imposed, unfairly as it would seem from the context, was expended in the purchase of wine that they drank *in the house of their god*. Thus extortion, self-indulgence, and hard-heartedness were combined under a shew of religion.

their god] Not the God of the prophet, not the God of Israel.

9. *Yet destroyed I the Amorite*] The Hebrew is simpler and more emphatic, for the pronoun, which is not required in that language, is inserted. Such was the worship of *their god*. *And I—I destroyed the Amorite*. This is the preface to an enumeration of the signal favours conferred upon Israel, requited by the transgressions just mentioned. The *Amorite*, as being the most powerful of the Canaanite nations, stood for all. So in the next verse Canaan is called *the land of the Amorite*. Thus in Egyptian inscriptions of early date. In the narrowest sense the name belongs to the dwellers on the mountainous country west of the Dead Sea, as far as Ephraim to the north and Edom to the south. Thence they crossed the Jordan and drove out the Ammonites and Moabites.

The spies who had been sent to search the land of Canaan said, *All the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature* (Num. xiii. 32), and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement. In the same place they add, *And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak*. In a previous verse (22) Moses, recording their route, gives the names of some of these as living in Hebron, *i.e.* in the country of the Amorites. In the same region, near Jerusalem, we meet with the *valley of Rephaim* (2 S. v. 18), called also *the valley of the giants* (Josh. xv. 8). The *Rephaims* are spoken of as living in the *wood country of Ephraim* (Josh. xvii. 15). Og, too, the king of the Amorites in Basan, is said to have been of *the remnant of the giants* or *Rephaim* (Deut. iii. 11). The natural stature of the Amorites may have been increased by intermarriages with the giant race.

Two emblems are used to represent the majestic bearing of the Amorite, as well as his strength—the *cedar* and the *oak*. The name for the latter in Hebrew is expressive of strength. The prophet Ezekiel (xxxi.) represents the glory of Assyria under imagery supplied by *the cedar*. And often elsewhere the same tree is the favourite symbol of stateliness and dignity. The Israelites in their own estimation were *as grasshoppers* (Num. xiii. 33). It was not then by their own strength that they prevailed. It was God Himself Who hewed down their gigantic foes, and *destroyed* them root and branch. The word rendered *destroyed* here is of very frequent occurrence in the Book of Deuteronomy, and its use here would recall the promise of victory (vii. 23, 24), as the fulfilment was a pledge of His faithfulness (cf. Deut. ii. 12, xxxi. 4).

10. *Also I*] The words in the original are the same as in the previous verse. We might paraphrase it, *And it was I Who*, not simply *brought you out*, but *brought you up* from low-lying Egypt to a land of mountains, hills, and valleys. While the land was not yet theirs by actual possession, the word was different: *I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt* (Exod. xx. 2).

and led you] The words of Amos are the same as those of Moses (Deut. xxix. 5), only

years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite.

11 And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites. *Is it* not even thus, O ye children of Israel? saith the LORD.

12 But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink; and commanded the prophets, [e] saying, Prophesy not.

13 Behold, [‖] I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed *that is* full of sheaves.

14 Therefore the flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall not strengthen his force, nei-

[e] chap. 7 12.

[‖] Or, *I will press you in place, as a cart full of sheaves presseth.*

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with a slight transposition. The context relates how their clothing did not wear out, and how their life was sustained without bread or wine. In this, as in many other instances, the words and phrases of the Law are used, as well known to the people no less than to the prophet.

11. *your sons for prophets*] The presence of God amongst His people had been proved not only by His wonders in the wilderness, and in His enabling them to drive out nations mightier than themselves, but by His care in instructing and admonishing them; alike by the teaching of prophets and the saintly lives of Nazarites. Of *the goodly fellowship of the prophets*, some of the most distinguished belonged to the northern division of the country. Not to mention less conspicuous names, Samuel was of Mount Ephraim (1 S. i. 1), Ahijah, of Shiloh (1 K. xiv. 2, 4), Elijah was a *sojourner* in Gilead (such is the meaning of the Hebrew term, 1 K. xvii. 1), but by birth a *Tishbite*, probably a native of Thisbe in Naphtali. Elisha is described as being of Abel-meholah, in the valley of the Jordan on the west. And, in the age of Amos, Jonah of Gath-hepher had been *raised up*, and Hosea.

of your young men for Nazarites] The law of the *Nazarites* is contained in Num. vi., where see notes. Their willing surrender of innocent indulgences in diet and personal appearance, their strictness of life and marked singularity, were rendered the more conspicuous by the age at which this was done. It was *young men*, lit. *chosen, picked*, men in the vigour and flower of their age—when passion is strongest and restraint most irksome.

12. *ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink*] In Hebrew the phrase, *ye gave to drink*, is expressed by one word, which being lit. *ye made to drink*, might mean either that they tempted or forced the Nazarites to break their vow. The abstemiousness and ascetic life of the Nazarites were a tacit reproach and a standing rebuke to the sensual and luxurious. Amos speaks several times of the drinking of wine as a habit marked by excess in his day (ii. 8, iv. 1, vi. 6).

Prophesy not] *The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?* (iii. 8). A necessity was laid upon the prophets. If they would keep silence, the message with which they were entrusted was *as a burning fire shut up in their bones* (Jer. xx. 9). Those who were rebuked tried to silence them. Amos himself (ch. vii.) was misrepresented and persecuted for his faithfulness, and his was no solitary case. Isaiah (xxx. 10) charges Israel with saying habitually *to the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things*, &c. Micaiah was imprisoned for his fidelity (1 K. xxii. 26, 27). Jezebel swore to take the life of Elijah, and insolently gave him warning (ib. xix. 2, 3). Hanani was imprisoned by Asa for saying, *Thou shalt have wars* (2 Chro. xvi. 9). Jeremiah was in constant peril of his life. And these are but a few instances out of many.

13. *I am pressed under you*, &c.] The A. V. is substantially correct. The words of the prophet have been interpreted in several ways. The difficulty of the passage consists chiefly in the form of the verb here employed by the prophet, which cannot be adequately rendered by the passive, *I am pressed*. Its meaning may be conveyed by, *I feel pressed* or *straitened*. In the wilderness the Almighty appeared to His people, saying, *Thou hast seen how the Lord thy God bare thee as a man doth bear his son* (Deut. i. 31). With the like condescension He here speaks: *Behold, I*, even *I, feel the pressure* of your sins, *as the cart that is full of sheaves* (*full as it can hold* is the meaning of the idiom) feels its heavy load. Similar is the language used by God in Isaiah, *Thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities* (xliii. 24, cf. i. 14, vii. 13; Mal. ii. 17). See Note below. In the margin there is another rendering, which is open to more than one objection. It violates the Hebrew idiom, and gives a turn to the passage which ill agrees with the image employed. The pressure of a heavily laden *cart* on the ground can hardly represent the *crushing* of a people. The punishment too seems to be described in the words that follow.

14, 15. *Therefore the flight*, &c.] In the Hebrew it is simply, *And*. What follows being the natural consequence (so to speak) of slighting the long-suffering of God. *Flight*, not the power of *flight*, but rather, *place of flight, refuge* (Ps. cxlii. 5). *Swift of foot*, like Asahel (2 S. ii. 18). Swiftness here belongs to the warrior, not to the coward.

strengthen his force] Put forth his strength,

† Heb. *his soul, or, life.*

ther shall the mighty deliver † himself:

15 Neither shall he stand that handleth the bow; and *he that is* swift of foot shall not deliver *himself:* neither shall he that rideth the horse deliver himself.

16 And *he that is* † courageous among the mighty shall flee away naked in that day, saith the LORD.

† Heb. *strong of his heart.*

exert himself to any good purpose. Neither warrior that fought hand to hand nor archer that stood afar off, neither horse-soldier nor foot-soldier, should make their escape *in that day.*

16. *courageous among the mighty*] The bravest of the brave should *flee away naked*, having thrown off every weapon or piece of armour or article of dress that might encumber his flight.

saith] The word used here, and in twenty other places by the prophet (*n'ūm*), has far more significance than the English suggests. It means *the utterance*, perhaps *the secret utterance* or *oracle*, of God to His prophet, and by him delivered to others. Here it forms the solemn close of this part of the prophecy. The frequency of the word in Amos is worthy of notice. It occurs only four times in Hosea, and once in Joel. It is most common in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

NOTE on CHAP. II. 13.

Gesenius renders the passage thus: "Ecce ego deprimam vos, sicut comprimit plaustrum, plenum mergitibus, sc. quæ sub eo sunt" ('Thes.' pp. 1003—4); and elsewhere (ib. p. 1496) he translates the first words, "Ego vos deprimam deorsum," assigning a meaning to תחת which is not proved by the passage he quotes (Job xl. 12) or by any other. If the verb is regarded as transitive, the words should mean, "I press under you," which would be very obscure, and the absence of any object after the verb in the second clause would be difficult to explain. All becomes easy, simple, and natural if the verb in both clauses is taken intransitively. And the usage of the Hebrew language allows this. It is quite true that the Hiphil of עוק might mean to *press* or *squeeze*, as the Kal probably meant "to be pressed." This, however, is the only place in the Old Testament where the verb is found. But it should be remembered that verbs in the Hiphil form cannot always be rendered as causatives in other languages. Illustrative instances may be found in Gesenius's 'Grammar,' § 53, Rem. 1, and Ewald, 'Lehrbuch,' § 122, c. 7th Ed. To these may be added הגביר (Ps. xii. 5) and הזהיר (Dan. xii. 3). Such evidence seems sufficient to shew that the word used by the prophet may well mean, *to shew* or *feel pressure*. This view is supported by the Vulg., which has, Ecce ego stridebo subter vos, sicut stridet plaustrum onustum fœno. And St Cyril, in his commentary, explains the passage in the same way.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The necessity of God's judgment against Israel.* 9 *The publication of it, with the causes thereof.*

HEAR this word that the LORD hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying,

2 You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will † punish you for all your iniquities.

† Heb. *visit upon.*

CHAP. III. 1. *Hear this word*] This solemn preface is thrice used. Here, and again in iv. 1, v. 1. Though Israel is mainly warned and rebuked in this prophecy, Judah is indirectly admonished. Both are included in *the whole family.*

2. *You only have I known*] Known unto God are all men, and *He is good to all* (Ps. cxlv. 9), for *He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust* (Matt. v. 45). In the other *families of the earth He left not Himself without witness* (Acts xiv. 17). But to Israel He had made Himself *known* as He had not seen fit to do to them. Israel was specially loved, protected, and ruled by Him: cf. Gen. xviii. 19 and the note there. *Family* is here employed in a wide sense. So it is used in the promise of God to Abraham (Gen. xii. 3): *In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.*

therefore, &c.] Israel's sins were not like those of other nations. They were sins against light and love. Mercy, favour, and instruction had been lavished upon them. Thus they had more to answer for, their guilt was greater. *Therefore* He Who chose them would *punish* them. But however severe the punishment, God *visited* His people in love. He did

3 Can two walk together, except they be agreed?

4 Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? will a young lion † cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing?

† Heb. *give forth his voice.*

5 Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin *is* for him? shall *one* take up a snare from the earth, and have taken nothing at all?

6 Shall a trumpet be blown in the city, and the people ‖ not be afraid? shall there be evil in a city, ‖ and the LORD hath not done *it?*

‖ Or, *not run together.*

‖ Or, *and shall not the* LORD *do* something?

7 Surely the Lord GOD will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets.

8 The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord GOD hath spoken, who can but prophesy?

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not cast them off. Chastisement was a token of His love. He would not let them be as others who knew Him not. By judgments, by warnings, by threats He would bring them back to Himself; and if they did not return to Him, it would be only because they would not.

3—8. The key to these short parables that follow is in the words of *vv.* 7, 8. No prophet speaks his own words, utters his own thoughts, expresses his own fears and forebodings. He has been admitted to share some of the *secret* counsels of God (*v.* 7), whose *servant* he is. And he may not, nay, he cannot conceal what has been *revealed* to him. He must *prophesy*. Whether, therefore, Israel would listen or not, Amos has a message from God to deliver, he must give warning of impending judgments. And he explains the *necessity that is laid upon him* by illustrations drawn from ordinary life, all of which shew that where there is a cause we look for an effect, and where we observe an effect we are sure that there must be a cause. Further, all the images employed except the first are such as fill the mind with alarm.

3. *Can two walk*, &c.] Or, *Will* or *Do two walk together?* Does not their walking together necessarily imply that they previously *agreed* upon time and place of meeting, and that they have a common object in view? The question, if taken in connection with the previous verses, would suggest the thought of Israel's stubborn refusal to *walk* in the ways of God, and it might remind them of the language used in the Law: *If ye will not be reformed by Me, but will walk contrary unto Me; then will I also walk contrary unto you* (Lev. xxvi. 23, 24). If regarded as an introduction to what follows, the question may imply that the words of the prophet and the judgments of God could not agree by mere accident.

4. *Will a lion roar*, &c.] The lion roars when he is about to spring on his prey: thus he gives terrible warning of his approach. In the latter part of the verse the figure is inverted: the *young lion* growls in his *lair* over the prey he has taken.

5. *Can a bird*, &c.] It is difficult to distinguish the words here rendered *snare* and *gin*. Perhaps the former stands for the whole, the latter for that part in which the bird is entangled.

shall one take up a snare] That is, will the fowler do this? Or it may mean, *will the snare rise up, start, spring up*. The meaning of the verse will thus be: "When a bird lights on the snare it is taken; and when it is taken the snare rises, and so shews what has happened."

6. *Shall a trumpet be blown*] The reference may be to the office of a watchman set upon the wall to sound an alarm *when he seeth the sword come upon the land*. See Ezek. xxxiii. 2 foll.

The *evil* here mentioned is clearly to be understood in the sense of calamity. The prophets sounded the alarm of coming *evil*. Should not the people *tremble?* When the threatened *evil* came, could it be doubted that it was from the Lord? This illustration leads naturally to what follows in the two next verses.

7. *Surely the Lord* GOD] *Surely*, lit. *For*. *God* is here printed in capitals because it represents the word in the Hebrew text which we pronounce Jehovah.

he revealeth his secret, &c.] The word here rendered *secret* is most commonly so translated in the A.V. Its primary meaning is the meeting of those who converse or take counsel together, as in Jer. vi. 11: *the assembly of young men*. Hence it gets the sense of deliberation (Prov. xv. 22, *counsel*), familiar intercourse (Job xix. 19, *my inward friends*, see the margin and note), and then, as here, of *secret*. In past times God had thus revealed His *secret purpose* to Noah (Gen. vi. 13), to Abraham (ib. xviii. 17), to Joseph (ib. xli. 16), to Moses the plagues of Egypt.

8. *The lion hath roared*] With this image Amos had begun his prophecy, ch. i. 2. When the Lord utters His voice from Zion, who shall not *fear?* Still, whether men would *fear* or not, the duty of the prophet was the same. A necessity was laid upon him. If he were tempted to keep silence, he could not. The words of Jeremiah (xx. 9) would express the

9 ¶ Publish in the palaces at Ashdod, and in the palaces in the land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves upon the mountains of Samaria, and behold the great tumults in the midst thereof, and the ‖ oppressed in the midst thereof.

‖ Or, *oppressions.*

10 For they know not to do right, saith the LORD, who store up violence and ‖ robbery in their palaces.

‖ Or, *spoil.*

11 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD; An adversary *there shall be* even round about the land; and he shall bring down thy strength from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled.

12 Thus saith the LORD; As the

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experience of all who shrank from executing their commission.

9. *Publish*, &c.] These we may suppose to be the words of God instructing His prophets in the proclamation they were to make. It was to be delivered after the Oriental manner (cf. Matt. x. 27), not *in*, but literally *on the palaces of Ashdod* and *Egypt*, on their flat broad roofs, that high and low might hear. The Philistines and Egyptians were thus to be summoned to witness the enormities of which God's people were guilty. Why these nations are singled out is not clear. The former had been foremost among the enemies of Israel after their entrance into Canaan. The latter about this time was not unfriendly (cf. Hos. vii. 11, xii. 1); but it was the earliest and most grievous oppressor of Israel. Other nations threatened by Amos—Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Syrians—were more or less connected with Israel. Tyre too, though alien in blood, had been a close ally (Amos i. 9). Neither Philistia nor Egypt had any affinity with God's people, and perhaps on this account are selected as witnesses of Samaria's guilt and humiliation.

the mountains of Samaria] are the mountains that encircle the capital built by Omri, the father of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 24), called *Samaria*, after the name of the original owner of the place, Shemer. Its site is very remarkable. "The fine round swelling hill, or almost mountain of Samaria, stands alone in the midst of this great basin of some two hours in diameter, surrounded by higher mountains on every side.....The situation is one of great beauty" (Robinson's 'Palestine,' III. p. 138, 139). "The view from the summit of the hill presents a splendid panorama of the fertile basin and the mountains around" (ib. p. 644). "It would be difficult to find, in all Palestine, a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined" (ib. p. 146). The hill rises 300 feet above the level of the plain.

the mountains of Samaria are mentioned elsewhere only by Jeremiah (xxxi. 5). They are so close to the city that one who stood upon them could observe what passed among its terraces. The language of Amos therefore is most exact.

From these heights the enemies are invited to behold *the great tumults*, the disorders and confusion of a city where right was overpowered by might, and *the oppressed*, or better (as in margin), *the oppressions*, various and multiplied, that were suffered by the weak, and that not in some obscure quarters, but *in the midst thereof*, pervading the city and visible to all. Amos uses two phrases for the *in the midst thereof*. The second might be translated *in her heart*, or *centre*.

10. *For they know not to do right*] In the Hebrew it is simply, *And they know not. They*, the citizens of Samaria, had become so corrupt that they no longer *knew*, had no sense of *right:* what was *straightforward*, is the meaning of the word.

who store up] In the Hebrew this is a participle, the *storers*, making the phrase more emphatic and personal (cf. ii. 7). And what did they *store up?* To them it seemed that their *palaces* were filled with silver and gold, with corn and wine, with whatever could minister to their convenience or luxury. But in the eyes of the Lord *they stored up violence and robbery*, for all was gained unjustly, wrung by oppression from the weak. And they had been in fact only *treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath* (Rom. ii. 5).

11. *An adversary*, &c.] The language of the prophet is more abrupt and striking. It is literally, *A foe, and round the land.* The enemy is seen as already investing the city and occupying the land. The name by which he is called is not descriptive of enmity, like the common word for enemy, but expresses hemming in, straitening, closing in upon, an object. *The palaces* in which *violence and robbery had been stored* should be *spoiled* in requital by the invader.

he shall bring down thy strength from thee] Abase thy pride, lay low that in which thou trustest for defence (as the same verb is used in Isai. lxiii. 6; Obad. 4), and not only *bring down thy strength*, but *from thee*, taking it away from thee, stripping thee of it, spoiling thy treasures, and carrying captive thy people. The siege of Samaria lasted three years. For the facts and the causes of the captivity see 2 K. xvii. 3—23.

12. The materials of the prophet's illustration were no doubt supplied by his own

shepherd † taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear; so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria in the corner of a bed, and ‡ in Damascus *in* a couch.

† Heb. *delivereth.*

‡ Or, *on the bed's feet.*

13 Hear ye, and testify in the house of Jacob, saith the Lord GOD, the God of hosts,

14 That in the day that I shall † visit the transgressions of Israel upon him I will also visit the altars

† Or, *punish Israel for.*

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experience. With his own hand he may have done what the *shepherd* is described as doing. Attention has already been drawn to the frequency of the mention of lions by Amos (note on i. 2). The shepherd pursues and attacks the lion, but all that he recovers is the most worthless parts, *the two shank-bones* and a *bit* or *tip* of the *ear*. Harmer ('Observations,' Vol. III. p. 326, 327) ingeniously supposes that the prophet here refers to a large-eared kind of goat, which is still common about Jerusalem. He quotes a traveller who said that he had seen goats about Jerusalem with hanging ears, almost two feet long. For an engraving and other particulars see Smith's 'Bible Dict.' App. p. lvi.

These parts the shepherd not simply *taketh out of the mouth of the lion*, but, better, as in margin, *delivereth*, or *rescueth*, for the word, as here used, means deliverance from difficulty or peril. Thus should it be with the people. Only a remnant, impoverished and despised, should be rescued, because the enemy would not trouble himself about them. So when Judah was carried captive, *the captain of the guard left of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen* (2 K. xxv. 12). In contrast with this observe the image under which the indolent ease and security of the nation are described. They *dwell* (lit. *sit*) *in Samaria in the corner of a bed*, on a seat of honour on the *divan*, where the two cushioned sides meet.

and in Damascus in a couch] *Damascus* had been taken by Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 28), and this most lovely city was to his subjects like a *canopied bed* (such is the exact meaning of the word translated *couch*), serving them for state and luxury. The very different rendering in the margin, *on the bed's feet*, intimates that the Hebrew words are obscure. For a statement of the difficulties and a defence of the text, see Note below.

13. *Hear ye, and testify*, &c.] The prophets or priests, or those whose duty it was to warn the nation, are here bidden first to *hear* the divine threatening, and then to *testify* not *in*, merely, but *against the house of Jacob*. Thus the same phrase is commonly rendered as in Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19. And this is not the language of the prophet. It is the *utterance* (see on ii. 16) of the *Lord Jehovah, the God of Hosts*, of Him who made all things in heaven and earth (Gen. ii. 1), and whom all things obey.

14. *the transgressions of Israel*] The same word is used as before in chaps. i. and ii. It properly means *rebellion*, and so designates more heinous offences against God. In this verse both *the altars of Beth-el*, and *the altar* are mentioned. We read of only one *altar* set up by Jeroboam in Beth-el. Those here spoken of would seem to have been set up after his example, though without authority. His *altar* appears to have been made after the pattern of God's altar in Jerusalem. Here its *horns* are specified. These were projections of the shape of *horns*, rising at each of the four corners (Exod. xxvii. 2), on which some of the victim's blood was put (Exod. xxix. 12). The prediction uttered against Jeroboam's altar (1 K. xiii. 2) is here repeated, and it is further specified that *the horns shall be cut off*, or *hewed down* by an enemy.

15. *And I will smite*, &c.] We read (Judg. iii. 20) of Eglon's *summer parlour* (in the margin, *parlour of cooling*), and of *the winter house*, in which king Jehoiakim was sitting when the prophet's roll was read to him (Jer. xxxvi. 22). By these expressions, as well as those in the text, we are probably to understand not distinct houses, but different apartments in the same house. Thomson says, "Such language is easily understood by an Oriental. In common parlance the lower apartments are simply *el beit—the house*; the upper is the *ulliyeh*, which is the *summer house*. Every respectable dwelling has both, and they are familiarly called *beit shetawy* and *beit seify—winter* and *summer house*. If these are on the same storey, then the external and airy apartment is the *summer house*, and that for *winter* is the interior and more sheltered room. It is rare to meet a family that has an entirely separate dwelling for summer" ('The Land and the Book,' p. 309). Whether, however, we suppose the prophet to speak of separate houses or not, his words imply that he was referring to the domestic habits of the wealthy and luxurious. Hence the mention of *houses of ivory*, that is, in which ceilings, walls, floors and furniture were adorned with *ivory*. Of Ahab alone it is recorded that he *made an ivory house* (1 K. xxii. 39). Solomon *made a great throne of ivory* (1 K. x. 18). The increase of luxury in the prophet's days

of Beth-el: and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground.

15 And I will smite the winter house with the summer house; and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the LORD.

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is intimated by his mention of *beds of ivory* (vi. 4) as an article of furniture among the rich. The word translated *great* may equally mean *many*, and is so rendered in Isai. v. 9. If the word is taken in the latter sense it points to the wide extent of the ruin threatened.

NOTE on CHAP. III. 12.

In the printed text we have וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק. The city of Damascus is written in Amos, as commonly elsewhere, דַּמֶּשֶׂק (i. 3, v. 27). There are, however, various readings, וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק and וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק, supported by MSS. The particulars may be seen in De Rossi, and Jahn's Ed.

The ancient translators understood the word to represent Damascus, and it is probable that they were right. In modern times it has been supposed by several critics that the word stands for a costly silk stuff, "damask," as we call it, using a name derived from that of the city. But there is no evidence that the word had this meaning in the days of Amos. In the time of Ezekiel (xxvii. 11) it is not silk, but "white wool," for which Damascus was famous. Appeal is made to certain Arabic words in support of this view, but their forms do not appear to be derived from the name of the city. In Arabic, Damascus is دمشق (Dimashk, or Dimishk). Freytag, in his 'Lexicon' (Vol. II. p. 57 b.) has "دمقس Vox peregr. *dicitur quoque* دقمس *et* مدقس Sericum crudum. *Kam. Dj.; aliis* Pannus sericus, *aliis* abus *propr.* Amru 'l Kais, 'Moall.' v. 10, Schol." Of دمصق and دمصاق he says, "*i. q.* قز Tela a bombyce neta, et ex ejus fragmentis deductum in fila sericum (*Golius ex Kamusi opere attulit hanc vocem quam ibi non inveni*)." Thus neither in meaning nor form do they agree with the word used by Amos, and their spelling makes it very unlikely that they are connected with Damascus.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *He reproveth Israel for oppression,* 4 *for idolatry,* 6 *and for their incorrigibleness.*

HEAR this word, ye kine of Bashan, that *are* in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring, and let us drink.

2 The Lord GOD hath sworn by

CHAP. IV. 1. *kine of Bashan*] In figurative language princes and the mighty are spoken of as *fatlings of Bashan* (Ezek. xxxix. 18), and fierce, strong, unrelenting enemies are called *strong* bulls *of Bashan* (Ps. xxii. 12, and note there). Here the prophet speaks of *kine*, and it might be supposed that in this phrase he pointed to women, who by their self-indulgent lives and extravagance occasioned the oppression of the weak and needy, because they required from their husbands whatever could gratify their wishes. But he has not used the feminine gender throughout, using the masculine several times. Thus in the Hebrew, *Hear ye*, their *masters*, *upon you*, *shall take you*, are masculine; *that oppress*, *that crush*, *that say*, *your posterity*, *ye shall go out*, *each before her*, *ye shall cast*, are feminine. The language therefore is ambiguous, and will apply at least as well to the dissolute nobles of Samaria as to their wives. When the prophet addresses them as *kine of Bashan*, he reproaches them with their effeminacy combined with cruelty. While they could get what they wanted they cared not what misery they inflicted. They habitually *oppressed the poor and crushed the needy*, secretly and openly, by fraud and violence. Such is the force of the prophet's words. They were always saying to *their master*, that is, their lord or king, *Bring, and let us drink*. The word translated *masters*, though plural in form, stands for the singular in Hebrew, and is so rendered in other places in our A.V., *e.g.* Gen. xl. 1; 2 S. x. 3. Compare Hos. vii. 5, where the princes are represented as encouraging the king to drink to excess.

2. God swears by the *holiness* which they

his holiness, that, lo, the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fishhooks.

3 And ye shall go out at the breaches, every *cow at that which is* before her; and ‖ ye shall cast *them* into the palace, saith the LORD.

‖ Or, *ye shall cast away the things of the palace.*

4 ¶ Come to Beth-el, and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgres-

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had profaned (ii. 7). *The days shall come*, literally, *are coming*. The phrase occurs frequently in prophetic announcements, especially of coming evil, 1 S. ii. 31; 2 K. xx. 17; Isai. xxxix. 6. Many times in Jeremiah (*e.g.* vii. 32, xv. 24). Amos uses the phrase twice elsewhere, of evil (viii. 11) and of good (ix. 13). It marks the sure and steady approach of the time appointed by God.

he will take you away] The verb has no subject expressed in the original. Literally it is *one shall take you away*. The image employed by the prophet expresses at once their sense of security and their helplessness. They should be like fish drawn suddenly and irresistibly out of the water by a hook. They should be entirely in the power of their captors. Nor should they perish alone. The ruin that overtook them should seize their *posterity* also.

3. *And ye shall go out*, &c.] The prophet here recurs to his first image, *the kine of Bashan*. The walls of Samaria would be broken down by the besieger. Those who had oppressed the needy and crushed the poor would not have the courage to stand in the breach, and risk their lives there. Like the cattle to which they are compared, driven through a gap, they would go out, *each straight before her*, hurrying away ignominiously into exile.

The text has *ye shall cast* them *into the palace*; the margin, *ye shall cast away the things of the palace*. The former adheres more closely to the Hebrew, only supplying an object for the verb: the latter is inaccurate. Neither conveys a plain meaning to the reader. The verb is in a form in Hebrew which in English would be best rendered reflexively, *ye shall cast* or *fling yourselves*, or *ye shall rush*. The same word seems to be used in the same sense in 2 K. x. 25, where see note.

The word translated *into the palace* occurs in this place only. It differs from the ordinary word for *palace* only in its first letter, and the interchange of these letters is one that often occurs. Amos, however, uses the common word for *palace* several times (in ch. i.). This is an objection to the rendering of our translators, who with others have adopted the explanation of a distinguished Jewish commentator (Kimchi). But then no rendering of the phrase, whether as found in the received text, or as altered by conjectural emendation, has been proposed which is not open to objections. No passage, in fact, in the writings of Amos has so perplexed critics. It would be out of place here to enumerate the many explanations that have been offered. It will be enough to say that most of the ancient versions treat the word as a proper name, and several agree in the view that it stands for Armenia. This agrees well with what is said to have been the home of the exiles. By our prophet it is described as *beyond Damascus* (v. 27). In 2 K. xvii. 6 it is *the cities of the Medes*. Whatever interpretation of the difficult expression is adopted, the drift of the prophet's words is plain. The wanton, cruel, and unmanly nobles of Samaria should leave it with dishonour, to minister to the luxury of their conqueror in his *palace* (cf. 2 K. xx. 18), or to spend their days as exiles in the remote regions of the East.

4. The prophet speaks in irony; not in mercy, but in judgment. He bids them go on in the path that they have deliberately chosen: *This liketh you, O ye children of Israel* (*v.* 5); or, as in margin, *So ye love* (cf. Jer. v. 31); at the same time warning them that to persist was to *multiply transgression*, as the word has been explained before (iii. 14); it was to multiply acts of treason and rebellion against God.

Beth-el] *the House of God*, so called by Jacob when he awoke from his dream (Gen. xxviii. 19). There he erected an altar (Gen. xxxv. 7). Hence it became invested with a sacred character (1 S. iv. 3). It was selected by Jeroboam as a seat of the calf-worship (1 K. xii. 29, 32, 33). For this reason it is called by Hosea (iv. 15 and elsewhere) Beth-aven (*house of vanity* or *idols*). By him too it is mentioned, in connection with Gilgal, and is spoken of as a place of idolatrous worship. See note on Judg. iii. 19.

Gilgal lay between the Jordan and Jericho. Here was the first encampment of Joshua and the Israelites in the Promised Land; here the rite of circumcision was renewed (Josh. v. 2—9) and *the reproach of Egypt* thus *rolled away*; and here the first Passover was kept in Canaan. It was for many years the headquarters of the people, as well as the abode of the ark. According to the marginal rendering in Judg. iii. it was an early seat of idolatrous worship. This is the place commonly thought to be referred to by the prophets. Robinson says ('Palestine,' II. p. 287), "no trace either of its site or name remains." It was visited by Samuel in the administration of justice (1 S. vii. 16), and had an altar on which sacrifices were offered by him (1 S. x. 8).

sion; and bring your sacrifices every
† Heb. *three years of days.* morning, *and* your tithes after † three
years:

† Heb. *offer by burning.* † Heb. *so ye love.* 5 And † offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven, and proclaim *and* publish the free offerings: for † this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

6 ¶ And I also have given you cleanness of teeth in all your cities, and want of bread in all your places: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.

7 And also I have withholden the rain from you, when *there were* yet three months to the harvest: and I

Here Saul was crowned (1 S. xi. 14, 15), and David was met on his return (2 S. xix. 15, 40). If it was also the seat of a school of the prophets, and the occasional residence of Elijah and Elisha (2 K. ii., iv., v.), this would have increased its sanctity. But the identity of the places has been disputed. See *Gilgal* in Smith's 'Bible Dict.'

There was no want of diligence in their *will worship*. What they did, they did heartily. *Every morning* the accustomed *sacrifice* was duly offered, as at Jerusalem. The *tithes* were regularly paid. The prophet's words are literally "after three *days*," or "every three *days*," and some think that *days* are meant. But, ironical as the passage is, this explanation seems harsh. And it is better to understand the *days* of *years*, as the word for *days* is so used in Hebrew elsewhere (Exod. xiii. 10; Lev. xxv. 29; Judg. xvii. 10). The law of *tithes* is given in Deut. xiv. 23, xxvi. 12.

5. *offer*] More exactly in the margin, *offer by burning*, and this brings out their violation of the divine command. This is most express (Lev. ii. 11), *No meat offering, which ye shall bring unto the Lord, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven ...in any offering of the Lord made by fire.* And the thank-offering was to be accompanied with *unleavened cakes* and *unleavened wafers* (Lev. vii. 12). Leaven was excluded, as symbolical of decay and corruption. Its exceptional use was in cases where the offering was not *burnt* (Lev. vii. 13, xxiii. 17). They gave with no niggard hand. In the exuberance of their devotion to their idols they brought *free offerings*, no less than appointed sacrifices.

proclaim...publish] may be taken as an invitation, a summons to all to offer freely; but it is better to regard it as expressive of ostentation. They thought highly of themselves and their gifts, and would have all men know it.

6. *And I also*] The pronoun is emphatic. *And I, I too have given you.* The idolaters of Israel had not been allowed to go on without warning. They had been severely chastised by God in five particulars, which are now enumerated in *vv.* 6—11, famine, drought, blight, pestilence, earthquake. Israel *did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil... I will destroy her vines and her fig trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me* (Hos. ii. 8, 12). Amos has just described the infatuation of the people in their idol-worship. Now he adds, that God had not left them to themselves. He had visited them, He had laid His hand upon them, to win them back to Himself. And His chastisements were such as should have had the more effect, because they were some of those that had been threatened long before by Moses as the penalties of disobedience (Lev. xxvi.; Deut. xxviii.).

yet have ye not returned unto me] This phrase occurs no less than five times, coming after each chastisement that had failed (here and in *vv.* 8, 9, 10, 11). Its repetition is at once pathetic and solemn. There is, however, a precision about the Hebrew words which is lost to the English reader. To *return to God* is usually expressed in the original by the same verb as is here employed, with a preposition that means *towards*. Here it is another preposition that is joined to the verb, meaning *up to, as far as*. It may be implied, therefore, in the idiom found here, that they had partially turned back, but they had not *returned* with full purpose of heart, so as to reach God. The same phrase is found in Deut. iv. 30, xxx. 2; Job xxii. 23, as well as in the prophets (Isai. ix. 12; Hos. xiv. 2; Joel ii. 12; Lam. iii. 40).

7. *And also I have withholden*] *I* is emphatic, as in *v.* 6, *I, I too.*

the rain] The term employed is not the common one, but one that signifies *heavy, abundant rain*. The reference is to the *latter rain* that usually falls in the latter part of February, and, more or less, through March (Robinson's 'Palestine,' Vol. II. p. 97), *when there are three months to the harvest*, to refresh the ground and swell the corn. Want of rain at this critical season "is utterly ruinous to the hopes of the farmer. A little earlier, or a little later, would not be so fatal, but drouth *three months before harvest* is entirely destructive." So writes one who has lived many years in Palestine (Thomson, 'The Land and the Book,' p. 395), and Jerome, another resident there, uses similar language in his commentary. That God's hand withheld the rain was shewn by its falling on one city and not on another, and, still more clearly, when one

caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered.

8 So two *or* three cities wandered unto one city, to drink water; but they were not satisfied: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.

9 I have smitten you with blasting and mildew: [1] when your gardens and your vineyards and your fig trees and your olive trees increased, the palmerworm devoured *them:* yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.

[1] Or, *the multitude of your gardens, &c. did the palmerworm, &c.*

10 I have sent among you the pestilence [1] after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, [†] and have taken away your horses; and I have made the stink of your camps to come up unto your nostrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.

[1] Or, *in the way.*

[†] Heb. *with the captivity of your horses.*

11 I have overthrown *some* of you, as God overthrew [a] Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD.

[a] Gen. 19. 24.

12 Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: *and* because I will

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piece received rain and another did not. The word usually signifies an hereditary *portion* of land, the property of individuals (*e.g.* Ruth ii. 3; 2 S. xiv. 30; 2 K. ix. 21).

8. *two or three cities wandered*] The drought would not only injure the harvest, but deprive the people of water to drink in a country dependent chiefly upon cisterns. The inhabitants of *two or three cities* that had suffered *wandered*, or, perhaps, *staggered* to one that had been spared. The word often signifies to *reel* or *totter*, or *move unsteadily*, as those do who are faint for want of food or drink.

9. *blasting and mildew*] The former expresses the excessive *scorching* of the poisonous east wind; the latter, the sickly *yellow colour* of the corn, the result of the blight. Both words occur, side by side, as here, in that chapter of Deuteronomy (xxviii. 22) in which Israel is threatened with punishment for disobedience.

when your gardens...increased] The marginal rendering is better.

the palmerworm] is one of the species of locusts mentioned in Joel i. 4, where see note. The Hebrew word means *one that cuts off*. The well-watered garden might not feel the want of rain, but the locust would soon destroy its herbs, shrubs, and trees.

10. *pestilence after the manner of Egypt*] In the *manner* or *way* in which God had visited Egypt of old, he had visited Israel (cf. the same phrase as used in Isai. x. 26). From the time of the people's deliverance from the Egyptians they had been promised exemption from those diseases which had afflicted their taskmasters if they obeyed God (Exod. xv. 2, 6; Deut. vii. 15), but had been threatened with the same scourges if they rebelled (Lev. xxvi. 25; Deut. xxviii. 27, 60).

The slaughter of the *young men*, those who were *chosen*, or *picked*, as we say, for military service, and the *capture of the horses*, are illustrated by the record in 2 K. xiii. 7: *Neither did he* [Hazael] *leave of the people to Jehoahaz but fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing.* The slain lay unburied on the ground, and were a fresh cause of pestilence. And this could not be disregarded. It happened on their own land. *The stink came up, even in your nostrils* (the particle is not rendered in our A. V.): still the warning, though it came home to them, was unavailing.

11. *I have overthrown...overthrew*] The prophet uses the very word employed in Genesis (xix. 25) to describe the destruction of the cities of the plain, and a derived form. Cf. Deut. xxix. 23. Its exact meaning is *turning upside down* (see 2 K. xxi. 13). And the context suggests that his language is to be taken literally. Famine, drought, pestilence, locusts, wars, were no metaphors; why should this be? An earthquake seems to be meant, and the last place is reserved for it, as being the most terrible of God's visitations, coming without warning, and involving all in sudden destruction. Nothing is known of the earthquake referred to. Amos tells us himself that he uttered his prophecy *two years before the earthquake*, which must therefore have come after the one here spoken of.

a firebrand plucked out of the burning] The same phrase is repeated in Zech. iii. 2. Those who had escaped had escaped as narrowly as a half-consumed stick snatched from the fire (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 15).

12. *Therefore thus will I do unto thee*] *Therefore*, because these multiplied calamities had not brought back the wanderers to God. *Thus will I do...I will do this, Thus, this.*

do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.

13 For, lo, he that formeth the mountains, and createth the [1]wind, and declareth unto man what *is* his thought, that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth, The LORD, The God of hosts, *is* his name.

[1] Or, *spirit.*

CHAPTER V.

1 *A lamentation for Israel.* 4 *An exhortation to repentance.* 21 *God rejecteth their hypocritical service.*

HEAR ye this word which I take up against you, *even* a lamentation, O house of Israel.

2 The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise: she is for-

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It is implied that there is something far worse to come, which He will not disclose. He condescends to use the language of men, who, when they cannot or will not describe what they most dread, say, *God do so to me and more also.* And He bids them *prepare to meet Him*, not as the criminal in despair awaits the sentence of his judge, but with the view of making them think, and repent, and tremble before the majesty and power that are described in the next verse. Notwithstanding their rebellion, He still vouchsafes to call Himself *their God*, and thus, even while the judgment on the nation might be final, there was hope for every Israelite who heartily turned to Him.

13. *For, lo, he that formeth*, &c.] The force and beauty of this description are increased in the original by its brevity. In the Hebrew there are not half as many words as are found in the translation. And, besides this, each of the five verbs, *form*, *create*, *declare*, *make*, *tread*, is in the participle. This makes the prophet's words more vivid. There is a simliar description in v. 8, 9. *He that formeth*, that moulds and fashions the mountains as easily as *the potter* shapes the clay. The word is the same in Hebrew.

and createth the wind] Or, as in the margin, *the spirit*, for the same word, as in the Greek of the N. T., means both, but the text is preferable. He who fashions the solid mountains, *creates* the subtle, invisible wind to do His bidding. The next clause admits of two interpretations.

declareth unto man what is his thought] (1) That God declares His purpose to man by His prophets (as before, iii. 7); (2) more naturally, that God *declares to man what is his thought, his meditation*, for *He understands it afar off* (Ps. cxxxix. 2). He sees it clearly before it has assumed a definite shape. Thus He is not only the Maker of the material universe, He deals also with the conscience of man. He searches the heart, and tries the reins, and makes His presence felt within the soul (Jer. xvii. 9, 10).

that maketh the morning darkness] may be taken literally or metaphorically. As the brightness of the dawn may be quickly overcast with clouds, or wrapped in gloom, so can He efface by the darkness of calamity all that is lovely and cheering. The word for *darkness* here used is very rare. It is found in the Book of Job (x. 22), *a land of darkness*. The metaphorical meaning of the phrase may be illustrated by another passage in Job (xi. 17) in which the cognate verb occurs, and which may be rendered, *Though thou be wrapped in gloom, thou shalt be as the morning.*

treadeth upon the high places of the earth] The same phrase is found in Micah i. 3, and a similar one in Job ix. 8: *treadeth upon the heights* (margin) *of the sea.* He treads down, tramples on, and has in subjection whatever is loftiest or most unruly. His power is absolute, and His name is *The Lord*, Jehovah, the Self-existent, the Unchangeable, *The God of Hosts*, the Maker, Upholder, and Sovereign of all beings and things that exist.

CHAP. V. 1. *Hear ye this word*] The third solemn call to Israel. Cf. iii. 1, iv. 1.

a lamentation] Properly, a lament for the dead, a funeral *dirge*, as in 2 S. i. 17; 2 Chro. xxxv. 25. It is *taken*, or *lifted up*, by the prophet as something heavy and grievous to be laid *upon* Israel. The same word occurs again in viii. 10, and the phrase employed by Amos, not found in earlier books, is used frequently in Jeremiah (*e. g.* vii. 29) and Ezekiel (xix. 1).

2. This verse may be regarded as the *dirge*. Israel is spoken of by the prophet as already vanquished and overthrown, and well nigh lifeless.

fallen] comes first in the Hebrew. *Fallen is the virgin of Israel.* She is called a *virgin*, not as a city that had never been taken, or as having been faithful to God, but as having been tenderly guarded and sheltered. So Isaiah addresses Babylon (xlvii. 1), *Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon... for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.* She *is fallen*, like those that *fall* in battle (cf. 2 S. i. 19, 25, 27). She cannot *rise again.* It is no common fall. She is prostrate and powerless.

she is forsaken] More exactly, *she is flung*, or *dashed down upon her own ground*, stretched at full length, as one who will move no more.

saken upon her land; *there is* none to raise her up.

3 For thus saith the Lord GOD; The city that went out *by* a thousand shall leave an hundred, and that which went forth *by* an hundred shall leave ten, to the house of Israel.

4 ¶ For thus saith the LORD unto the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall live:

[a] chap. 4. 4. 5 But seek not [a] Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Beth-el shall come to nought.

6 Seek the LORD, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and devour *it*, and *there be* none to quench *it* in Beth-el.

7 Ye who turn judgment to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth,

8 *Seek him* that maketh the [b] seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night:

[b] Job 9. 9 & 38. 31.

She had no strength to rise. There was no human arm to raise her. Yet great as would be the overthrow, the nation would not be annihilated. A remnant would be saved (see next verse, and cf. ch. ix. 11, where God promises to raise up the fallen tabernacle of David).

3. *went out by a thousand*] Sent out a thousand fighting men. To *go out* is often used of *going out to war*, as in 1 S. xxiii. 15, xxvi. 20. Great cities and small are to suffer alike.

4. *Seek ye me*] To *seek God* is a common phrase for worshipping Him, addressing Him in prayer. The Hebrew is very concise, *Seek me, and live*. To seek Him heartily and constantly is life.

5. *seek not Beth-el*] The same verb as in previous verse is used rarely, as here, of *frequenting a place* (2 Chro. i. 5; Isai. lxii. 12). They *sought Beth-el and Gilgal* as if God had chosen to put His name there. But there He was not to be found.

pass not to Beer-sheba] *Pass*, or *cross not over*, because the place lay at the extreme south of Judah. For *Beer-sheba* see on Gen. xxi. 31. Here, where God had revealed Himself to the patriarchs, their descendants set up idolatrous worship (cf. viii. 12).

Gilgal shall surely go into captivity] Gilgal and Beth-el have been noticed before (iv. 4). Originally assigned to Benjamin, they seem to have been annexed to the northern kingdom.

Beth-el shall come to nought] (Hebr. *Aven*.) Hosea, iv. 15, had called Beth-el (*God's house*) *Beth-aven* (*vanity house*), and also *Aven* (x. 8), or the seat of an idol, see note. Beth-el had been given to vanity, to an idol which is nothing (1 Cor. viii. 4), and should therefore *come to nought*.

6. *house of Joseph*] A designation of the ten tribes, which occurs also in Obad. 18 and Zech. x. 6. *Joseph* alone is similarly employed *v.* 15, vi. 6. In Deut. iv. 24 God had been said to be *a consuming fire*. He would shew Himself as fire among the idolaters.

and devour it] *i.e. and* [the fire] *devour, and* there be *none to quench* it *in Beth-el*, lit. *for Beth-el*. Who shall stand up to aid her when God's fury breaks out against her? Compare Jer. iv. 4.

7. *Ye who turn*, &c.] *Wormwood* is used proverbially in Deut. xxix. 18. In Prov. v. 4 it is contrasted with honey. The unjust make that which is most sweet most bitter.

leave off righteousness in the earth] Literally, *righteousness they bring* or *cast to the earth*, as the same phrase means in Isai. xxviii. 2; Ezek. xxii. 20. Cf. Dan. viii. 12, *righteousness*, which should have sat in high place, is deposed and set at nought.

8. Our A. V. supplies the words that the context suggests as best to complete the sense.

him that maketh] Lit. *the Maker*. *The seven stars* are called in Hebrew *Kimah*, a word meaning *a heap*, being a *cluster* of seven large and many smaller stars, known among the Greeks by the name of Pleiades, which is retained by our translators in Job xxviii. 31, where see note, *Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades?* and ib. ix. 9.

Orion] In Hebrew *Kesil*, which means *foolish, impious*. In Job (xxxviii. 31, where see note) it is mentioned, as here, with the Pleiades, *Canst thou loose the bands of Orion?* Homer speaks of *the strength of Orion* ('Iliad,' XVIII. 486), and mentions the Pleiades at the same time. The passage in Job (ix. 9) has the very same words as Amos, and it is worthy of remark that the names of these constellations are found in no other books of the Bible. Perhaps they are named together as marking, by their appearance, the seasons of spring or summer and winter.

turneth the shadow of death into the morning] The prophet is not speaking of the regular succession of night and day. His words do not describe this. *The shadow of death* is a

[c] chap. 9. 6. that [c] calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The LORD *is* his name:

[†] Heb. *spoil.* 9 That strengtheneth the [†] spoiled against the strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the fortress.

10 They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly.

11 Forasmuch therefore as your treading *is* upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: [d] ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted [†] pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them.

[d] Zeph. 1. 13.

[†] Heb. *vineyards of desire.*

12 For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take [‡] a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate *from their right.*

[‡] Or, *a ransom.*

13 Therefore the prudent shall

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compound word in Hebrew, and as such compounds are exceedingly rare in the language it is the more remarkable. It never means *natural darkness*, but something more intense, whether physical or mental. It is a poetical word, found chiefly in Job and the Psalms, occurring elsewhere only in Isaiah and Jeremiah. He can make the deepest gloom bright as the morning. Here is encouragement for the penitent. On the other hand, *He maketh the day dark with night*, literally, *Day He darkeneth into night*, as in the parallel places, iv. 13, viii. 9.

that calleth, &c.] This is understood, by some, of the rain which is derived by evaporation from the sea. The words seem rather to point to inundations, having some resemblance to the Flood; and thus, it may be, intimate the destruction of the ungodly.

9. *That strengtheneth the spoiled*, &c.] In the margin, for *spoiled*, we find *spoil*. The word means *desolation, destruction, ruin*. The English translators have followed, in this obscure passage, some Jewish authorities, but they have failed to convey its precise meaning. The difficulty lies in the word rendered *that strengtheneth*. It is a participle of a very rare verb, which is found also in Arabic, and its meaning in that language is *to be bright, as the dawn*. See notes on Ps. xxxix. 13 and Job ix. 27. The form in the text would thus mean, *Who makes to dawn*, that is, *brings quietly, speedily, surely*. We might translate, *Who flashes ruin on might*; who surprises the mighty with destruction. With the image employed by Amos compare the language of Joel ii. 2, *as the morning spread upon the mountains*. The latter clause is literally, *and ruin shall come against the fortress*. Not only shall the strong be overcome, but the defences in which they trust shall be unavailing.

10. *in the gate*] In the chief place of concourse, where kings held their court, and justice was administered (1 K. xxii. 10; Deut. xxv. 7). These words belong properly to *They hate*, and thus they mean, Those who are *in the gate*, kings, princes, judges, are not ashamed to shew their hatred of rebuke. The *rebuke* and the *upright* speech may be supposed to come from the Lord's prophets.

11. *your treading*] This *trampling* upon the poor was not rare but habitual.

burdens] The word is singular, and is used of what is *carried* to another as a present (Gen. xliii. 34) or tribute (2 Chro. xxiv. 6, 9). After the Eastern manner, the great were approached with presents, and exacted all they could. The word for *wheat* means that which had been *threshed* and *winnowed*, so fittest for sale or use.

houses of hewn stone] The dwellings of the Israelites seem commonly to have been made of bricks dried or burnt (see Ezek. xii. 5, 7; Isai. ix. 10). *Hewn stone* would thus be a sign of wealth or luxury. Injustice would secure the fulfilment of the threat uttered long before by the mouth of Moses (Deut. xxviii. 30), *Thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein; thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather the grapes thereof.*

12. More exactly, **For I know, many** *are your transgressions, mighty your sins*. They had sinned not through ignorance, or infirmity, but resolutely, with a high hand.

they afflict, &c.] Literally, *afflicters of the just! bribe-takers!*

they turn aside] A sudden change of person as in *v.* 7.

The Heb. for *bribe* is not the common word, but one that strictly means (as in the margin) *ransom*, as in Num. xxxv. 31, 32, where the same words occur, *ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer*. The prophet therefore may mean that even murderers who could pay a high price for their acquittal were spared. At the same time the *poor* can get no redress *in the gate*, in the courts of law. The judges *turn them aside*, thwart, and defraud of their rights. Cp. ch. ii. 7; Prov. xviii. 5; Isai. x. 2; xxix. 21. They thus incurred the curse pronounced in Deut. xxvii. 19.

13. The *time* or *season* is that which has just been described; when violence and injustice were rampant. The *prudent* or *sensible*

keep silence in that time; for it *is* an evil time.

14 Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the LORD, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken.

15 [e] Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the LORD God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

16 Therefore the LORD, the God of hosts, the Lord, saith thus; Wailing *shall be* in all streets; and they shall say in all the highways, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing.

17 And in all vineyards *shall be* wailing: for I will pass through thee, saith the LORD.

18 [f] Woe unto you that desire the day of the LORD! to what end *is* it for you? the day of the LORD *is* darkness, and not light.

19 As if a man did flee from a

[e] Psal. 34. 14. & 97. 10. Rom. 12. 9.

[f] Isai. 5. 19. Jer. 30. 7. Joel 2. 2. Zeph. 1. 15.

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man will *keep silence;* he will live as much as may be in retirement, taking no part where he can do no good, and may be grievously wronged.

14. *as ye have spoken*] In spite of their many sins they flattered themselves that God was with them. But this could only really be if they sought the Lord; *sought good, not evil, not Beth-el* (*v.* 5).

15. The prophet repeats the call to amendment, inserting the warning, *Hate evil, love good.* As in the parallel place in Isaiah (i. 16, 17), they must first *cease to do evil,* then *learn to do well.* What they hated was reproof (see *v.* 10). What they should hate is only evil. They must try and repair the mischief they had done. They had laid justice low; had brought it even to the ground (*v.* 7). They must *establish,* set up again, on a firm basis, *judgment, in the gate.*

the remnant of Joseph] *the remnant, according to the election of grace,* as the Apostle speaks (Rom. xi. 4, 5), for whose sake God would not make a full end of the nation (Isai. vi. 13). *The remnant of Joseph,* as above, *the house of Joseph* (*v.* 6).

16. *Therefore the* LORD, &c.] Twice in the two previous verses the prophet mentions *the* LORD *God of hosts.* Here with increased solemnity he adds *the Lord,* the sovereign Master and Ruler, Who calls His servants to account. The position of the word is most unusual, and so emphatic. *Therefore* points to the sins referred to in *vv.* 5—12.

Wailing...in all streets] The word for *wailing,* according to its etymology, means originally *smiting on the breast* as a sign of sorrow, and especially in mourning for the dead. *Streets, wide streets,* or broad open spaces, perhaps those near the gate, contrasted with the *highways,* lit. *streets,* narrow, as in an Eastern city.

Alas! alas! or *woe! woe!* for the dead, the dying, and the doomed. There would be a general cry for *those that were skilful of lamentation,* mourners or wailers by profession, both men and women (see 2 Chro. xxxv. 25; Neh. xi. 23; Eccl. xii. 5), and because their numbers would be quite inadequate in the presence of widespread calamity, *the husbandman* must be summoned to bear a part in this national dirge.

17. *in all vineyards*] And among them those *pleasant vineyards* (*v.* 11) carefully planted and kept. These, which should have rung with cries of mirth and gladness, shall resound with wailing.

for I will pass through thee] This at once calls to mind the terrible words (Exod. xii. 12), *For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment.* But then the Lord *passed over* and spared His people. Now He will visit them as He did Egypt of old. Whenever the Hebrew phrase, used here and meaning *pass through,* is employed of God, *it signifies punishment, that He can by no means remain among them, but must pass through and leave them,* as Jerome remarks in this place. It is not simply *through thee,* but *through the midst of thee;* overlooking none, sparing nothing, visiting vineyard and city, striking down rich and poor.

18. *that desire*] Such mockers are rebuked by other prophets. See Isai. v. 19; Jer. xvii. 15; Ezek. xii. 22, 27.

the day of the LORD] is a succession of terrors from which there is no escape. This is illustrated by incidents familiar to the prophet. The *lion* and the *bear* are mentioned together in 1 S. xvii. 34; Prov. xxviii. 15. The bear's voracity and savageness are shewn in 2 K. ii. 24; Prov. xvii. 12, and fit it to be the emblem of the Medes in Daniel (vii. 5). The bear of Syria is a recognized species (see Smith's 'Bible Dict.' App.). The man is represented as escaping from the *lion* and the *bear,* and having reached his house exhausted with flight, he leans his hand on the wall to be bitten mortally by a serpent.

lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him.

20 *Shall* not the day of the LORD *be* darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?

[g] Isai. 1. 11. Jer. 6. 20. [i] Or, *smell your holy days.*

21 ¶ [g] I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not [i] smell in your solemn assemblies.

22 Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept *them:* neither will I regard the [i] peace offerings of your fat beasts.

[i] Or, *thank offerings.*

23 Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.

24 But let judgment [t] run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

[t] Heb. *roll.*

25 [h] Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?

[h] Acts 7. 42.

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20. *Shall not the day of the* LORD, &c.] As if the prophet would appeal to their conscience. Must not that day be all dark to them who love not the light? *Very dark* is one word in the Hebrew. It expresses an intenser gloom than the common word. Both are used together to describe the three days darkness in Egypt (Exod. x. 22), where our version has *thick darkness.*

21. *feast days*] Or, *festivals.*

I will not smell] I have no pleasure in, and will not accept. The phrase used is the same as that employed in the threat pronounced in Lev. xxvi. 31.

solemn assemblies] This is the rendering of one word; found also in Isai. i. 13; Joel i. 14, where see note.

22. *I will not accept*] Lit. *I will not be gracious* or *well pleased.*

peace offerings] Amos uses the singular collectively. Elsewhere the word is usually found in the plural. *Thank offerings* would more nearly express the meaning. See Lev. iii. Israel was scrupulous in ceremonial observances, kept festivals and seasons of special devotion, offered various kinds of sacrifice, as prescribed in the Law; but all this was of no avail so long as God was worshipped in a way which He had expressly forbidden.

23. *Take thou away from me*] Literally, *from upon me*, two prepositions being used. They were so far from being acceptable that they were burdensome. The words of God as delivered by Isaiah (i. 14) are similar, only more emphatic: *they are a burden upon Me, I am weary to bear them.* These *songs* had no melody in the ears of Him who loves only sincere and obedient worshippers; to Him they were but *noise*, like the confused sounds of a multitude.

for] is simply *and.*

viols] Or, *harps.* In the original the order of the words is, *the melody of thy harps will I not hear.*

24. *But*] Heb. *And.* If their worship was to be acceptable, it must be in accordance with God's commands; there must be a renunciation of idolatry, and implicit obedience. *And* justice and equity, what was due to man, so long disregarded and violated, must fill the land like a flood of waters. Like them *judgment* must *roll* (as in margin) carrying all before it. And this was to be no sudden and transient reformation. The prophet uses two images; first, that of rolling water; then that of a *stream*, which is not only *mighty*, but constant; not *a torrent* or wady soon swollen, and soon dried up, but a river flowing at all seasons, never failing. In the word employed there is an implied contrast to such streams as are called in Hebrew *Lying*, *i.e.* disappointing those that seek water from them. See notes on Job vi. 15—20.

25, 26. On no part of this prophet has more been written than on these verses. It will be enough here to point out the causes of the obscurity in the words, and to give what seem, on the whole, the most probable explanations. The prophet is dwelling on the main charge brought against Israel—worshipping God in ways of their own devising. Had the people served Him with undivided heart, they would have adhered faithfully to the appointed ritual; they could not have supposed that any offerings, however numerous and costly, could be acceptable which were presented to idols, though in the name of the true God. And this was a sin not peculiar to the prophet's times. It had shewn itself from the very first. In the wilderness, soon after the wonderful deliverance from Egypt, and amidst the most signal proofs of God's power and love, the people indulged in idolatrous practices, while they professed to worship Jehovah in the way that He had appointed. The contemporaries of Amos were the true descendants of those who perished in the wilderness. They were one with them in principle, no less than in blood. Hence that generation is addressed in words which literally belong only to their ancestors: *Have ye offered* [better, *Offered ye*] *unto me sacrifices and offerings* [*meat offerings*, as in *v.* 22] *in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?* The question can hardly intimate that sacrifices had not been offered at all, or

[1] Or, *Sicuth your king.*

26 But ye have borne [1] the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.

27 Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus, saith the LORD, whose name *is* The God of hosts.

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seldom, in the desert. Either view is at variance with the plain meaning of many statements in the Books of Moses. See note on Jeremiah, ch. vii. 22. What seems to be intended is, Ye did indeed offer sacrifices then, but could they be acceptable to Me, when at the very same time ye worshipped other gods besides Me, and did this openly, carrying about with you the images you adored?

26. *But ye have borne*] In the Hebrew it is simply, *And ye bare.* This supplies an answer to the question: Could your offerings be accepted, or really made to God, while ye did this? It is in what follows that the main difficulty lies. In the Hebrew the two words represented by *tabernacle* and *Chiun* are of uncertain meaning, for they occur nowhere else. The first, *Sicuth*, is retained in the marginal rendering as a proper name. The translation *tabernacle* is preferable. It is supported by etymology, was adopted by the LXX. and other ancient translators, and gives a good sense. What is meant appears to be a small portable shrine, containing the image of the divinity. Such were the *shrines* made at Ephesus for the worshippers of Diana (Acts xix. 24). And it is interesting to notice that Herodotus (II. 63) speaks of an image at Papremis being carried *in a little shrine of gilt wood.* In the text the idol is called *Moloch.* Here the marginal rendering is more exact: *your king. Melech*, the Hebrew word for *king*, is closely allied to the name of the god of the Ammonites, called *Molech*, or, with the article, *Hammolech*, or, in a slightly altered form, *Milchom.* The *king* here spoken of may or may not have been the same as *Moloch* (as we write the name after the example of the LXX.). But from the silence of Amos we may infer that, at least, he was not worshipped, as in later times, by the sacrifice of children.

The clause, *and Chiun your images*, is quite distinct in the original from what goes before. *The tabernacle*, therefore, belongs to *the king* alone. *Chiun* is the second word in this place that has greatly added to its obscurity. Our translators have kept the Hebrew word, regarding it as the name of some idol. In this they have followed several ancient versions, and some Jewish commentators, who assert that *Chiun* is another name for the planet Saturn. Though many expositors have adopted this opinion, it does not rest on satisfactory evidence. The Hebrew word may very well mean *pedestal, support* [*of your images*]; and this translation agrees better with the other clause—*the tabernacle of your king.* This is the view of several good critics. See Note at end of Chapter. *Images* are used of idols in other places (Num. xxxiii. 52; 2 K. xi. 18).

the star of your god] In the Hebrew the phrase is construed in apposition with what precedes, and is perhaps equivalent to "your star god." It indicates the worship of the heavenly bodies; as the passage is explained by St Stephen, who mentions the worship of *the host of heaven*, as later than that of the calf (Acts vii. 41, 42).

which ye made to yourselves] In this lay their sin and folly. Notwithstanding the tokens of God's presence among them, and the stringent prohibitions of idolatry, they made idols, which they chose according to their fancy, and worshipped the work of their own hands. Compare the language of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 15—18, 21.

27. *Therefore*, &c.] In the Hebrew simply *And. And will I cause*, &c. "Ye, O house of Israel, have thus long provoked Me to jealousy. Ye have offered sacrifices to Me, and worshipped idols at the same time. And I will banish you from your land." Their exile, in God's providence, was the consequence of their transgression.

Damascus] had been recently recovered by Israel (2 K. xiv. 28) out of the hands of the Syrians, their chief enemy on the north. But as the favour thus shewn them had not been followed by amendment, they were now to be carried captive *beyond Damascus.* The prophet does not specify the victorious nation, whom we know to have been the Assyrians (2 K. xvii. 6), a people that, at that time, had shewn no hostility to Israel. And it is said that hitherto there had been no instance of a nation being carried captive by its conqueror. St Stephen, in quoting the prediction (Acts vii. 43), says, *beyond Babylon*, mentioning the city beyond which lay *the cities of the Medes*, in which, in fulfilment of the prophecy, the Israelites were settled.

saith the LORD, *whose name is The God of hosts*] This was no mere vague anticipation of the prophet's, that the injustice, corruption, and profligacy of his countrymen would call down punishment from heaven. It is God Himself Who, by the mouth of the prophet, here speaks. Hence Amos could say precisely what the punishment should be, and from what quarter it should come.

NOTE on CHAP. v. 26.

In our A. V. the word *images* seems to be applied both to *Moloch* and *Chiun*, but this is not supported by the Hebrew. The force of the original is best seen when the clauses are presented separately to the eye, thus:

ונשאתם את סכות מלככם
ואת כיון צלמיכם
כוכב אלהיכם

The repetition of את shews that the verb has two objects, and its absence before כוכב is an intimation that this word is in apposition with what goes before.

As regards סכות, it might be a proper name (as in our margin), "Siccuth, your king," but this rendering has no historical support. The ancients agree in taking it as a noun, not as a proper name. Thus the LXX. have σκηνή, and, by using the sing., would not seem to have read here the common word סֻכּוֹת, but a singular form, derived from the same verb. And if סכות is not a proper name, this of itself makes it improbable that כיון in the parallel clause can be taken as one. Besides, the plural of the word joined with it, צלמיכם, forbids this. The Vulg. represents it by *imaginem*. The Targum retains the word, perhaps, because not understood, ית כיון צלמיכון. In the Syriac the corresponding words are ܩܘܡ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ. And in the works of St Ephrem (II. 458) Saturn is called by this name. In Arabic too the planet sometimes bears the same name (كيوان). But it should be observed that the proper Arabic name for Saturn is زحل, and it is probable that the other name is borrowed from the Syriac. It is not found in early Arabic books. The identification therefore of כיון with Saturn rests on very slender grounds.

The LXX. have Ῥαιφάν for כיון. According to Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 670), and others before him, this arose from a confusion of the letters כ and ר in the old characters. He gives an example from Nahum i. 6, where the LXX. have ἀρχαί (ראש) for the Hebrew באש. It is true that in Coptic lists of the planets Rephan represents Saturn, but the name may simply have come from the Coptic translation of this passage, in which the word found in the LXX. was adopted. There is no proof whatever that the planet bore this name amongst the ancient Egyptians. See more in Gesenius (u. s.), and Keil on the passage.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The wantonness of Israel,* 7 *shall be plagued with desolation,* 12 *and their incorrigibleness.*

[a] Luke 6. 24. [l] Or. *are secure.*

[a] WOE to them *that* [l] *are* at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, *which are* named [b] [l] chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came!

[b] Exod. 19. 5. [l] Or, *first-fruits.*

2 Pass ye unto Calneh, and see; and from thence go ye to Hamath

CHAP. VI. 1. *Woe to them that are at ease*] Or, as in the margin, *secure*. The word employed by the prophet is one that is extensive in form, and means *thoroughly careless* or *indifferent, perfectly at ease*. It is used also by Isaiah (xxxii. 9—11). It is the nobles and chief men, not only of *Samaria*, but of *Zion* also (*v.* 1), who are here rebuked and threatened for their self-indulgence and recklessness (*vv.* 1—8).

and trust in the mountain of Samaria] may also be rendered, *and to the confident ones in the mountain of Samaria. Zion* and *Samaria* will thus be addressed in exactly parallel clauses.

named chief of the nations] The force of the first word and its construction might more exactly be given thus: *The marked*, or *distinguished men of the chief of the nations*. Amos describes them by the word used by Moses (Num. i. 17) in speaking of *the princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of the thousands of Israel*, when he writes that they were "*expressed* by name." The very word (which is found besides only in the later books, Chronicles and Ezra) would recall earlier and purer days. *The chief of the nations*, or, as in the margin, *the firstfruits*, *i.e.* the choicest, most favoured. Such was Israel, as chosen and *known* by God (ch. iii. 2). The same phrase was used by Balaam of Amalek, to signify its dignity and power among neighbouring nations.

to whom the house of Israel came] The people *came* to them, as judges and rulers. In them they might have looked for examples of uprightness and virtue. What they saw was injustice, pride and wantonness.

2. Compare your condition with that of other kingdoms close at hand. Look to the east, the north, and the west.

Pass] Cross over the Euphrates, in the far east, *unto Calneh*, on the Tigris, mentioned as early as Gen. x. 10 (where see note),

thence go] to the north to *Hamath* called *the great*, probably not to distinguish it from any smaller city of the same name, but to mark its size and importance. So Zidon has this epithet in Josh. xi. 8. It was situated in a valley of the Orontes. Called *Epiphania* after

the great: then go down to Gath of the Philistines: *be they* better than these kingdoms? or their border greater than your border?

3 Ye that [c] put far away the [d] evil day, and cause the [1] seat of violence to come near;

4 That lie upon beds of ivory, and [1] stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall;

5 That [1] chant to the sound of the viol, *and* invent to themselves instruments of musick, like David;

6 That drink [1] wine in bowls, and

[c] Ezek. 12. 27.
[d] chap. 5. 18.
[1] Or, *habitation.*
[1] Or, *abound with superfluities.*
[1] Or, *quaver.*
[1] Or, *in bowls of wine.*

Antiochus, it still retains its old name. The *entrance* to it was assigned as the northern border of Israel (Num. xxxiv. 8). It had recently been recovered by Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 25, 28). To its conquest allusion may be made here.

then (and) *go down to Gath*] *Go down* because it was situated in the *Shephelah* or *low land* by the Mediterranean. It was one of the five Philistine cities and lay on the borders of Judah, see Josh. xiii. 3. It is not mentioned by Amos with the other four cities (ch. i.), by Zephaniah (ii. 4), or by Zechariah (ix. 5), probably because it never recovered after Uzziah took it and broke down its wall (2 Chro. xxvi. 6).

be they better than these kingdoms?] Were the places just mentioned *better off*, more prosperous, than the *kingdoms* of Israel and Judah? It is implied that they had received less at the hand of God, and that *their border* or territory was smaller. While these had been subdued or destroyed, how ungrateful had Israel proved for far higher blessings! What then must be its doom?

3. *Ye that put far away*, &c.] The form of the word shews that it was their habit to do this. *The evil day* or the *day of evil* is another expression for *the day of the Lord* (v. 18, 20). The thought of it was unwelcome, and so they *put it far away*, with disgust and abhorrence. Such is the idea suggested by the verb. They assigned a distant date to the fulfilment of the prophet's threats. They were like those who said, *The vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off* (Ezek. xii. 27, and the context). In contrast with this, *they cause the seat of violence to come near.* The farther off *the day of evil was*, the stronger the temptation to commit oppression. The word for *seat* means *dwelling* or *sitting.* The passage may be taken in more than one way. They gave a ready welcome to violence; made a *home* for it, sheltered and cherished it. Or, they countenanced and encouraged *violence* on the *seat* of the judge. With this may be compared the phrase, *the throne of iniquity* (Ps. xciv. 20), and the use of the verb *sit* frequently of kings and magistrates, as in Ps. cxxii. 5.

4. *beds of ivory*] Perhaps inlaid with it. So *houses of ivory* (iii. 15).

stretch themselves] The marginal rendering seems to refer to the primary meaning of the word—the pouring, streaming out of water: hence that of listless self-indulgence. Our word *lounge* comes near it.

couches] Probably such as were furnished with a canopy or hangings (see iii. 12).

lambs] The word means those that were fatted for the table. Of these the best were taken *out of the flock*, as the *calves* were picked out from others at *the stall.*

5. *chant*] The Hebrew word for this is not found elsewhere; *chant* is not adequate. The marginal *quaver* is better, intimating something artificial and feeble, but is limited to the execution of the music. The same root in Arabic means *to speak hurriedly, without reflection.* If it related only to conversation it might be illustrated by our familiar expressions, *gabble, prate, chatter.* Here it is applied to the words which were sung to *the harp*, and it indicates that the singers thought more of the sound than of the sense. Both words and music seem to have been such as would suit listless and effeminate revellers. In the next clause they are contrasted with *David*, to whom is ascribed the use of *the psaltery and harp*, stringed instruments, in the temple service (2 Chro. xxix. 25). These are called *instruments of David* (ib. *v.* 26), and are elsewhere (1 Chro. xxiii. 5) said to have been *made* by him to praise the Lord. David invented or improved the *nebel* (*viol* here), and the *kinnor*, the one played with the hand, the other with the plectrum, according to Josephus ('Antiq.' VII. 12, 13), devoting the musical talent given to him in honour of God. These degenerate nobles made improvements in the instruments of their day, solely to heighten the pleasure of their luxurious banquets.

6. *That drink wine in bowls*] The margin gives it more exactly, *in bowls of wine.* The word rendered *bowls* means elsewhere *basins* to hold the blood that was *sprinkled*, and was among the utensils of the great altar (see Exod. xxxviii. 3; Zech. xiv. 20). Such *bowls* were among the offerings of the princes, enumerated in Num. vii., which were brought at the setting up of the tabernacle. Their weight is there said to have been *seventy shekels.* The use of this word might suggest a contrast between the dissolute princes of

anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the † affliction of Joseph.

† Heb. *breach.*

7 ¶ Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the banquet of them that stretched themselves shall be removed.

8 [e] The Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the Lord the God of hosts, I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his palaces: therefore will I deliver up the city with † all that is therein.

† Heb. *the fulness thereof.*

9 And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten men in one house, that they shall die.

[e] Jer. 51. 14.

Samaria and their ancestors (cf. ver. 1). If the word is taken in its plain, literal meaning, it would shew that they did not hesitate to use sacred vessels at their feasts. In any case, it implies that they were not satisfied with ordinary cups, or drinking vessels, and drank to excess.

anoint themselves] Had they done this with plain olive oil they would have complied merely with the custom of their country (Deut. xxviii. 40), which an eastern climate made necessary. Here too the same luxury displayed itself. They used *the chief ointments* or *unguents*; the prophet employing the same word as in *v.* 1, for *chief* of the nations. The only ointment of which we read in earlier times that was rendered fragrant with costly aromatics, was that which was compounded with *principal spices* (Exod. xxx. 23, foll.) for anointing the priests, the tabernacle, and its vessels. To compound anything like it for other uses was strictly forbidden (ib. *v.* 33).

not grieved for the affliction of Joseph] Those who are rebuked by the prophet, lived for themselves. They ate and drank and pampered themselves. Even their higher tastes, as for music, shewed themselves only in a refined selfishness. This was their manner of life. Amos uses many participles in his description, which cannot be retained in our language, and so shews that he is painting the daily life of these luxurious self-indulgent men. Their one great aim was the gratification of self. How could they weep with him that wept? What to them was *the affliction*, or *the breach, of Joseph* (cp. v. 15)? the ruin that by the voice of the prophets was impending over the kingdom? They had no sympathy with sorrow. They were not *grieved, sick at heart* (such is the force of the word), as noble and generous natures would have been, at the misery that awaited their country.

7. *Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive*] *With the first*, literally, *at the head*, in the front *of the captives*. The prophet uses a word allied to that in which he spoke of them as belonging to "the *chief* of the nations;" as anointing themselves with "*chief* ointment." As they were first in station, first in recklessness and dissolute enjoyments, so should they be first in ignominy, in the van of the exiles on their way to a distant land.

the banquet of them that stretched themselves] In the Hebrew it is *mirzach seruchim*, as if Amos chose words of similar sound to express his meaning. The first is a rare word, which according to its derivation means a *shrill, piercing cry*. This might be the expression of wild revelry, as here, or of anguish, as in Jer. xvi. 5 (A. V. *mourning*). The discordant mirth of these *riotous loungers* must *be removed, depart* and pass away.

8. *hath sworn by himself*] Literally, *by His soul*, in condescension using the language of man: so similarly in other places *as I live* (Num. xiv. 28). He swears by Himself, *because He could swear by no greater;* and in this case also *to shew the immutability of His counsel* (Heb. vi. 13, 17).

the excellency of Jacob] is used in a later chapter (viii. 7) as a designation of God Himself; for in Him alone might *Jacob, i.e.* his descendants, glory. But when they ceased to acknowledge (see *v.* 13) that they had nothing but what they had received from Him Who chose their forefathers not for any goodness or excellence of theirs, but simply because He loved them (Deut. vii. 7, 8), then their *excellency* became *pride*, as the same word often means (as in Jer. xiii. 9). Their *palaces* were hateful to Him because they were founded on robbery and oppression (cf. Jer. xxii. 13—17), and were enriched by what had been wrung from the poor and needy (see chap. iii. 10, 11).

therefore] Simply *and*, as before (v. 27).

will I deliver up] The verb means *to shut up*, and when it signifies *to make over entirely, to deliver up*, is commonly followed by *in the hand of*, or the person to whom the surrender is made is expressed. The meaning may be either that God would *deliver up the city* without reserve, *with all the fulness thereof*, all its inhabitants, and all its wealth, into the power of the enemy, or, that God Himself would *shut up* the city, besieging it straitly.

9. *if there remain ten men*] It is not said where this would happen. But the scene may be supposed to be in the besieged city. We have no difficulty in explaining the terrible picture which the prophet draws with a few touches. In the straitness of that siege which lasted three years (2 K. xvii. 5), famine must have been followed by pestilence. A *house*

10 And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that *is* by the sides of the house, *Is there* yet *any* with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, *f* Hold thy tongue: for [1] we may not make mention of the name of the LORD.

11 For, behold, the LORD commandeth, and he will smite the great house with [1] breaches, and the little house with clefts.

12 ¶ Shall horses run upon the rock? will *one* plow *there* with oxen?

f chap. 5. 13.
[1] Or, *they will not*, or, *have not*.
[1] Or, *droppings*.

where *ten men were left*, were spared, survived the casualties and privations of a siege, may have been one of the *palaces*. It could hardly be small.

10. *And a man's uncle*, &c.] The prophet's exact words are more precise and clear, *And his uncle and his burner shall take him up.* The man has lost father and brothers. His next of kin is his *uncle*, and he cannot lay him in the earth. The virulence of the plague forbade this, it may be, or as the burial-place lay outside the walls, according to Jewish custom, it was inaccessible. His *uncle* therefore must with his own hands *burn* his remains. The Jews buried their dead. The only cases of *burning* are exceptional, and for special reasons. The bodies of Saul and his sons were probably burned that they might not again be insulted by the Philistines (1 S. xxxi. 11—13). The burning spoken of in other places (2 Chro. xvi. 14, xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5) was that of fragrant spices, not of the bodies of the dead.

By *bones* some have understood the emaciated bodies, so reduced as to be almost skeletons. It may express simply *the corpses*. When the *uncle's* pious task seems done, when he has carried out nine, as he returns to the house, and passes through its empty rooms, he finds *in its sides*, in one of its remote chambers, one who still lives, and he asks if he is the only one left. *Is there yet any with thee?* The answer is, *No.* The *uncle's* rejoinder is, *Hold thy tongue!* or, to use a word very like that in the text, *Hush! for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord.* These last words are ascribed by some to the prophet himself, but with little probability. They are more naturally attributed to the *uncle*. The literal translation is, *the name of the Lord is not to be mentioned*. It is not easy to say what must be supplied. It is certainly implied that the sick man was observed to be about to speak, and was stopped by the other's *Hush!* What was he going to add? Some suppose an appeal to God, in confirmation of his *No*, such as, *the Lord liveth* (cf. 1 K. xvii. 12). Others think it likely that the survivor might intend to thank God for sparing him. And this agrees well with the phrase *to make mention of the name of the Lord*, which often implies praise and trust (Ps. xx. 8; Josh. xxiii. 7). The prohibition might spring from superstition that feared to mention the very name of Him Who so terribly visited them. It is better, perhaps, to regard it as the language of despondency or despair. Of what avail was any appeal to the Lord now? It was idle in the day of vengeance. The Jewish commentators put the last words in the mouth of the sick man, as if saying, "Remove the dead, for while they lived they prayed not in the name of the Lord." Of the two marginal renderings the second seems to embody this view.

11. *the* LORD *commandeth, and he will smite*] So in ch. ix. 9, *I will command and I will sift.* Though He *commands* the human instruments of His anger, it is still the Lord Himself Who inflicts punishment. By *the great house* some understand the kingdom of Israel; by *the little house*, that of Judah. Others, with more probability, take these expressions literally. Compare iii. 15, where *great houses* may be also *many houses*; neither small nor great should escape. Only the greater the house, the greater the ruin. For *breaches* we find in the margin *droppings*, in which sense the word is used in other places (Song of Sol. v. 2, *drops of night*). Transferred from liquid to dry things, it may mean *small fragments, atoms.* The prophet's language implies that *the great house* should be smitten so as to become *atoms* or *dust*; while *the small house* should be full of *clefts, cracks* or *rents*.

12. The questions of the prophet vividly represent what is unnatural, absurd and fruitless. Do horses run up the steep cliff? Do men plough with oxen on the naked rock? Would not the toil be preposterous? Our translators have well added *there* in the second clause, in which something must be supplied. Would not a man be thought mad who should attempt such a thing? Amos seems to address himself to the nobles and judges of Israel, as if he had said—Is your conduct more reasonable, who have violated the eternal laws of God, have turned law and equity into a means of oppression and violence, and yet hope to prosper, escaping the divine vengeance? *For* (he adds) *ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock.* He had used a similar expression to the last in an earlier chapter (v. 7),

for ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock:

13 Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?

14 But, behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the LORD the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hemath unto the [1]river of the wilderness. [1] Or, *valley*.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The judgments of the grasshoppers,* 4 *and of the fire, are diverted by the prayer of Amos.* 7 *By the wall of a plumbline is signified the rejection of Israel.* 10 *Amaziah complaineth of Amos.* 14 *Amos sheweth his calling,* 16 *and Amaziah's judgment.*

THUS hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me; and, behold, he

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where our translators have *wormwood* for the word rendered *hemlock* here. The word rendered *gall* is of uncertain meaning. As it signifies literally *head*, it seems very likely that primarily it indicates *the poppy*, and then what was bitter, injurious and poisonous. The corrupt judge turns what is wholesome into poison; he makes what should be sweetest, bitterest.

13. *Ye which rejoice...which say*] The prophet, according to his custom, uses participles—You who are always *rejoicing in a thing of nought;* in Hebrew one word, a *no-thing*, a non-entity, in that present seeming prosperity of the kingdom which has no real foundation; who are always *saying—Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength? Horns* are the common emblem in Scripture of power and might, Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. lxxxix. 17. These boasters attributed all their success to themselves. It was not God who had given them *horns*. No. They had *taken them*, and *taken them to themselves*, to use them at their own will and pleasure. Very different is the language of the sacred historian (2 K. xiv. 25—27): God saw *the bitter affliction of Israel*, and saved them by the hand of Jeroboam II.

14. *But*] Literally, *For*. They were exulting in their recent victories over the Syrians, in the recovery of the ancient border of their kingdom both in the north and south. But their exultation was vain; their confidence misplaced. They did not see the hand of God in their success. They saw in their restored empire only the result of their own wisdom and valour. This gleam of prosperity was their last trial, and they proved incorrigible. The end shewed that they *rejoiced in a thing of nought. For, behold, I* (emphatic) *will raise up against you a nation, and they shall afflict you.* In 2 K. xiv. 25 the restoration of the border of Israel is described, with one exception, in the same words as those in which are here announced the limits of the coming affliction. *From the entering in of Hamath to the sea of the Arabah* are the precise words of the sacred historian. For *sea* in Amos we find *river*, or rather *brook, wady. The Arabah* is the name in Hebrew for the depressed valley through which the Jordan flows, called from its shape, in Greek, Aulon, and in Arabic, El Ghor. In our A. V. it is rendered *plain* generally. The Dead Sea is called by Moses the sea of *the Arabah*, or *the plain* (as in Deut. iii. 17). *The river of the wilderness*, or *wady of the Arabah*, must have been some well-known boundary. It would seem to be some stream on the eastern side, which was also the southern border of Moab, as that country was within the limits of the kingdom of Israel. Isaiah mentions (xv. 7) *the brook* (or *wady*) *of the willows*—in Hebrew *nachal ha-arabim*—in Moab's southern border. This has been identified with a stream called in its upper course *Wady el Ahsa*, and in its lower *Wady es Safieh*, which enters the Dead Sea at its southern end. Its position would suit the prophet's words (see 2 K. xiv. 25).

CHAP. VII. 1. The prophet had just announced the punishment to be inflicted on Israel by a powerful enemy. He now adds a series of visions, in which God shewed him some details of the approaching calamity. It has been remarked by an early commentator that the first three correspond with the gradual advance of the Assyrians. First, Pul invaded the land, and retired on receiving from Menahem a thousand talents of silver, which he had exacted from his wealthy subjects (2 K. xv. 19, 20). Secondly, Tiglath-Pileser, at the invitation of Ahaz, made a second invasion, and carried captive the tribes on the north and east (2 K. xv. 29, xvi. 7; 1 Chro. v. 26). Lastly, Shalmaneser subdued the whole country, and carried away the remainder of the people.

Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me] With these words three of the visions are introduced (*v.* 1, 4, viii. 1); the remaining one in almost the same (*v.* 7).

he formed] He was in the act of forming. He Who was called before *the former of the mountains* (see on iv. 13) is here represented as equally *the former of* insects. In the Bible

formed [1] grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and, lo, *it was* the latter growth after the king's mowings.

2 And it came to pass, *that* when they had made an end of eating the grass of the land, then I said, O Lord GOD, forgive, I beseech thee: [1] by whom shall Jacob arise? for he *is* small.

3 The LORD repented for this: It shall not be, saith the LORD.

4 ¶ Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and, behold, the Lord GOD called to contend by fire, and it devoured the great deep, and did eat up a part.

5 Then said I, O Lord GOD, cease, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he *is* small.

6 The LORD repented for this: This also shall not be, saith the Lord GOD.

7 ¶ Thus he shewed me: and,

[1] Or, *green worms.*

[1] Or, *who of* (or, *for*) *Jacob shall stand?*

God is spoken of throughout, not as ruling the world by general laws (as we speak), but as the actual Agent Who always *worketh* (John v. 17). For *grasshoppers*, or rather *locusts*, Amos uses a word found only once elsewhere (Nahum iii. 17).

in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth] That is, at the very season when a plague of locusts would be most terrible; when the grass, after being mown, began to grow again. *The latter growth* was the result of the *latter rain*, that fell before the heat of summer set in, drying up everything; and they are respectively called by names derived from one root, *lekesh*, *malkosh*. The effect of this rain is referred to in Ps. lxxii. 6, *like rain upon the mown grass*. If there were no aftergrowth, there would be no supply for the winter. By *the king's mowings* we must understand the first crop of grass, which seems to have been taken in Israel for the *king's* use. It was thus of no avail to the owners of the soil.

2. *grass of the land*] This includes the fruits of the earth, the food of man, as in Ps. civ. 14, where the same word occurs, "*herb* for the service of man" (cf. Gen. i. 11, 12, 29, ix. 3). Amos intercedes at this point, using the same prayer as Moses in Num. xiv. 19, though the words differ in our version.

by whom shall Jacob arise?] More literally, *who* is *Jacob* that he *should arise?* How can he *arise*, *stand* or *endure*, if thus visited?

for he is small] Reduced and impoverished by intestine commotions and foreign invasion (2 K. xv.). Such were the calamities symbolized by the locusts.

3. *The LORD repented for this*] He suspended the full execution of His purpose, listening, as it would seem, to the prophet's supplication. It was after the locusts had eaten what they could find, that this concession was granted. The word *this* therefore points, not to what was past, but to some greater, unnamed calamity that was to follow. A respite was granted.

4. *called*] Was calling, summoning, His people *to contend*. The verb signifies to contend judicially, in a court of law. He bids them enter into judgment with Him. He will try their case with *fire*. So it is said (Isai. lxvi. 16) *By fire and by His sword will the Lord plead with all flesh* (cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22). The imagery is supplied by those fires that, breaking out after long drought in grass or forest (Joel i. 19), burn everything before them. That the *fire* spoken of is symbolical is shewn by its devouring the sea as well as the land.

the great deep] is an expression found chiefly in the poetical books, occurring elsewhere only in the narratives of the Creation and the Flood. Where our translators have *devour* and *eat*, in Hebrew the same word (*eat*) is used twice.

a part] should be *the part* or *portion*, for it is made definite by the article. What is meant seems to be *the portion* which God decreed to be consumed; not the whole kingdom of Israel, but *that portion* which suffered from the violence of Tiglath-Pileser.

5, 6. Again the prophet intercedes, not praying as before that God would *forgive* (*v.* 2), but *cease*, desist, sparing some; and he uses the same plea as before, the enfeebled condition of Jacob. And, once more, the intercession of Amos obtains a mitigation of the punishment. The worst that is to happen shall yet be deferred.

7, 8. In this third vision the Lord Himself is seen by the prophet, not sending locusts or fire on a guilty land, but coming down to punish them. The purport too of the vision is explained. The word for *plumbline* is found here only in the Hebrew text, but its meaning is rendered clear by the cognate languages. *A wall of a plumbline*, as the prophet calls it, is *a wall* made according to such a line, straight, perpendicular. It had been built with care and judgment, by rule and measure. By the same should it be destroyed. *I will set a plumbline*, and that *in the midst of Israel*, for the overthrow was not to be limited to *a part*, but was to embrace all. In other

behold, the Lord stood upon a wall *made* by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand.

8 And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the Lord, Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more:

9 And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.

10 ¶ Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words.

11 For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land.

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passages *the plumbline* is spoken of as employed no less in destruction than in erection. See the places referred to in the margin.

8. *I will not again pass by them any more*] The same phrase occurs in ch. viii. 2, and a similar one in Prov. xix. 11, *to pass over a transgression*, and Micah vii. 18, *to pass by* it; and the meaning is, to overlook it, not to punish it.

9. *the high places of Isaac*] is a phrase peculiar to Amos. It is not easy to determine why it is employed. It may refer especially to Beersheba, which is twice mentioned by the prophet (v. 5, viii. 14) in connection with idolatrous worship. There Isaac had dwelt, and built an altar (Gen. xxvi. 24). As Josiah is said to have *defiled the high places where the priests sacrificed, from Geba to Beersheba* (2 K. xxiii. 8), there may have been many of these ancient sites of patriarchal worship thus desecrated, and some of these may have been specially referred to in this expression of the prophet. In ver. 16 we find *the house of Isaac*. It may be that the people identified their worship with the simple piety of the patriarch, and ostentatiously claimed kindred with him. Under the title of *the sanctuaries of Israel* are certainly included Dan, Bethel, and Gilgal. Israel had but one *sanctuary* in the place that God had chosen, and so could not have more than one that deserved to be so named. The ten tribes probably dignified with this title the principal seats of their idol worship, just as they named their *high places* after *Isaac*.

I will rise, &c.] It was by the hand of Jeroboam that Israel had been saved, and its border restored. His son, however, Zachariah, was not spared for his father's sake. When he had reigned six months he was assassinated by Shallum, who succeeded him, but reigned only "a full month in Samaria" (2 K. xv. 8—13).

10. Amaziah, though here called only *the priest of Beth-el*, was probably the high priest. There must have been many priests of the calf-worship there, and he who is here named may be supposed to have been at the head of them, from the part that he took. He makes a calumnious charge against Amos. He asserts that he had *conspired* against the king. There does not appear to have been the slightest ground for this accusation. The prophet had not questioned the king's power, nor made any attempt against his life. He had not entered into any secret league with others. But as God's messenger he had denounced idolatry, and foretold the extinction of the royal house. This was *constructive treason* in the eyes of Amaziah, and he availed himself of this false plea against an obnoxious opponent, simply because he thought it would have most weight with the king. From the words of the message we may infer that the preaching of Amos *in the midst of the house of Israel* had not been fruitless.

the land is not able (said he) *to bear all his words*] What he uttered had at least found listeners. And among these there may have been those who gave heed to them, who were led to have misgivings about the national religion and worship. The greater the number of such, the more colour they would have given to Amaziah's distortion of the truth.

11. *For thus Amos saith*, &c.] Amaziah speaks of Amos as of one who utters his own words and thoughts, not of one claiming divine authority. He sends the king a summary of those words with which the land had been filled. But brief as it is, part is false, and the remainder an unfair account of the prophet's teaching as a whole. Amos had not said that *Jeroboam should die by the sword*. It was *the house of Jeroboam*, his family, that was so threatened. Had he really predicted the king's violent death, a jealous ruler might have suspected him of treason, of taking measures to make his words good. Hence this perversion of his prophecy by Amaziah. For the rest, Amos had indeed foretold the captivity of the people, but there is no mention of the crying sins denounced, which were its cause, or of the encouragement offered to the penitent.

12 Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there:

13 But prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it *is* the king's ‖ chapel, and it *is* the † king's court.

14 ¶ Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I *was* no prophet, neither *was* I a prophet's son; but I *was* an herdman, and a gatherer of ‖ sycomore fruit:

15 And the LORD took me † as I followed the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.

‖ Or, *sanctuary.* † Heb. *house of the kingdom.*

‖ Or, *wild figs.* † Heb. *from behind.*

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12. *Also Amaziah said*, &c.] Lit. *And Amaziah said.* The king appears to have taken no notice of the priest's message. Perhaps he reverenced a prophet. He had himself fulfilled the prediction made by Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25). So the priest not being able to make use of the king's name, speaks with all the authority he can assume. He addresses Amos by what was really a title of honour: *O thou seer.* It belongs specially to God's prophets, as possessing a deeper insight than other men, not from superior ability, but by divine illumination. To such a gift the prophet laid claim, when he prefaced his *words* by saying they were such as he *saw* (ch. i. 1. See note there). But the high priest of Bethel used it contemptuously, as ridiculing his pretensions. He addresses Amos as if he made a trade of his high office, and cared only to get his living by it. He tells him that it is not to his advantage to exercise his profession there.

flee thee] That is, according to the Hebrew, *flee for thy profit.* If thou wouldest prosper, begone quickly to *Judah.* These predictions of a rival's overthrow would be acceptable.

there eat bread] As if he were one who sought for nothing beyond *handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread*, to use the language of Ezekiel (xiii. 19).

13. *But prophesy not again any more at Beth-el*] He really puts Bethel first. Thus, literally, *And at Bethel thou shalt not again any more prophesy. Bethel!* it was too sacred a place. It must be guarded against such intrusion,

for it is the king's chapel] Better, *sanctuary*, as in the margin, for this word, so frequently used of the tabernacle and the temple, reminds us that there was only one sanctuary for the whole people owned by God, and that was at Jerusalem. Rightly is it called *the king's sanctuary*, for it was not God's. Had it been such, it could not at the same time have been a man's. It was *the king's*, for it was constituted *a sanctuary* by his will alone. It could claim no higher authority. It is added, *It is the king's court.* The marginal rendering is more literal: *house of the kingdom*, or, as there is no article, it might be translated *a royal house.* It was called Bethel originally, as being *God's house*, for God was there, manifesting Himself there to His servant (Gen. xxviii. 16—19). It might be called *a royal house*, as containing a palace for the king when he came to worship there. Or it may have received this name as being the principal seat of the national religion, it was *a royal house, i.e.* temple, *the sacred capital*, as we might say.

14, 15. The answer of Amos is a calm refutation of Amaziah's insinuations. He did not belong to the order of the prophets, nor was he *a prophet's son*, he had not been trained in any school of the prophets. He did not prophesy for the unworthy motives attributed to him, but simply in obedience to the command of God, Who had called him to be a prophet, while engaged in an humble occupation. His aim was not bread, or profit, or honour, but merely to do God's bidding. He was a simple *herdman* when the summons came. He uses a term commonly restricted to those who took charge of the larger cattle. But the context shews that he was a shepherd—*the* LORD *took me as I followed the flock*—and with this agrees the rare word with which, at the opening of his prophecy, he had described his occupation (see on i. 1). He adds that he was *a gatherer of sycomore fruit*, or more exactly, *a dresser, cultivator of sycamores.* The sycamore is large and tall, with spreading branches, resembling the mulberry tree. It grew in Egypt (Ps. lxxviii. 47), and is spoken of as being common on the coast of southern Palestine (1 K. x. 27). Its fruit, which is found, not on the branches, but the stem, is like a fig in shape and smell, but inferior in flavour, being sweet and insipid. To mature it, they scratched or punctured the skin with an iron instrument, and after three days the fruit was fit to eat. The word *bolēs* (LXX. κνίζων, Vulg. *vellicans*), used here by the prophet, intimates that such was his occupation. It does not occur again in the Old Testament.

15. *the* LORD *said unto me*] Twice in the same verse he uses the sacred name: *The Lord took me, The Lord said unto me.* He was not a prophet by education, by choice, for gain, but by divine impulse and command. A *necessity was laid upon* him. He could not but deliver the message with which he was charged.

my people] This is the language of love and

16 ¶ Now therefore hear thou the word of the LORD: Thou sayest, [a] Ezek. 21. 2. Prophesy not against Israel, [a] and drop not *thy word* against the house of Isaac.

17 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line; and thou shalt die in a polluted land: and Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 By a basket of summer fruit is shewed the propinquity of Israel's end. 4 Oppression is reproved. 11 A famine of the word threatened.

THUS hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and behold a basket of summer fruit.

2 And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit. Then said the LORD unto me, The end is come upon my people of Israel; I will not again pass by them any more.

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pity. Amos had been accused of foretelling simply the captivity of Israel (*v.* 11). This expression intimates that his message was one of mercy no less than of woe.

16. Amos had calmly vindicated himself in the execution of his office. Before he goes on with his task, he has heavy tidings to announce to him who endeavoured to stop his mouth and drive him from the land.

Prophesy not...drop not] Literally in each case, *Thou shalt not, must not prophesy, drop*. The image contained in the second verb is found in the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 2). The same word as that in the text is used in Job (xxix. 22) of gentle, persuasive, acceptable speech. But Amos first applies it to prophesying. Afterwards it occurs in Micah (ii. 6, 11) and Ezekiel (xxi. 2). It implies that God's words delivered by His prophets should be welcome to His people. When used by men it seems to intimate that they were irritated by the repetition of threats and warnings. Cf. Prov. xix. 13.

17. *Therefore*] Because thou hast thus openly endeavoured to silence one who was commissioned by God Himself to speak.

Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city] This may mean that she, the wife of the high-priest of Bethel, should in that same *city* bring dishonour upon him by her unfaithfulness, impelled by the privations that followed the conquest of the country and the desolation of her home. Not only must Amaziah's *sons fall by the sword*, but, to exhibit the savage temper of the conqueror, his *daughters* also.

thy land] Thy fields, or thy native country.

shall be divided by line] Shall be distributed by measurement by the enemy (cf. Josh. xvii. 5, *portions* [*lines*]; Ps. lxxviii. 55).

a polluted land] A foreign country defiled by the worship of idols, unlike Israel, in which God's name was known, and worship offered to Him, though erroneous, and unauthorized. We nowhere read the fulfilment of this prophecy. Those who believe that Amos spoke, not his own words, but the Lord's, do not require such a record. None who observe how briefly the story of Israel's fall and Samaria's three years' siege is told in the Book of Kings (2 K. xvii.) will be surprised at the silence of Holy Scripture about Amaziah. There much is said of the people's sins, nothing of their sufferings.

Thus far the details belong to Amaziah. Amos closes all by using the exact words which he was charged with having uttered (*v.* 11),

Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land] The words are the very same in Hebrew, though they have been varied by our translators. The people so often reproved for idolatry and other sins, but all in vain, shall be carried away by the enemy, and settled in a foreign land.

CHAP. VIII. 1, 2. Amaziah's doom has been pronounced. The certainty of the captivity has been asserted. Amos now continues the relation of the visions which had been interrupted. This time the symbol shews the approach of the end. In Hebrew the words for *summer fruit* and *end* are very similar in sound (*kaïtz*, and *kētz*), and are derived from a root that means to *cut off*. The last operation of the agricultural year was the plucking and ingathering of the fruits of the trees. This was the end of rural labour. There is more than a mere play upon words. The fruit is gathered when the season for ripening it is past. The *end* of Israel is when its probation is over. Similarly in Jeremiah (i. 11, 12) the almond tree is made the emblem of the prompt performance of God's words, since its blossoms shew that it is the earliest to *wake* from the sleep of winter. In Ezekiel (vii. 2, 6) there may be a reference to this place. There the word *end* is used with another of like form, which means to *awake* (*v.* 6, margin).

2. *my people*] This is the language of love and pity. *My people* still, though they refused to be Mine.

pass by] as in vii. 8.

3 And the songs of the temple
† Heb. *shall howl.* † shall be howlings in that day, saith
the Lord GOD: *there shall be* many
dead bodies in every place; they shall
† Heb. *be silent.* cast *them* forth † with silence.

4 ¶ Hear this, O ye that swallow
up the needy, even to make the poor
of the land to fail,

‖ Or, *month.* 5 Saying, When will the ‖ new
moon be gone, that we may sell corn?
and the sabbath, that we may † set † Heb. *open.*
forth wheat, making the ephah small,
and the shekel great, and † falsifying † Heb. *perverting the balances of deceit.*
the balances by deceit?

6 That we may buy the poor for
[a] silver, and the needy for a pair of [a] chap. 2. 6.
shoes; *yea*, and sell the refuse of the
wheat?

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3. *the temple*] appears to have been taken here, by our translators, as by many more, for the chief place of worship, at Bethel, we may suppose. But as the word also means *palace*, it may be better understood in this sense. The prophet sees, as in a picture, some of those tragic incidents that mark the overthrow of Israel. The nobles, who in their indolent leisure had cultivated an effeminate style of music (vi. 5), should have their mirth brought to an abrupt end. Their *songs shall howl*, shall suddenly change into yells of pain and despair. The prophet's picture is made up of a few strong touches—*Many the corpse, in every place!* The sword, the famine, or the pestilence have done their work. Death is everywhere. And so the dead have none of the usual respect paid them. The rich and the luxurious have no exemption.

they shall cast them forth with silence] Amos uses but two words—*One casts*, or *flings*, *Hush!* He sees the dead bodies *flung* heedlessly and indiscriminately into the earth. It is no time for ordinary lamentation. The survivors do not utter a word. They stop any one who would speak, with *Hush!* as before, in vi. 10. The general ruin fills them with recklessness and despair. The words *in every place* belong to what follows (according to the accents). And thus the meaning is, that the dead were buried, not in the sepulchres of their fathers, but everywhere, *anywhere*. Observe the wonderful brevity and force of the prophet's language—*Many the corpse! In every place they are flung. Hush!*

4. The prophet again addresses the proud, grasping nobles, and rebukes them for their avarice, their dishonesty, and their meanness.

ye that swallow up] Lit. *gasp, pant after*. It expresses the intense longing with which they pursued their object. So in Job (vii. 2) it is said that the *servant eagerly desireth the shadow* (of evening).

the poor] Or, according to the better reading, *the meek*, the unresisting, inoffensive. Their oppressors *pant to make them fail*, to sweep them out of their way, when they hinder the enlargement of their property. It is upon such as these that Isaiah (v. 8) pronounces a woe: *that lay field to field, till there be no place* for any besides.

5. They observed the festival of *the new moon* (Num. xxviii. 11 foll.) and the *weekly sabbath* in accordance with the law, but they fretted under the restraint. They thought every day lost in which they were not gainers by fraud or violence. To *set forth wheat*, literally, as in margin, to *open*, *i.e.* the storehouses, or granaries, in which *the wheat* was kept. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

the ephah] was a dry measure (Exod. xvi. 36).

This they made smaller than it should be. The corn was paid for, not with money, but with precious metal, weighed against the *shekel*. The weight they made too heavy. Thus they gained in two ways. They sold scant measure, and received much more in return than the quantity was worth.

falsifying the balances by deceit] The marginal rendering is more exact and expressive. The *balances* which should have been *just* (Lev. xix. 36) were *balances of deceit*, they were a *deceit*, a mere *deceit* and fraud. And thus that which is the very emblem of fairness and justice was *perverted* to be the means of most sordid gain. The use of *a perfect and just measure* was a condition of their remaining in the land promised to their fathers (Deut. xxv. 15).

6. *That we may buy*] Simply, *To buy*.

the poor] The lowly, the weak, the impoverished (as in v. 11). The parallel place (ii. 6), taken with this, shews that it is actual buying and selling of men that is spoken of, not the perversion of justice by means of bribes. When the rich had stripped their poorer brethren of lands, houses, or money, they were ready to make them bondmen, *for a pair of shoes*, for such a trifle as this, for which they could not pay. This was against the letter and spirit of the law, for by that the *brother* that was *waxen poor*, had fallen into poverty, not ground down by oppression and fraud, might *sell himself* (such is the force of the original) to his creditor, and then he might not be treated with rigour (see Lev. xxv. 39—43).

and sell the refuse of the wheat] They had robbed the poor by giving scant measure, and exacting exorbitant prices. Here they are described as sordid no less than grasping. *The*

7 The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works.

8 Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood; and it shall be cast out and drowned, as *by* the flood of Egypt.

9 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord GOD, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day:

10 And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only

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refuse is literally *that which fell* through the sieve, not the full grains, but the thin and withered ones. The word is peculiar to Amos. This that should have been the food of cattle, or might have been given to the poor, they were forced to buy, having to pay more than the same quantity of good wheat was worth. In Nehemiah (v.) we have a similar description of the dishonesty and harshness of the rich towards the poor.

7. *the excellency of Jacob*] is taken by some to mean the pride and arrogance of the people. But that God should swear by this is at variance with the usage of Scripture. It is more natural to take the phrase as a title of God Himself. He might be called *the excellency of Jacob* (see on vi. 8), as He was *the strength of Israel*, in the words of Samuel (1 S. xv. 29). As the Almighty condescends to swear, so does He deign to use such a phrase as was current among the Jews in using an oath.

Surely I will never forget] is literally, *If I forget*. In the language of men, something has to be supplied. Let this or that befall Me *if*... Thus *if* expresses the strongest denial.

8. The prophet asks with sublime impressiveness whether the enormities practised in Israel are not such as to make the land itself shudder as with the convulsions of an earthquake. Must not every inhabitant *mourn* in godly sorrow for such wickedness, or *mourn* under the infliction of due chastisement? The latter part of the verse may be taken interrogatively like the former, and supplying the negative again, may be literally rendered thus: *And shall it not rise up wholly like the river, and be driven* or *tossed*, and *sink*, *as the river of Egypt? The river* twice mentioned is the Nile, which Amos calls by a name of Egyptian origin, appropriated in the Hebrew Scriptures to that *river*. The image of the earthquake is expanded. As the Nile rises, overflows, and then subsides, will not the very land of Israel, in all its length and breadth, heave, be in wild commotion *like the troubled sea* (Isai. lvii. 20, where the same verb occurs), and then sink down again? The same imagery and phraseology recur in ch. ix. 5. Where Ezekiel predicts the fall of Egypt he uses a part of the same verb as is here rendered *drowned* (better, *sink*): *I will make their waters deep* (or *sink*) (xxxii. 14).

9. According to Abp Ussher's calculations ('Annales,' A. M. 3213, p. 45) there were three total, or nearly total, eclipses of the sun, occurring, one at the Feast of Pentecost, B.C. 791, another at the Feast of Tabernacles, B.C. 771, and a third at the Feast of the Passover, the year following; and he was of opinion that the prophecy of Amos may have related to these. The context, however, and the general use of similar imagery in the prophetical writings, make it more probable that what is foretold is some sudden reverse of fortune. See Job v. 14; Isai. lix. 9, 10; Jer. xv. 9; and especially Micah iii. 6, where very nearly the same language is employed metaphorically. The last days of Israel correspond with the words of Amos. The prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. was followed by conspiracy and anarchy. Of five kings only one was succeeded by his son, and he soon assassinated. The last reigned twenty years, but in an evil hour for himself and his people, he joined with Rezin, king of Damascus, in attacking Ahaz, and in attempting to set upon his throne *the son of Tabeal* (Isai. vii. 6). The king of Judah obtained help from the king of Assyria (2 K. xvi. 7), who carried off a portion of the nation. And the result was, in the language of Isaiah, that *Ephraim was broken that it should not be a people* (vii. 8).

10. The seasons of the greatest national rejoicings should be turned into *mournings* as for the dead, their *songs* should be exchanged for *dirges*. The whole nation should wear the garb, and assume the appearance, of mourners. Coarse sackcloth should be the dress of all. All should shave their heads. Everything that contributed to luxury, or comfort, or personal appearance, would be given up. For the sorrow could be compared to nothing less than *the mourning of an only son*. And there is no hope that this grief might be mitigated. On the contrary, the prophet darkly intimates that the desolation should be permanent.

son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.

11 ¶ Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the LORD:

12 And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find *it*.

13 In that day shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst.

14 They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The manner of

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the end thereof as a bitter day] No slight woe is expressed in such words. They may remind us of the warning addressed to him who had been diseased thirty-eight years, to beware lest *a worse thing* came upon him. In *it* and *thereof*, Amos seems to refer, not to *the earth*, mentioned in vii. 9, but rather to the general condition of the people.

11. This was to be the righteous retribution for slighting the divine warnings given through the prophets. In the day of darkness and perplexity they should hunger and thirst for one word from heaven, and should not obtain it. The *word of the Lord* would be *precious* indeed, when it was no longer to be heard. Then would *they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients* (Ezek. vii. 26).

12. *they shall wander*] The word well expresses the agitation and distress with which this fruitless search would be made. *They shall stagger, reel*, or *totter*, sick at heart from *hope deferred* (see the same word, iv. 8). They would traverse the land from *sea to sea*, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, thence upwards to *the north*, and so back to *the east*, from which they started. There may be an allusion to the borders of the land, as given in Num. xxxiv. 3 foll. The south, not here mentioned, may be included in *from sea to sea*, or it may be omitted as being the home of Judah, where God was worshipped in the way of His appointment, where help and counsel might have been found.

13. *the fair virgins and young men*] *i.e. the picked* or *chosen ones*, selected as best able to bear the hardships and encounter the perils of war (as the word often means), should suffer alike. The loveliest and tenderest should not be exempted. The most vigorous and enduring shall be overcome by *thirst*. *They shall faint*. The word is very expressive. It might be rendered: They shall feel themselves covered as with a veil or mantle. Such is the sensation caused by the dimness of sight or dizziness that attend what we call *fainting*. This metaphor is frequent in Arabic as well as in Hebrew, and is like that Homeric expression for death—"Darkness covered the eyes." Youth and strength, with all their spirits and energy, would be unavailing. There would be no renewal of strength for those who had not waited on the Lord (Is. xl. 30, 31). The maiden had devoted the freshness of her youth, the young man his vigour, to the service of an idol who could not profit in the day of distress. And if these could not bear up, what must be the condition of the rest?

thirst] seems to be meant here literally, and may be mentioned rather than hunger, because of the greater intensity of suffering that accompanies it.

14. *They that swear*] *The swearing*, or *swearers*, those who had the oaths that follow constantly on their lips. What a crying sin was this! It was an habitual, flagrant violation of the express command: *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him, and shalt swear by His name* (Deut. vi. 13).

The calf at Bethel seems meant by *the sin, trespass*, or *guilt of Samaria*. So the calf made by the Israelites in the wilderness is called their *sin* (Deut. ix. 21). Though the idol was not at Samaria, it was named after the capital, because worshipped by the king and nobles, and as the symbol of the national religion. So Hosea says, *Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off*, and calls it *the calf of Samaria* (viii. 5, 6). The writer of the Book of Chronicles (2 Chro. xxiv. 18) uses the same word in relating the sin of the princes of Judah. It was because *they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served groves and idols*, that *wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass*.

Thy god, O Dan, liveth] More nearly, *By the life of thy god, O Dan*, as surely as thy god liveth. This is after the model of appeal to Jehovah—*As the Lord liveth* (1 S. xx. 3). The god of Dan was the golden calf set up there by Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 29).

The manner of Beer-sheba liveth] Lit. [*By*] *the life of the way of Beersheba. The way of Beersheba* is taken by some as *the way* or *road to Beersheba* (see on v. 5). But the whole phrase then is harsh, and is not parallel with the two previous clauses in which idols are referred to. What is strictly meant is the ritual or worship of Beersheba, in which the idol must hold a prominent place. The ex-

Beer-sheba liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The certainty of the desolation.* 11 *The restoring of the tabernacle of David.*

I SAW the Lord standing upon the altar: and he said, Smite the ‖ lintel of the door, that the posts may shake: and ‖ cut them in the head, all of them; and I will slay the last of them with the sword: he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered.

2 [a] Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down:

3 And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence;

[a] Psal. 139. 8, &c.

‖ Or, *chapiter*, or, *knop*.
‖ Or, *wound them*.

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pression in Ps. cxxxix. 24, *wicked way*, is something like that here; and the usage of the word *way* in the Acts (ix. 2, xviii. 25, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 14) throws some light on it.

even they] There is no particle corresponding with *even* in the Hebrew. If there were only a comma at the end of *v.* 13 it might be translated quite literally, *and they shall fall and never rise up again;* the kingdom of Israel shall never be restored, cf. ch. v. 2; or, at least, that the idolaters should be extirpated.

CHAP. IX. 1. In the previous visions Amos had been shewn the nature, the certainty, the nearness of Israel's overthrow. Here he sees the Lord Himself come down to execute judgment. He is described as *standing upon*, or perhaps *by*, *the altar* (cf. 1 K. xiii. 1). It has been disputed what *altar* is meant. Some suppose that *the altar* at Jerusalem must be intended, since that alone deserved the name. Others, more naturally, take it as *the altar* set up by Jeroboam; for the context relates to Israel, and Israel alone. The destruction of this same altar had been already foretold by Amos in ch. iii. 13, where it is spoken of, as here, as *the altar*. Commentators too are not agreed who is addressed in the words *Smite* and *cut*. Some suppose the command is given to the prophet. Others, with more reason, remembering that an angel destroyed the firstborn in Egypt (Exod. xii. 23), threatened Jerusalem for David's sin (2 S. xxiv. 16), and cut off the army of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 35), suppose that here likewise an angel is commissioned to destroy. With this place may be compared the passage in Ezekiel (ch. ix.), where *six men* are appointed to smite the guilty in Jerusalem, *beginning at the sanctuary*.

the lintel of the door] Rather, as in the margin, *chapiter* or *knop*, or, as we now say, **capital**, the ornamented head of a column. The term is also used to designate a part of the golden candlestick, represented in our version by *knop* (Exod. xxv. 31), which appears to have been of a globular, or, according to Josephus ('Antiq.' III. 6, 7), pomegranate form. The blow that came from above was to be so violent that *the posts* (better, the *thresholds*) *may shake*. Compare Isaiah's vision, in which (vi. 4) the marginal rendering is this, while it is *door* in the text. The whole building is to be conceived as tottering and crumbling into ruins at the angel's touch, though some only of the more conspicuous parts are named. And its fall destroys the worshippers. The following words, *cut them in the head, all of them*, are obscure. Some would render, *shatter them* (the capitals), *dash them in pieces*, on the *head of all of them*. Others, with more probability, refer the pronoun in each case to the worshippers, and retain the usual meaning of the verb, *cut* or *wound*, as our translators have done.

all of them] Every one in that crowd that thronged the temple, which, perhaps, unlike that at Jerusalem, was open to *all*, priests and people alike, and might therefore be, like the house of Baal in Jehu's reign, *full* of devotees (2 K. x. 21).

the last of them] In Hebrew not an adjective, but a substantive, *that which is behind, the remainder*. Those who did not perish in the fall of the building should not escape. For God says, *I will slay them with the sword.*

shall not flee away...shall not be delivered] In the Hebrew a pronoun is added to shew that the flight and escape, however promising they might seem, would be of no good *to them*. In our version this idea is perhaps conveyed by the addition of *away*. The language is similar to that employed in ch. ii. 14.

2. Not only would all human efforts be unavailing for the deliverance of those who were doomed. Could *they dig into hell*, or *climb up to heaven*, they would find no shelter.

hell] Heb. *Sheol*, is not the place of torments, but the dwelling-place of those who are gathered together after death. The reader cannot fail to be reminded of the words of Ps. cxxxix. 8.

3. *the top of Carmel*] has been mentioned before (i. 2) as *withering* at the sound of

and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them:

4 And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it [b] shall slay them: and [b] I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good.

[b] Jer. 44. 11

5 And the Lord God of hosts *is* he that toucheth the land, and it shall melt, and all that dwell therein shall mourn: and it shall rise up wholly like a flood; and shall be drowned, as *by* the flood of Egypt.

6 *It is* he that buildeth his [1] [c] stories in the heaven, and hath founded his [1] troop in the earth; he that [d] calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The Lord *is* his name.

[1] Or, *spheres.*
[f] Heb. *ascensions.*
[e] Psal. 104. 3.
[1] Or, *bundle.*
[d] chap. 5. 8.

7 *Are* ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of

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God's voice. Here it is named, not for its height, for it is only 1,800 feet above the sea, but for the many hiding-places which its woods, no less than its numerous caverns, offer.

though they be hid] should be, *conceal themselves*, like *hide themselves*. There are two verbs, but both are reflexive.

from my sight] Lit. *from before Mine eyes*, that is, as they may suppose. The contrast between the height of Carmel and the sea that washes its base is very natural. Should they fly as far as Carmel, as the securest place in Israel, they would find no hiding-place there, and should they plunge into the sea, and reach its bottom, the tooth of the deadly serpent awaited them.

4. *though they go into captivity*] Suppose them to have escaped the promiscuous slaughter, and to suffer themselves to be quietly led away by the conquerors, they may not look for safety. Absolute submission will not shield them. The threatening words of Moses would be literally fulfilled: *Among these nations...thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life* (Deut. xxviii. 65). The caprice of a despot might be fatal to them at any moment, as the Book of Esther shews.

To set the eye upon any one is commonly indicative of favour and goodwill, expressing the fixed attention of watchful care and love. When the goodness of the land of promise is described, it is said that *the eyes of the Lord God are always upon it* (Deut. xi. 12). Here the object is declared to be expressly *for evil* watch over them, not with that tender mercy which is over all God's works (Ps. cxlv. 9), *and not for good*. Almost the same phrase occurs in Jer. xxi. 10, and compare *v.* 8 of this chapter.

5. The prophet, to shew how terrible was the enmity they had provoked, adds, as before (iv. 13, v. 8, 9), a sublime description of the power and majesty of Jehovah.

and it shall melt] Better, *and it melteth*; for He commands and it is done. *The land* may be *the earth*. The solid earth *melts* at His touch. How can its frail inhabitants endure His approach? The rest of the verse has been explained (see viii. 8).

6. *It is he that buildeth his stories in the heaven*] For *stories* there are in the margin two other renderings—*spheres* and *ascensions*. The last is nearest to the literal meaning, which is *steps*. It should be remarked that the Hebrew word for *heaven* is always plural, and like our own means *heights*. This vast expanse is spoken of at times as having *stories*, or successive heights, as *The heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's* (Deut. x. 14; cf. 1 K. viii. 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4), and we read of *the third heaven* (2 Cor. xii. 2). These heavenly regions rising one above another are here spoken of as having for their *builder* Him Who is above all, and as being *steps* by which to mount to His immediate presence. Some would render it *upper chambers* (see Ps. civ. 3). But there is a different word for this, though it comes from the same root.

and hath founded his troop in the earth] The clause literally translated runs thus: *His vault* (or *arch*) *upon earth He founded it*, and the reference is to the *vault of heaven*, which seems to rest upon the earth. The Hebrew word represented by *troop* has the same rendering in 2 S. ii. 25, where it means a compact body of men. Our translators seem to have understood by it the multitude of created things on the earth, which elsewhere bear the similar name of *host* (Gen. ii. 1). But the verb *found* is not in harmony with this. The marginal translation, *bundle*, gives the literal meaning, for it comes from a root signifying *to bind*. The same word is used for "a *bunch* of hyssop" (Exod. xii. 22), and "the *bands* of a yoke" (Isai. lviii. 6. See margin). In this place it seems to mean *an arch* or *vault*, as what is firmly fastened together. For the remainder of the verse see note on v. 8.

7. The national pride of Israel is here rebuked. Regarding their privileges as in-

Israel? saith the LORD. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of
[e] Jer. 47. 4. Egypt? and the [e] Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?

8 Behold, the eyes of the Lord GOD *are* upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the LORD.

9 For, lo, I will command, and I will [†] sift the house of Israel among [† Heb. *cause to move.*] all nations, like as *corn* is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least [†] grain [† Heb. *stone.*] fall upon the earth.

10 All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us.

11 ¶ In that day will I raise up

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alienable rights, and forgetting that they must be forfeited by disobedience, they are reminded that they were not the only people whose migrations had been directed, and whose dwelling-place had been appointed by God. Glorying in the appellation, *children of Israel*, they are asked under that name whether they were not, for their many sins, *like the children of the Ethiopians* in the judgment of God. In Hebrew these are called *children of the Cushites*, the descendants of Ham, whom our translators, following the example of the LXX., call *Ethiopians*. They are mentioned as a people despised by the Jews. Cf. Num. xii. 1. These too had migrated from their original country, Arabia.

Have not I brought up...] Or, *Brought I not up Israel out of the land of Egypt?* God seems to use the language in which the people boasted of what had been done for their ancestors. It was most true that His hand had rescued them. As it is said before (ch. iii. 2), *You only have I known of all the families of the earth.* But when they cast off their allegiance to Him, and became like the heathen around them, they renounced their high and peculiar position. Their deliverance from Egypt, which should have made them serve God faithfully, had no more significance *for them* than the migrations of neighbouring nations. Their movements also had been determined by the providence of God.

the Philistines from Caphtor] So Jeremiah speaks of them as *the remnant of the country of Caphtor* (xlvii. 4). See note on Gen. x. 14. In the time of Moses the Mediterranean bore the name of *the sea of the Philistines* (Exod. xxiii. 31). What is referred to in this verse must have preceded the exodus, for we read that *the Caphtorims, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them* (the Avims), *and dwelt in their stead* (Deut. ii. 23).

On *Kir* see ch. i. 5, where it is foretold that the Syrians should *go into captivity* there.

8. *the eyes of the Lord GOD are upon the sinful kingdom*] Cf. *v.* 4. Similar is the language of Ps. xxxiv. 16, *The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth.* *The sinful kingdom* is that of the ten tribes. It was founded in rebellion, it was maintained by the observance of idolatrous worship at Dan and Bethel. The people were hindered from going up to Jerusalem to keep the solemn feasts, lest they should desire to return to their allegiance to the royal line of David. Jeroboam had *made Israel to sin*, and his sin had been loved and followed by others. *The kingdom* was *sinful*, and therefore, after due probation, *the kingdom* must be *destroyed*. Not so the race to which its subjects belonged. *The house of Jacob* should not be *utterly destroyed*. Among them there should ever be *a remnant*, a few in every age found faithful, worthy to bear the name of Jacob, or Israel. And Gabriel announced that the Son of David *shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever* (Luke i. 33). In the language of Isaiah (vi. 13), *as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves, so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.*

9, 10. The image employed here expresses at once the dispersion and preservation of Israel. Their dispersion had been foretold by Moses, Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. xxviii. 64. The people are to be scattered among all nations (cf. Hos. ix. 17), yet not one individual is to be overlooked. The *remnant* shall be saved, but the sinners cut off. Davison ('On Prophecy,' p. 420) says on this passage: "This concise prophecy contains a draught of determinate history; the kingdom, the body politic, to be destroyed from off the face of the earth; but the people, the stock, not to be destroyed. The people to be sifted through all nations; but the seed so sifted not to perish, nor its least grain to fall to the earth. It is a history made up of opposite particulars; destruction and preservation, scattering and perpetual custody combined. It is the true outline of Jewish history. Is it of any other whatever? Place the prophecy in any imaginable age; after the fall of the kingdom of Israel, or after the Babylonian conquest; the phenomenon of its fulfilment remains; its constant, perpetual fulfilment."

10. *prevent*] is to be understood in its

the ſtabernacle of David that is fallen, and †close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old:

12 That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen, †which are called by my name, saith the LORD that doeth this.

13 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that †soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop ‖ſsweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.

14 And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit *them;* and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

15 And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the LORD thy God.

ſ Acts 15. 16.
† Heb. *hedge, or, wall.*
† Heb. *upon whom my name is called.*
† Heb. *draweth forth.*
‖ Or, *new wine.*
ſ Joel 3. 18.

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primary sense. *Surprise* will give the force of the Hebrew.

11. *the tabernacle of David*] Not the palace, not the house (2 S. v. 11), but the *tabernacle*, a word used for a temporary structure of boughs, or the rude hut of soldiers in the field (2 S. xi. 11, A. V. *tents*), and this *fallen* into ruins. The imagery is like that of *the stem* (or better, *the stump*) *of Jesse* (Isai. xi. 1). There was to be a restoration, when the ruined condition of the family and kingdom of David might seem to render it impossible.

The Messianic import of this passage is admitted by the ancient Jews, amongst whom "The Son of the fallen" is a title of the Messiah. The change of the pronouns is remarkable in *breaches thereof*, and *his ruins*. The former, which is plural, may point to the two kingdoms; the latter refers to David.

The prediction began to be fulfilled (Acts xv. 14—17) when Gentiles were received into the Church of Christ; but it will not be fully accomplished *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved* (Rom. xi. 25, 26).

12. Edom was not to be exterminated, cf. i. 12. In the verb *possess* there seems to be a reference to the words of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 18. The Edomites, Israel's bitterest enemies, and all the heathen, are to be incorporated in the restored kingdom of David. They too were to be God's people, and to bear His name. Cf. Isai. lxiii. 12; Jer. xiv. 9; Acts xv. 14—18.

13. The prediction of the fertility of the land is to be fulfilled. See Lev. xxvi. 5. There is to be no interval between ploughing and harvest, and the vintage is to last till next year's sowing.

soweth] is a participle in Hebrew, and graphically describes the act of the sower as he draws out and scatters the seed along the furrows (cf. Ps. cxxvi. 6).

the mountains shall drop sweet wine] The words in Hebrew are the same as in Joel iii. 18. As Amos began (i. 2) by quoting from this prophet, so here he ends with another quotation. Joel had said, *the hills shall flow with milk*, Amos uses a stronger expression.

14. *I will bring again the captivity*] The phrase in Hebrew is the same as in the great passage Deut. xxx. 3, so frequently referred to in subsequent books (cf. Hos. vi. 11; Joel iii. 1; Zeph. iii. 20; Ps. cxxvi. 1, 4; Jer. xxx. 3). Its primary meaning seems to have been restoration from calamity (see Deut. xxx. 3 note, and Job xlii. 10). In contrast with the latter part of the verse see ch. iv. 9.

15. The natural and obvious meaning of these and similar promises is that the people of Israel shall yet be restored to their own land. Events alone can determine whether such words should be thus interpreted, or applied exclusively to the enlargement, prosperity and perpetuity of the Christian Church.

OBADIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

§ I. THE AUTHOR 561
§ II. HIS DATE 561
§ III. HISTORY OF THE EDOMITES, AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF OBADIAH 564
§ IV. PREDICTIONS AND THEIR FULFILMENT, VIZ. PAGE
(1) *Conquest of Edom by the Jews* 565
(2) *Conquest of Edom by the heathen* 565
(3) *Expansion of Israel* 566

I. *The Author.*

THE etymology of the word Obadiah (which means, "Worshipper, or servant, of God") made the name of common use among the Jews, just as Abdallah is a favourite Arabic name. It is found in the genealogical lists as belonging to a person of the tribe of Judah (1 Chro. iii. 21), of Issachar (vii. 3), of Benjamin (viii. 38, ix. 44), of Levi (ix. 16; Neh. xii. 25); to a captain of the tribe of Gad (1 Chro. xii. 9), a prince of the tribe of Judah (2 Chro. xvii. 7), a prince of the tribe of Zebulun (1 Chro. xxvii. 19), a Levite in the time of Josiah (2 Chro. xxxiv. 12), a companion of Ezra (Ez. viii. 9), a priest in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5). Besides these we read of the better-known Obadiah who was Ahab's chamberlain (1 K. xviii. 3). The prophet can be identified with none of them.

II. *His date.*

He is supposed to have lived either before B.C. 800 or after B.C. 588.

The argument usually relied upon for the earlier date, is the position of the book in the list of the Minor Prophets. Those who regard this order as chronological consider the date of Obadiah to be fixed by the dates of Amos and Jonah. It is, however, an undecided question how far the chronological principle is that on which the books of the Minor Prophets are arranged, and it is certain that, supposing the arrangement to be in the main chronological, exceptions to the general rule might still be made. Consequently it is only a bare presumption in favour of the earlier date which can be derived from this argument, a presumption easily removed by probabilities on the other side, should they be found to exist.

The argument usually relied upon for the later date rests upon the assumption that the capture of Jerusalem to which the prophet refers is the capture by the Babylonians, and upon the supposition that in *vv.* 11—14 he speaks of this capture as a thing past[1]. The assumption that it is the Babylonish capture may be granted, in spite of the arguments of Jäger, Hofmann, Delitzsch, Keil, Kleinert in favour of an earlier capture, which, though forcible, are not strong enough to be convincing[2]. But the supposition, that in *vv.* 11—14 the prophet speaks of the capture as a thing past in reference to himself, is a mistake. Hengstenberg and Pusey, on different grounds, maintain that he speaks in those verses of a future act; Hengstenberg supposing him to have thrown himself forward in spirit, and to be looking back from his spiritual stand-point on what was actually future,

[1] So Luther, Pfeiffer, Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Knobel, Winer, Hendewerk, Maurer, Bleek.

[2] There were three captures of Jerusalem prior to its being taken by the Babylonians, 1. by Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Chro. xii. 2), 2. by the Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chro. xxi. 16), 3. by Joash king of Israel in the reign of Amaziah (2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Chro. xxv. 23). Of these the second could alone have been referred to by Obadiah.

as though it were past; Pusey resting his argument mainly on grammatical considerations[1]. In fact, neither the past nor the future are necessarily indicated by Obadiah's words. For, as is pointed out in the note on *v.* 12, in the prophetic vision events were presented to the inner sight of the prophet, altogether abstracted from any relation in time to each other or to him. As the scenes of the capture arise before Obadiah, he exclaims against the various acts of cruelty which he witnesses: "Do not look, do not rejoice, do not enter;" or, as his words are less correctly rendered, "Thou shouldest not have looked, thou shouldest not have rejoiced, thou shouldest not have entered." The correction of the translation, on which so much has been thought to hang, is of no importance for the determination of the prophet's date. The first rendering ("Do not") does not imply that the scene presented to him is summoned from the future, nor does the second ("Thou shouldest not") prove that it was recalled from the past. So far, then, the argument for the later date of Obadiah fails. Verses 11—14 (however translated) do not prove, or even raise a presumption, that he lived *either before or* (as has been most commonly maintained) *after* the capture of which he speaks.

There remain three other indications of date to be examined: (1) the relation of time in which Obadiah may stand to *a.* Joel, *b.* Jeremiah; (2) the similarity of the denunciations of Edom by Ezekiel, by the author of the book of the Lamentations, and by the writer of Psalm cxxxvii.; (3) the greater or less degree in which the mutual relations between Edom and Judah, as depicted by the prophet, apply to one or another period of Edomite and Jewish history.

(1) *a.* There is a similarity of thought and of word between Obad. *vv.* 10—13 and Joel ii. 32 and ch. iii., sufficient to make it probable that one prophet had in his mind the prediction of the other. Some commentators settle the question of priority by maintaining, not without plausibility, that Joel refers directly to Obadiah in the words "as the Lord hath said" (ii. 32). (See Keil in loc.) If this were so, Obadiah's date would be fixed as that of the earliest of all the Hebrew prophets. It is, however, more probable that these words of Joel refer to himself, and are a claim that his prophecy should be regarded as of divine authority. See on Joel ii. 32. There is therefore no proof as to Obadiah's date to be derived from this expression. Nor is there any indication of priority on either side in the similar thoughts and words found in the two prophets. See note below[2].

[1] Dr Pusey (with almost all commentators, except Drusius, Rosenmüller and Kleinert) argues that the words translated in the A. V. "Thou shouldest not have" in *vv.* 12, 13, 14 ought to be rendered as in the margin of the A. V., "Do not;" and this undoubtedly is so, for *al* with the future (which is the construction in all these cases) must express a dehortatory future (Ges. 'H. G.' § 125. 3. c). The grammatical argument in favour of the marginal reading is irrefragable and sufficient. The further argument used by Dr Pusey and others for the earlier date of the prophet, founded on the moral consideration that God would not warn against a thing already done, is not of equal weight, as it is certain that Obadiah's prophecy was for the benefit of the Jews, not of the Edomites, who would probably be unaware of its existence.

[2] Joel i. 15—iii. 19.

Obadiah 10—18.		Joel i. 15—iii. 19.
מחמס אחיך יעקב תכסך בושה	10.	
ועל־ירושלם ידו גורל	11.	ואל עמי ידו גורל iii. 19.
כי־קרוב יום־יהוה על־כל־הגוים	15.	כי קרוב יום יהוה 3.
		כי־בא יום־יהוה כי קרוב : i. 15.
		לשפט את־כל־הגוים מסביב ii. 1.
		כי קרוב יום יהוה בעמק החרוץ : iii. 12.
נמלך ישוב בראשך :	15.	אשיב גמלכם בראשכם : 14.
		והשבתי גמלכם בראשכם : 4.
על־הר קדשי	16.	בציון הר־קדשי 7.
ובהר ציון תהיה פליטה והיה קדש	17.	כי בהר־ציון ובירושלם תהיה פליטה 17.
		והיתה ירושלם קדש ii. 32.
כי יהוה דבר :	18.	כי יהוה דבר : iii. 17.
		8.

b. It is quite certain that Obadiah's prophecy against Edom (Obad. 1—9) and Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom (xlix. 7—22) are slightly altered forms of the same denunciation. Therefore either Obadiah had Jeremiah's prophecy before him, or Jeremiah had Obadiah's, or both Obadiah and Jeremiah adapted a previously existing prophecy. The last is an admissible supposition; but it is the general opinion of scholars (Eichhorn, Schnurrer, Schultz, Rosenmüller, Jäger, Hendewerk, Maurer, Caspari, Delitzsch, Keil, Pusey, Wordsworth), resting mainly on philological arguments, which are sufficiently forcible to create a high probability, that Jeremiah's prophecy is a modified form of the rougher utterance of Obadiah. See conspectus of passages in note below[1]. If this be so, we are sure that Obadiah's date was anterior to the later years of Jeremiah.

(2) The prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxxv.) denounces desolation on Edom "because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end" (*v.* 5). The author of the Book of the Lamentations threatens the daughter of Edom: "The cup also shall pass through unto thee: thou shalt be drunken, and shalt make thyself naked" (iv. 21). The Psalmist cries out "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase, rase to the foundation thereof" (Ps. cxxxvii. 7). The thoughts and words in these passages and in Obad. 10—18 are so similar as to suggest that the same causes evoked them in all four writers, and that they were uttered about the same time, and under the same circumstances. It is certain that Ezekiel and Jeremiah and the Psalmist had in their minds the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, and that they wrote after that event; Ezekiel and Jeremiah in the year B.C. 587, or thereabouts, and the Psalmist at a still later date. The more, indeed, that we examine Ezek. xxxv., the more we shall be struck with the identity of thought exhibited by it and by Obad. 10—18. This identity does not, however, shew itself so much, in the Hebrew words used, as in the sameness of feeling underlying the words. This is what we should expect where two denunciations have been independently called forth by the same events[2].

[2] Cf. Obad. 12 with Ezek. xxxv. 13, 15.
... 13 ... ... 5, 10.
... 15 ... ... 6, 15.
... 18 ... ... 7 & xxv. 14.
... 16 ... Lam. iv. 21.
... 12, 14 Ps. cxxxii. 7.

[1] JEREMIAH xlix. 7—22.

7. לאדום כה אמר יהוה צבאות
14. שמועה שמעתי מאת יהוה וציר בגוים שלוח התקבצו ובאו עליה וקומו למלחמה:
15. כי־הנה קטן נתתיך בגוים בזוי באדם:
16. תפלצתך השיא אתך זדון לבך שכני בחגוי הסלע תפשי מרום גבעה כי־תגביה כנשר קנך משם אורידך נאם־יהוה:
9. אם־בצרים באו לך לא ישאירו עוללות אם־
10. גנבים בלילה השחיתו דים: כי־אני חשפתי את־עשו גליתי את־מסתריו ונחבה לא יוכל
7. האין עוד חכמה בתימן אבדה עצה מבנים נסרחה חכמתם:
22. והיה לב גבורי אדום ביום ההוא כלב אשה
17. מצרה: והיתה אדום לשמה
12. הנה אשר־אין משפטם לשתות הכוס שתו ישתו ואתה הוא נקה תנקה לא תנקה כי שתו תשתה:

OBADIAH 1—9 and 16.

1. כה־אמר אדני יהוה לאדום שמועה שמענו מאת יהוה וציר בגוים שלח קומו ונקומה
2. עליה למלחמה: הנה קטן נתתיך בגוים
3. בזוי אתה מאד: זדון לבך השיאך שכני בחגוי־סלע מרום שבתו אמר בלבו מי
4. יורידני ארץ: אם־תגביה כנשר ואם־בין כוכבים שים קנך משם אורידך נאם־יהוה:
5. אם־גנבים באו־לך אם־שודדי לילה איך נדמיתה הלוא יגנבו דים אם־בצרים באו
6. לך הלוא ישאירו עללות: איך נחפשו עשו נבעי מצפניו:
8. הלוא ביום ההוא נאם־יהוה והאבדתי חכמים מאדום ותבונה מהר עשו:
9. וחתו גבוריך תימן למען יכרת־איש מהר עשו מקטל:
16. כי כאשר שתיתם על־הר קדשי ישתו כל־ הגוים תמיד ושתו ולעו והיו כלוא היו:

(3) At the time of Obadiah's prophecy (*a*) it may be probably inferred from *v.* 3, that the Edomites were still in possession of Selah. In that case, it was before the occupation of Idumæa by the Nabathæans that he wrote. And (*b*) we see that the Edomites were in a state of active hostility towards Judah. The last fact, however, serves only as a slight indication of time: for from the notices of Edom in the Hebrew prophets we gather, that the usual attitude of the Edomites, from first to last, was one of antagonism to their neighbours. Still, we know that, at the time immediately succeeding the Babylonish capture of Jerusalem, taking advantage of the weakness of the Jews, they overran and subjected to themselves the whole of the south of Judæa (see Prideaux's 'Connection,' II. 3). The incidental description given by the prophet of the mutual relations between the two nations would accord well with what we know to have existed then, though, no doubt, the same relations might have existed at other times.

All that we can say is this. It (1) may be inferred with some positiveness, that he wrote before the occupation of Edom proper by the Nabathæans (whereas Malachi, we may gather from Mal. i. 4, wrote after that event had occurred). It is (2) highly probable, that he wrote before the later years of Jeremiah. It is (3) likely though not certain, that he wrote immediately after the Babylonish conquest, about the year that Jeremiah wrote the Lamentations, and Ezekiel his prophecy contained in ch. xxxv. If (4) the conjectural interpretation which we have hazarded below on *v.* 20 be correct, he was an inhabitant of one of the villages of Judah, overthrown by the Babylonian invaders; and at the time that he prophesied he was one of a body of exiles, who were settled temporarily along the western coast of Palestine and Phœnicia. The inference from the whole is that he was a contemporary of Jeremiah, who probably took up and incorporated the denunciation of Edom in his own collection of prophecies against neighbouring nations, almost immediately after it had been made public, in the year 587 or 586 B.C.[1] If this be so, we have to account for the position of his book in the list of the Minor Prophets; and that is readily done by supposing that it was placed immediately after the Book of Amos, because it is an amplification of the denunciation contained in the last verses of that book.

[1] There are no sufficient grounds for an assumption frequently made (Caspari, Graf, Keil, &c.) that Jeremiah's denunciation of Edom was made in the fourth year of king Jehoiakim, B.C. 606. The order of the Book of Jeremiah is unchronological throughout. The section which contains his "words of the Lord against the Gentiles" (chaps. xlvi.—li.) forms an appendix to the rest of the book; and the principle on which the several denunciations are grouped is not that of time, but of similarity of subject. The nations denounced are Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Hazor, Elam, Babylon; or, as they are arranged by the LXX., Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistia, Edom, Ammon, Kedar and Hazor, Damascus, Moab. The date of the first half of the denunciation of Egypt is given as the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B. C. 606; of Philistia, as (probably) the same year (see on Jer. xlvii. 1); of Elam, as the first year of Zedekiah, B. C. 599 (see on Jer. xlix. 34); of Babylon, as the fourth year of Zedekiah, B. C. 594 (see on Jer. l. 1). No indication is given of the date of the words against Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Hazor; nor of that of the second half of the prophecy against Egypt. Some of these nations may well have been denounced in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (see 2 K. xxiv. 2), or at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (see on Jer. xxvii. 3). But the date of the denunciation of Edom is more likely to have been the same as that of the Book of the Lamentations, in which Edom, and Edom only, is threatened, that is, about B.C. 587; which is also the most probable date of the second part of the prophecy against Egypt (see on Jer. xlvi. 13).

III. *History of the Edomites, as illustrative of Obadiah.*

From the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba runs the deep valley of the Arabah. On the eastern side of this valley rises the lofty range of red hills called Mount Seir, stretching about 100 miles north and south, by 20 miles east and west. Here Esau settled (see on Gen. xxxvi. 8), and his descendants, having driven out the original possessors, the Horites (see on Gen. xiv. 6), occupied the whole of the mountain (Deut. ii. 12). At the time of the Exodus the Edomites refused permission to the Israelites to pass through their territory, and they continued in a permanent state of hostility to the latter

after their occupation of Canaan. They were reduced to subjection by David and Solomon. They recovered their independence in the reign of Jehoram (B.C. 889), but were again reduced by Amaziah (B.C. 838), to return to their independence once more in the time of Ahaz (B.C. 743). From this time forward they exercised unintermitting hostility towards their old masters. At the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 588) they took part with the Chaldæans against the Jews, and during the first year of the captivity they overran the south of Judæa, and occupied it as far as Hebron. When next we hear of them, they are no longer in possession of Mount Seir: the Nabathæans are the inhabitants of Edom proper, while the Edomites are confined to the southern tract of Judæa which they had won from the Jews. Here they continued to maintain themselves for some four centuries till they were defeated by Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 166) and were compelled to incorporate themselves in the Jewish nation by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135). Their nationality was thenceforward lost and their name perished at the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IV. *The Subject of the Prophecy.*

Obadiah predicts, 1. the conquest and utter destruction of the Edomites on account of their cruelty to the Jews at the time of the capture of Jerusalem; 2. the subsequent expansion of the Israelitish nation, and the triumphant glories of Zion.

Have these two predictions been fulfilled?

1. Obadiah distinguishes two conquests over the Edomites, the first to be effected by the heathen (*vv.* 1—9, 15, 16), the second by the restored Jews (*vv.* 17, 18), after which there are to be none remaining of the house of Esau. There is no difficulty in recognizing the second half of the prediction. Judas Maccabæus overthrew the Edomites at Arabattine (1 Macc. v. 3; Jos. 'Ant.' xii. 18 § 1). Josephus describes the effect of their reduction by John Hyrcanus in the following words: "Hyrcanus captured the cities Adna, and Marissa, and having subjected all the Idumæans he allowed them to remain where they were, on the condition of being circumcised and adopting the Jewish customs. And they, from love of their home, submitted to circumcision, and fashioned the rest of their habits and conversation after the manner of the Jews. And that was the time after which they became thenceforward Jews." ('Ant.' xiii. 9 § 1.) Their nationality was gone, but they still hung together as a party, and joined the Zealots in their excesses at the time of the Roman war. Simon of Gerasa attacked them, and again Josephus relates: "Simon went through the whole of Idumæa, not only plundering cities and villages, but also devastating the whole country. And as you may see a wood utterly stripped by locusts after they have passed over it, so in the rear of Simon's army there was left a desert. They burnt, they razed, and everything that grew in the country they trampled down or ate up; and they made the cultivated ground harder than the uncultivated by their marching; and, in a word, not a sign of having existed was left to the places which were plundered" ('De Bell. Jud.' iv. 9 § 7). The few remaining Edomites were slain at the capture of Jerusalem, and there was "not any remaining of the house of Esau; for Jehovah had spoken it."

2. The previous conquest, to be effected by the heathen, is not related in the same clear and distinct manner by any extant historian, but we cannot avoid inferring it from the facts with which we are acquainted. For the men who made Petra famous for its buildings and for its commerce were not Edomites—they were Nabathæans, a people of Chaldæan race and origin[1]. But how and when did a Chaldæan people get possession of the mountain fastnesses of Mount Seir? The exact date is unknown. They are in full possession B.C. 312, but the records of Edom between 588 and 312 are lost, and we are therefore unable to speak with certainty as to the date of the defeat and expulsion of the Edomites. Josephus, however, states that "on the fifth year

[1] See, on this interesting subject, Quatremère, 'Mémoire sur les Nabatéens,' Paris, 1835; Chwolson, 'Ueber die Ueberreste der Alt-Babylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen,' St Petersburg, 1859.

after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition against Cœle-syria" (a term which he extends at least as far south as Idumæa, 'Ant.' I. 11 § 5), "and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites, and when he had brought all these nations into subjection, he fell upon Egypt in order to overthrow it" ('Ant.' X. 9 § 7). Mount Seir lying between the land of Moab and the valley of the Arabah, which formed the military road to Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar could hardly have failed to crush the Edomites with the other nations which he subdued. To keep the almost impregnable fastnesses of Selah, he, in all probability, transported a colony of Chaldæans and settled them there; while the Edomites who survived his inroad, unable to recover their lost heritage, took advantage of the weakness of the Jews to establish themselves in the south of Judæa, where they are afterwards exclusively found.

Of the twofold prediction against the Edomites, therefore, we find a relation of the fulfilment of one part in the express words of the historian Josephus, and history *compels* us to infer the fulfilment of the other part, although, owing to a loss of records, it does not directly relate it.

Is the final prediction regarding the expansion of the Israelitish kingdom fulfilled?

The promise, that an escaped remnant (*v.* 17) should occupy Mount Zion, was literally fulfilled in the Restoration under Zerubbabel. But, by a law of prophetic interpretation, the words of the prophet are not to be understood as meaning literally a southward, westward, eastward and northward expansion of the Jewish power and the Jewish people. This is the *form* under which an *idea* is presented to the prophet, and by him to his countrymen. It is necessary to be very careful in distinguishing between the *form* and the *idea*. In Isai. xi. 15 we read, "the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams and make men go over dryshod." The next verse explains that by this is meant "There shall be a highway, for the remnant of his people which shall be left, from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt." In other words, the *idea* of the removal of all obstacles in the way of a return from Assyria is represented under the familiar *form* of smiting the Egyptian sea, and dividing the river. Similarly here the *idea* of universal expansion is represented under the *form* of overflowing the existing limits of Judæa on all sides. To require, for the fulfilment of the prophecy, that "they of the south," *i.e.* the Simeonites or those who succeeded to them, should literally occupy Mount Seir, and that Benjamin should literally occupy Peræa, is to misunderstand the laws of the interpretation of prophecy. If the expansion has taken place, the prophecy is satisfied.

But it may still be asked, Has the *idea* been accomplished, has the predicted expansion taken place? We reply that typically and partially the prediction had a fulfilment in the days of the Maccabees, but a fulfilment which was only typical and partial. The modern Jews look forward to the time of the revelation of their expected Messiah for its complete accomplishment. Then they suppose that all the exiled Jews will be gathered together from Spain (Sepharad) and elsewhere, and will form a kingdom which will rule over the "Edomites," that is, according to an accepted rule of Rabbinical interpretation, over the "Christians," and over the rest of the world. Christians believe that the prediction found an accomplishment, but still only a partial and incomplete accomplishment, when the kingdom of Jehovah, ceasing to be confined within the limits of Judæa, expanded into the Catholic or universal Church. And they look forward to a still further accomplishment of it in the future, whether at the time of the Millennium, as the Millennium was understood by the majority of the Fathers of the Church, or at that time, whenever it may be, which is described in the two final chapters of the Book of the Revelation.

Of the three predictions, then, of Obadiah (if we like to regard them, for convenience, as three instead of two), we are enabled to say that history relates the

fulfilment of one, and necessarily implies the fulfilment of another, while the third is as yet but typically and partially fulfilled, and awaits a fuller completion.

The most valuable commentaries and dissertations, specially on Obadiah, are:—

1. Leusden, 'Obadiah illustratus:' appended to 'Joel explicatus.' Ultraj. 1657.
2. Pfeiffer, 'Commentarius in Obadiam.' Viteb. 1666.
3. Schnurrer, 'Dissertatio philologica in Obadiam.' Tübingen, 1787.
4. Hendewerk, 'Obadiæ Oraculum in Idumæos.' Reg. Pruss. 1836.
5. Jäger, 'Ueber das Zeitalter Obadjas.' Tübing. 1837.
6. Caspari, 'Der Prophet Obadjah ausgelegt.' Lpsg. 1842.
7. Delitzsch, 'Wann weiszagte Obadjah?' in the 'Rudelbach und Guericke's Zeitschrift,' 1851.

For the Rabbinical interpretation of the book, which is, in general, of too extravagant a character to notice in a serious commentary, reference may be made to Pfeiffer, 'Tract. Phil. Antirrab.,' Op. p. 1081, Ultraj. 1704; to Buxtorf's 'Synagoga Judaica;' and to the article on Obadiah in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

OBADIAH.

1 *The destruction of Edom,* 3 *for their pride,* 10 *and for their wrong unto Jacob.* 17 *The salvation and victory of Jacob.*

THE vision of Obadiah. Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning Edom; [a] We have heard a rumour from the LORD, and an ambassador is sent among the heathen, Arise ye, and let us rise up against her in battle.

[a] Jer. 49. 14.

2 Behold, I have made thee small among the heathen: thou art greatly despised.

3 ¶ The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habita-

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1. *The vision of Obadiah. Thus saith the Lord* GOD *concerning Edom*] Obadiah's prophecy, like Nahum's, bears two headings or titles: (1) *The vision of Obadiah;* (2) *Thus saith the Lord God concerning Edom.* In the Book of Nahum the order of the headings is reversed: "The burden of Nineveh;" "The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite." The first title, *The vision of Obadiah,* has been attributed to the compiler of the Book of the Minor Prophets: the second, *Thus saith the Lord God concerning Edom,* to Obadiah. It is probable, however, that both were affixed by the writer himself: for (1) the reversal of the order of the headings in Nahum seems to imply that neither of them proceeded from the compiler; (2) we do not find that in other cases it was the practice of the compiler to head each book with a descriptive title; (3) we do find that it was usual with the Hebrew prophets to prefix words of similar import with Obadiah's first heading, not only to books, where the compiler's hand might be supposed to be traced, but also to their several prophecies: *e.g.* "The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem," Isai. i. 1: "The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, did see," Isai. xiii. 1. Some of these superscriptions could not but have emanated from the author, as Ezek. i. 1, "In the fifth day of the month...I saw visions of God," followed instead of preceded by "In the fifth day of the month...the word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel the priest;" (4) the "her" at the end of the verse requires the "Edom" of the second heading to have preceded it.

vision] The word *vision* (*châzon*) is applied to all divine communications made to a seer, whether in the ecstatic or in the ordinary state. It is noticeable that it is used by the later as well as by the earlier prophets (cf. Zech. xiii. 4; Dan. viii. 1); which shews that it is an error to imagine, as has been supposed by some, that the idea indicated by the title "seer" (*chozeh* and *roeh*) was only an early notion, exchanged after a time for that which is expressed by the more usual title "announcer" (*nâbi*). The prophet *announced* God's revelations, but he *saw* them first, whether he lived in a later or in an earlier period.

Thus saith the Lord GOD] This is a formula claiming divine authority for the whole prophecy. The words are not to be grammatically connected with the sentence immediately following.

Edom] See Introduction, §§ ii., iii., iv.

We] The Jews, including their representative, the prophet. Jeremiah, in the parallel prophecy, uses the singular number (Jer. xlix. 14).

rumour] *i.e.* "tidings. or message from God." See on Jer. xlix. 14. Cf. also Isai. xliv. 8, xlviii. 5, liii. 1.

an ambassador] Or, **herald.** See on Jer. xlix. 14. Jehovah is described as Himself giving a message to His people, the Jews, who are near Him, and sending a bearer of the same message to the heathen who are afar.

Arise ye, and let us rise up] Jehovah's command, and His herald's exhortation. Cf. Jer. xlix. 14.

2. *Behold*] Verses 2—9 contain the denunciation of Edom; verses 10—14, the cause of the denunciation; verses 15, 16, an expansion of the denunciation; verses 17—21, a declaration of the glories of Zion, following upon the fulfilment of the denunciation.

I] Jehovah.

have made thee small] The future is anticipated as though already accomplished. Cf. Jer. xlix. 15.

among the heathen] among the **nations.**

3. *thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high*] The word

tion *is* high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground?

[b] Jer. 49. 16. 4 [b]Though thou exalt *thyself* as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the LORD.

[c] Jer. 49. 9. 5 If [c]thieves came to thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou cut off!) would they not have stolen till they had enough? if the grapegatherers came to thee, would they not leave [f] Or, *gleanings?* [f]*some* grapes?

6 How are *the things* of Esau searched out! *how* are his hidden things sought up!

7 All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee *even* to the border: [†] the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, *and* prevailed against thee; [†] *they that eat* thy bread have laid a wound under thee: *there is* none understanding [‡] in him. [†] Heb. *the men of thy peace.* [†] Heb. the men *of thy bread.* [‡] Or, *of it.*

8 [d]Shall I not in that day, saith the LORD, even destroy the wise *men* [d] Isai. 29. 14. Jer. 49. 7.

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translated "rock" is, in the original, *selah*, and by it the prophet probably designates **Selah**, which was the name of the Edomite capital, the city whose site was afterwards occupied by Petra, a word of similar import. Selah was situated on either side of a deep ravine, which runs winding like a stream through precipitous and over-hanging cliffs, for a distance of not less than a mile and a half. The cliffs are honeycombed with caverns, and in these caverns, reached by artificial means of access, the Edomites dwelt. The buildings which at present exist *on the ground* at Petra are not the work of the Edomites, but of their successors, the Nabathæans. See Introduction, §§ iii., iv. The great strength of a position such as Selah's was shewn during the war of the Independence of Greece, in the case of the monastery of Megaspelion, which was situated, like Selah, on the face of a precipice. Ibrahim Pasha was unable to *bring* its defenders *down* by assault from below or from above, and, though ungarrisoned, it baffled his utmost efforts. The word translated "clefts" should rather be rendered "places of refuge," or "fastnesses." It is found only here and in the parallel passage of Jeremiah, and in the Song of Sol. ii. 14.

4. *Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars*] **Though thou exalt thy nest as the eagle, and though thou set it among the stars.** In Hebrew, the object of the sentence is found in its second clause, where we place it in the first and employ a pronoun in the second. Obadiah would seem to have had in his mind Balaam's words in Num. xxiv. 21.

among the stars] Cf. Job xx. 6, xxxix. 28; Isai. xiv. 13.

5. *If thieves*] Brigands do not strip their victims to the skin, nor do grape-gatherers pluck every bunch and berry, but Edom's enemies should leave nothing. Jeremiah's parallel passage is far less vigorous: "If grapegatherers come to thee, they will not leave any gleaning: if thieves by night, they will destroy their fill."

how art thou cut off!] An interjection of the prophet, anticipating the destruction described in *v.* 9. Cf. Isai. xiv. 4, 12; Rev. xviii. 10.

6. *hidden things*] The caverns in which they lived. Cf. Jer. xlix. 10, "I have uncovered his secret places, and he shall not be able to hide himself." Keil prefers the rendering of the LXX., "hidden treasures."

7. *the men of thy confederacy*] The allies and neighbours of the Edomites, probably Arabian tribes. They are further described as *the men that were at peace with thee* and *they that eat thy bread*, translated more exactly in the margin as "the men of thy peace," "the men of thy bread."

have brought thee even to the border] The Edomites are represented as applying to their allies for help, whereupon the allies, instead of granting their petition, send them (that is, their ambassadors) back to the frontier, conducting them so far with the marks of respect usually shewn to ambassadors, but then leaving them to shift as they can, lest they should themselves become embroiled.

they that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee] Those that are bound to you by sacred ties of hospitality treacherously make a deadly assault upon you. The words, *they that eat*, being absent from the original, Keil, thinking it impossible to understand "thy bread" in the sense of "the men of thy bread," or "they that eat thy bread," translates the clause, "They make thy bread a wound under thee," *i.e.* they make their previous friendship thy destruction: but this rendering creates greater difficulties than it removes. See Note at the end of the Book.

there is none understanding in him] Not, "all this is caused thee by thy want of understanding" (Theodoret); but, "his calamity is so overwhelming that, for all his wisdom, he knows not what to do". (Maurer, Caspari, Keil).

out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau?

9 And thy mighty *men*, O Teman, shall be dismayed, to the end that every one of the mount of Esau may be cut off by slaughter.

[c] Gen. 27. 41. Ezek. 35. 5. Amos 1. 11.

10 ¶ For *thy* [c] violence against thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever.

11 In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers [‖] carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou *wast* as one of them.

[‖] Or, *carried away his substance.*

12 But [‖] thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have [†] spoken proudly in the day of distress.

[‖] Or, *do not behold, &c.*

[†] Heb. *magnified thy mouth.*

13 Thou shouldest not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, thou shouldest not have looked on their affliction in the day of their calamity, nor have laid *hands* on their [‖] substance in the day of their calamity;

[‖] Or, *forces.*

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8. *the wise men out of Edom*] Edom was proverbial for its wisdom. Eliphaz was a Temanite (Job ii. 11, where see note). "The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran and Theman, the authors of fables and the seekers out of understanding, none of these have known the way of wisdom, or remember her paths," Baruch iii. 23. See on Gen. xxxvi. 11 and Job ii. 11.

mount of Esau] Originally, Mount Seir. After its occupation by the Edomites it was called indifferently by either name. See on Gen. xxxii. 3.

10. *For*] Verses 10—14 declare the cause of the previous denunciation of Edom to be the violence and outrage of which the Edomites had been guilty in Judah's calamity and distress.

thy brother Jacob] "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother," Deut. xxiii. 7. See on Amos i. 11. Judah is designated by the name of Jacob, in order to recall the relationship. Edom is a type of those who ought to be brotherly and are not.

thou shalt be cut off for ever] See Introduction, §§ iii., iv.

11. *In the day that thou stoodest...in the day that the strangers carried away...even thou wast as one of them*] **In the day of thy standing...in the day of the strangers carrying away.** In the original no time is expressed by these words, nor in the last clause of the verse, **even thou as one of them.**

strangers...and foreigners] These words prove that the prophet does not refer to the capture of Jerusalem by Joash (2 K. xiv. 13). See Introduction, § ii.

carried away captive his forces] These words, as well as those that follow, *cast lots upon Jerusalem*, create a difficulty to commentators who deny that Obadiah refers to the Babylonish conquest; they are so strong as to be hardly applicable to the Arabian conquest in the days of Jehoram. It has been proposed to translate the first clause, "carried away his goods:" but it more naturally and properly denotes "carried away captive his forces;" while "casting lots upon Jerusalem" certainly means more than dividing the spoil taken in it.

12. *thou shouldest not have looked...neither shouldest thou have rejoiced...neither shouldest thou have spoken*] **do not look...and do not rejoice...and do not speak.** All the renderings "thou shouldest not" should be corrected, as in the margin of the A.V., into "do not." The picture of Edom's violence and cruelty is presented to the prophet, and, as his eye traverses the canvas, he exclaims, "Do not look"..."do not rejoice"..."do not enter"..."do not deliver," as he sees each group so engaged. The words are addressed to Edomites by way of apostrophe on what he sees them doing before his face, not as a warning against their so doing in the future. The representations of the prophetic vision are necessarily exempt from the relations of time, those relations not being recognized by the intuitive faculty in the ecstatic state. No argument can be drawn as to the prophet's date from one expression or the other. See Introduction, § ii.

in the day that he became a stranger] Lit. **in the day of his treatment as a stranger**, *i.e.* in the day of his cruel treatment. A kindred word is used in Job xxxi. 3.

spoken proudly] **made thy mouth wide**, *i.e.* mocked at them.

13. *Thou shouldest not have entered...thou shouldest not have looked...nor have laid hands on their substance*] **Do not enter...do not look...and do not lay hands on their**

14 Neither shouldest thou have stood in the crossway, to cut off those of his that did escape; neither shouldest thou have ‖ delivered up those of his that did remain in the day of distress.

‖ Or, *shut up.*

15 For the day of the LORD *is* near upon all the heathen: *f* as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee: thy reward shall return upon thine own head.

f Ezek. 35. 15.

16 For as ye have drunk upon my holy mountain, *so* shall all the heathen drink continually, yea, they shall drink, and they shall ‖ swallow down, and they shall be as though they had not been.

‖ Or, *sup up.*

17 ¶ But upon mount Zion shall be ‖ deliverance, and ‖ there shall be holiness; and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions.

‖ Or, *they that escape.* ‖ Or, *it shall be holy.*

18 And the house of Jacob shall be

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substance. See Note at the end of the Book.

14. *Neither shouldest thou have stood... neither shouldest thou have delivered up*] **And do not stand...and do not prevent from escaping.** The first spectacle presented to the seer is that of the Edomites standing outside Jerusalem and watching the enemy as they carry away their prisoners; next he sees them exhibiting signs of joy; next, making the mouth large at the sufferers; then he sees some of them advancing within the gates and taking part in plundering the city, while others stand at the point where the road divides, and "shut up" the fugitives "in the hand of the enemy" (Ps. xxi. 8).

15. *For*] Verses 15 and 16 contain a renewal and an expansion of the denunciation contained in *vv.* 2—9. Verses 10—14 are semi-parenthetical, and the *For* refers back to *v.* 9, while at the same time it introduces a reason for the warnings of *vv.* 12—14.

the day of the LORD] The time when Jehovah will exhibit His majesty by judging and recompensing; whether the general and final day, or a particular and shortly approaching day. "The day of the Lord," in its inferior signification, is always typical of "the day of the Lord" in its higher signification, and usually, as here, throws forward the prophet's thought to the final day. That there would be a special day of the Lord was first revealed to and by the prophet Joel. See Introduction to Joel, and notes on Joel ii. and iii.

all the heathen] The denunciation is now extended to all Gentiles, but is still directed in a special manner against the Edomites, who stand as the representatives of the enemies of Zion.

as thou hast done] Cf. Ezek. xxxv. 15. The whole chapter contains a denunciation parallel to that of Obadiah. See Introduction, § ii.

16. *as ye have drunk upon my holy mountain, so shall all the heathen drink*] As ye Edomites and Gentiles have held drinking carousals in Jerusalem, rejoicing over the defeat of the Jews, so shall ye Gentiles and *a fortiori* Edomites have the cup of God's wrath to drink. The similarity of the denunciation of Edom contained in Lam. iv. 21 should be noticed. Cf. also Rev. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xviii. 6.

continually] So that the turn to drink never passes from the heathen to Judah (Hitzig).

17. *But*] The remainder of the prophecy (*vv.* 17—21) declares the glories of restored and triumphant Zion, which will consist in (1) the restoration from captivity, (2) the annihilation of the Edomites and their absorption by the Jews, (3) the universal expansion of the Jewish kingdom, (4) the reign of Jehovah.

shall be deliverance] **shall be that which has escaped.** Some of the exiles shall be restored to Jerusalem. Cf. Joel ii. 32.

and there shall be holiness] The temple being again consecrated, though now profaned; Jehovah again "dwelling in Zion," and "strangers" no longer intruding. See note on Joel iii. 17, and cf. Rev. xxi. 27.

shall possess their possessions] The first step in the future successes of the Jews is the recovery of what was previously their own. "Their possessions" does not mean "the possessions of the heathen," as is argued by commentators who refuse to see in Obadiah any statement of, or allusion to, a general captivity of the Jews, such as took place after the Babylonish conquest of Jerusalem; but it means "their own possessions." Verse 17 promises the restoration from the captivity; *v.* 18, the utter overthrow of the Edomites by the Jews; *vv.* 19, 20, the universal expansion of the conquerors; *v.* 21, Jehovah's kingdom.

18. *the house of Jacob...and the house of Joseph*] The united remains of the two tribes and of the ten (cf. Isai. xlvi. 3). The overthrow of Edom, *hitherto* spoken of, to be accomplished by other hands than those of the Jews, and to be effected before the restoration from the captivity, was probably wrought by Nebuchadnezzar in the year 583 B.C., five years after the capture of Jerusalem. Malachi refers to some such overthrow, and points to the fact that the Israelites had been able to

a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and there shall not be *any* remaining of the house of Esau; for the LORD hath spoken *it*.

19 And *they of* the south shall possess the mount of Esau; and *they of* the plain the Philistines: and they shall possess the fields of Ephraim, and the fields of Samaria: and Benjamin *shall possess* Gilead.

20 And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel *shall possess* that

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re-establish themselves in their country, while the Edomites could not do the same in theirs, as a proof of Jehovah's love for Israel (i. 2, 3). See Introduction, § iv. The destruction threatened in *this* verse is to be the work of the Jews themselves, the house of Jacob and Joseph being the instruments by which Esau is finally to be annihilated. This was wrought by Judas Maccabæus and John Hyrcanus; of whom the first defeated the Edomites, B.C. 160 (1 Macc. v. 3), and the last utterly crushed them, B.C. 130, and compelled them to incorporate themselves in the Jewish nation.

there shall not be any remaining] After their reduction by Hyrcanus their nationality was lost for ever. They were only allowed to remain in the country "on the condition of being circumcised and adopting the laws of the Jews" (Joseph. 'Antiq.' XIII. 9 § 1). Such remains of them as still existed finally perished at the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans. See Introduction, § iv.

19. *And*] The prophet sees the enlargement of Israel on all sides after the destruction of their enemies. This enlargement takes the form of an apparent overflow of Israelitish conquerors and settlers, southwards, westwards, eastwards, and northwards.

the south] The south, or *negeb*, is the definite district, known by that appellation, which lies between Judah and the desert to the south of Palestine. See note on Gen. xiii. 1.

the plain] The plain, or *shephelah*, is, in like manner, the well-known designation of the maritime plain of Philistia, lying to the west of Judah, along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea from Joppa to Gaza.

shall possess] We have here an individualized representation of the promise made in Gen. xxviii. 14: "Thou shalt break forth to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south." The particulars of Obadiah's vision are as follows: (1) The "southerners" drive their enemies before them to the further south, and occupy all the habitable land in the direction of the Gulf of Akabah, including Mount Seir. (2) The exiles of Judah, now scattered among the Canaanites along the coast-line up to Tyre and Sidon, and the natives of the city Jerusalem, now in exile at Sepharad, are restored to Jerusalem, and overflow from thence into the "south," left vacant by the migration of the "southerners" towards Edom. (3) To the west, the Philistines on the shores of the Mediterranean disappear before the Jewish settlers in the Shephelah, who, with the rest of their countrymen, spread northwards up the plain of Sharon, and over the territories of Benjamin and Ephraim to the further borders of Samaria. (4) Benjamin, dispossessed by Judah, occupies the trans-Jordanic district, afterwards known as Peræa. With respect to the fulfilment of each of the particulars of the vision, see Introduction, § iv.

they of the south...they of the plain] At the time that Obadiah uttered this prophecy, if we have fixed his date aright, *the south* was being ravaged and occupied by the Edomites, and *the plain* by the Philistines (Ezek. xxv. 15).

the Philistines] At the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, the Philistines appear to have indulged "the old hatred" (Ezek. xxv. 15) by acting towards the Jews much as the Edomites had acted. They must have soon afterwards been crushed, as, subsequently to the Restoration, we hear no more of them as an independent nation.

20. *And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel shall possess that of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south*] There are three ways of rendering this verse, all of which are more or less open to objections. The first is that of the Authorized Version as given in the text. The second is that inserted in the margin of the A.V.: *And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel shall possess that of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, and the captivity of Jerusalem shall possess that which is in Sepharad.* The third is: *And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel that are among the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south.* According to the third rendering, which on the whole is to be preferred, the meaning of the verse would be, "These Israelitish exiles that are now scattered among the Canaanites up to Sarepta, and the exiles of Jerusalem, that are now in captivity in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south." Obadiah refers to two bodies of exiles, one scattered through the land of Canaan, and beyond the northern boundary of Canaan, up to the Phœnician Zarephath; the other at Sepharad: the latter consists of those who had been citizens of Jerusalem

of the Canaanites, *even* unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, [1]which *is* in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south.

[1] Or, shall possess *that which* is *in Sepharad.*

itself; the former, of the natives of the villages and towns of Judah, who had fled before the Babylonians at the time of the inroad, and finding no home to which to return after the fall of Jerusalem and the desolation of the country round about, had spread themselves "among the Canaanites," *i.e.* through Canaan, "even unto Sarepta," *i.e.* into Phœnicia. See Note at the end of the Book.

this host of the children of Israel] The force of the word *this* is not clear. Why should Obadiah speak of one body of the Israelitish exiles as *this host?* It is probable that the pronoun indicates the body to which Obadiah himself belonged, and of which he formed one. We know nothing of Obadiah's history; he may well have been one of the many inhabitants of Judah who had to flee before the Babylonish inroad, and were afterwards spread as homeless exiles through the cities of Palestine and Phœnicia. If this be so, a touching personal interest attaches itself to the prophet's words. He comforts his brother-exiles in Canaan by telling them that they, as well as the exiles in Sepharad, should return, and take possession of the cities of the south.

Zarephath] Or, Sarepta (Luke iv. 26), now called Surafend. It is about nine miles north of Tyre and eleven miles south of Sidon.

Sepharad] The site of this place or district is wholly unknown. It has lately been proposed to identify it with Sardis by help of the great arrow-headed inscription of *Naksh-i-Rustum,* in which Çparda occurs in a list of Asiatic nations between Kat(a)patuka and Yauna, *i.e.* Cappadocia and Ionia. Kossowicz ('Inscriptiones Palæo-Persicæ,' 1872) supposes that the Çparda here mentioned was situated on the Bosphorus Cimmerius. De Sacy first identified it with Sepharad, and Lassen next suggested that it might be Sardis—Sardis being supposed to be used for Lydia. The identification has been accepted by Winer and by Pusey. But, at least so far as Sardis is concerned, it is little more than an improbable conjecture. The Vulgate rendering "Bosphorus" appears to have arisen from a mistake of St Jerome's Hebrew instructor, who may have regarded the prefixed preposition *b* as part of the name—*Bisphared*, instead of *Sepharad.* The LXX. rendering, *Ephratha*, is probably a copyist's error or guess. In the last century Hardt wrote a volume ('De Sipphara Babyloniæ,' Helmst. 1708) to prove that Sepharad was the same as Sippara or Sipphara on the Euphrates; but there is better reason for identifying Sippara with Sepharvaim. Ewald, after his manner, has proposed to alter the reading to Sepharam, in order to find the place in the north of Palestine. The Rabbinical suggestion of Spain (whence to this day the Spanish Jews are called Sephardim) rests upon the curious metaphorical interpretation which the modern Jews have affixed to the Book of Obadiah. Delitzsch and Keil connect the name with Sparta, a city which it is assumed that the Hebrews had heard of from the Phœnicians, as that of a powerful nation in the west. Hengstenberg imagines an almost unknown name to have been adopted in order to designate extreme distance. There remain two suggestions, more probable than the rest. One is that of St Jerome, adopted by Maurer and Hendewerk, that the name is connected with an Assyrian word meaning "boundary;" and that it designates all the Israelites "who were scattered abroad" (James i. 1): the other and most probable suggestion is that of Schultz, that Sepharad was a town or district of Babylonia to which the Jews of Jerusalem had been carried captive, which is otherwise unknown to us. If however the identification of Sepharad with Çparda be sustained, its situation would not be in Babylonia but in Asia Minor.

21. *saviours*] Such as Zerubbabel who led back the Jews from their captivity; the Maccabees who executed vengeance on Edom; and all who by delivering the chosen people are types of the great Deliverer. Cf. Neh. ix. 27. The judges are designated saviours or deliverers throughout the Book of Judges. Cf. Judg. ii. 16, iii. 9, 15, 31. "Under the saviours the Saviour is concealed" (Hengstenberg, Keil).

on mount Zion] as being the throne of judgment, whence dominion was to be exercised over the mount of Esau. "As the mountains of Esau represent the heathen world, so mount Zion, as the seat of the Old Testament kingdom of God, is the type of the kingdom of God in its fully developed form" (Keil). See note on Num. xxiv. 19, and cf. Amos ix. 12.

the kingdom shall be the LORD'S] A promise of the Messianic times, when Jehovah should be exclusively the object of worship; and when His kingdom should no longer be cooped up within the present boundaries of Judah, but should be spread throughout the world. "There is a grandeur about the promise," says Rosenmüller, "which prevents us from referring it to the times of Zerubbabel or of the Maccabees." Its truer fulfilment began when it appeared "that God was no respecter of persons, but in every nation," Israelite or Edomite, Jew or Gentile, "he that feared

[f] 1 Tim. 4. 16. James 5. 20.

21 And [f] saviours shall come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the [h] kingdom shall be the LORD'S.

[h] Luke 1. 33.

Him, and wrought righteousness, was accepted by Him" (Acts x. 35). And it will be fully accomplished only when "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever, and the four and twenty elders, which sit before God on their seats, fall upon their faces and worship God, saying, 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because Thou hast taken to Thee Thy great power, and HAST REIGNED.'" (Rev. xi. 15—17.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on *vv.* 7, 13, 20.

7. מזור is correctly translated "wound." Its primary meaning is "a bandage for a wound," being derived from זור, "to compress," and it is used in this sense in Jer. xxx. 13. Thence it comes to designate the "wound" itself, as in Hos. v. 13 (twice). The present is the only other passage in which it occurs. The LXX., the Vulgate, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Pusey, and others, translate "a snare," deriving the word from זור, in the sense of "to turn aside."

13. The form תשלחנה for תשלח (lay hands on) is the cause of great perplexity to grammarians, and has not yet been satisfactorily explained. By some it is supposed that the plural form in the feminine gender is used instead of the singular. It is more probable that the נה is a combination of the *nun epenthetic* with the *he paragogic*, emphasizing the exhortation, "do not, *pray*." Cf. the force of נא. The same word, in the third pers. sing., is found with the same affix in Judg. v. 26, "She put her hand *forcibly* to the nail." Ewald and Olshausen escape the difficulty by changing the affix נה into the substantive יד, "hand."

20. Of the three renderings of *v.* 20 (for which see note ad loc.) the first has the authority of the A. V., Jerome, Kimchi, Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, Hengstenberg, Keil, Kleinert, Wordsworth; the second, of the Masorites (as shewn by the position of the *athnach*), the margin of the A. V., and Dathe; the third, of the Chaldee, Jarchi, Maurer, Caspari, Pusey.

The grammatical objections to the first rendering are: (1) The absence of את before אשר־כנענים, whereas it is attached to all the objective cases in *v.* 19, viz. את־הר עשו, את־שדה שמרון, את־שדה אפרים, את־פלשתים, את־הגלעד. (2) The use of the pronoun אשר instead of a noun, such as, "the territory" of the Canaanites. (3) The fact that אשר בספרד is regarded as a nominative, and אשר־כנענים as an objective case.

The two first of these objections lie against the second rendering also.

The objection to the third rendering is the absence of the preposition ב, expressive of *among*, before כנענים.

Two objections of an historical and topographical character have been also urged against the third rendering by Schnurrer, Hendewerk, and Rosenmüller. They object (1) that there is no record of a large body of Jewish exiles having ever existed in Phœnicia; and (2) that it is unreasonable that the south should be selected as the spot to which those that were in the extreme north should return. To the first it may be replied that Obadiah does not represent the main body of the exiles as being in Phœnicia, but in Canaan, whence some had overflowed into Phœnicia. To the second it may be answered that it is not from the extreme north alone (Phœnicia), but from tne whole of the north (Canaan north of Jerusalem and Phœnicia), and from Sepharad, that the exiles are to return to the south.

JONAH.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
Jonah's History and Era	575
Contents, and Direct General Purpose of the Book	576
Typically predictive of Christ's Death, Resurrection, and Calling the Gentiles	577
Its Canonical Authority	578
The Book shewn to be historical by Christ's references to it	578
The Book shewn to be historical from internal evidence	579
Jonah the probable Author of the Book	580

Jonah's History and Era.

ALL the information which we possess concerning the prophet Jonah, besides what we learn from the present book, is gathered from the notice of him found in 2 K. xiv. 25: "He [Jeroboam II.] restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the Lord God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher." Gath-hepher, in Josh. xix. 13 "Gittah-hepher," lay in the district assigned to Zebulun (see note on 2 K. xiv. 25). This notice therefore shews that Jonah was a prophet of the Northern kingdom and "arose out of Galilee" (see John vii. 52). It also gives us some indication of the time of his prophesying, though nothing very definite. The particular prediction referred to we may believe to have been delivered after the loss of those trans-Jordanic districts; this took place during the reign of Jehu, probably towards its close (2 K. x. 32, 33). But between this limit and the recovery of the lost provinces by Jeroboam there lies a considerable interval of uncertain extent. For between Jehu and Jeroboam came the two reigns of Jehoahaz and Joash, covering a space of about 30 years; while we know not at what period of Jeroboam's reign—which, according to Neteler, extended from 789 to 749 B.C.—the reconquest was effected[1]. Some intimation of Jehovah's gracious purposes towards Israel appears from 2 K. xiii. 4 to have been given so early as in the reign of Jehoahaz, B.C. 819—802 (Neteler); and it is possible that Jonah was the prophet through whom that very intimation was conveyed. This supposition would bring the era of the prophet to about the end of the ninth century. But, on the other hand, there may have been several successive prophecies of this revival of Israel's prosperity, of which that of Jonah, mentioned 2 K. xiv. 25, was the latest as well as the most definite. According to this view Jonah would be more probably assigned to the era of Jeroboam II. And this supposition is favoured by the fact, that the condition of the Assyrian empire at that time would be likely to predispose the Ninevites to listen to a voice of alarm. Cf. Canon Rawlinson's 'Anc. Mon.' Vol. II. pp. 122—127. The language of 2 K. xiv. 26, 27 may have been borrowed more or less from that employed in Jonah's prediction, which the history had just before referred to. If Jonah flourished in the reign of Jeroboam II. he was a senior contemporary of Amos and Hosea.

[1] With reference to the chronology of this period, the reader's attention is requested to Note 3 in p. 399 of this Volume.

Contents, and Direct General Purpose of the Book.

The book turns upon Jonah's mission to Nineveh. This mission was as important as it was unusual. Its object was to denounce to that city, perhaps the most considerable heathen city in the world, its immediate overthrow; and it was the means of averting its destruction for the time by effecting a kind of general conversion of its inhabitants;—circumstances altogether without parallel in the Old Testament scriptures. Yet when we reflect upon the general contents of the book, we are struck by observing, that this most remarkable story occupies but a small space in the narrative, not one quarter of the whole; and that the interest of the writer is mainly fastened upon the prophet's own personal history and feelings in relation to his mission and its consequences. The reader's attention is directed, not so much to the repentance of Nineveh, as to the spiritual schooling of Jonah himself. The dominant purpose of the book appears in fact to be a didactic one, having for its object to expose and rebuke in the person of Jonah the tendency to bigotry; to shew to the members of the theocratic commonwealth, not only that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him," but also that Jehovah has a tender, compassionate care for every living man; and that as Israelites themselves have continually to own their indebtedness to the Divine forbearance and forgivingness, they ought to sympathize in, and be willing to help forward, the like mercy displayed to any of their fellow-men.

That such is the purpose of the book will appear from a cursory review of its details, which may be given as follows:—

Jonah, an Israelite, a prophet, is commissioned to go to Nineveh, which was at once a city of idolatrous Gentiles, and also one which already threatened to become the oppressor of his own people. The mission was plainly designed to be an errand of mercy, and Jonah himself anticipated that it might prove such in its result (ch. iv. 2). On this account he loathes the work, and will fain go to the other end of the world to avoid it. But Jehovah's purpose is that it shall be done, and done by him; and accordingly an accumulation of preternatural agency —the storm, the lot, the "prepared" fish, the three days incarceration in the sea-monster's belly, and his being cast out alive on the shore—at length bends the will of the reluctant prophet to his appointed task. Nineveh repents and is saved; the work of mercy is accomplished: but the Israelite prophet only repines and murmurs at it. Whereupon it is, further, in the most condescending and patient manner brought home to his mind, how dear to Jehovah human beings are, especially when brought together in large numbers, even though they be heathens and Assyrians. This sentiment of humanity, *i. e.*, sympathy with men as such overleaping all barriers of prejudice, is further very finely and touchingly recommended by the light in which different Gentile people are incidentally exhibited; first the heathen sailors,—in their blind devotions, in their generous sparing as long as they can of Jonah's life, and subsequently in their grateful offerings to Jehovah; and then the heathen Ninevites, whose repentance is portrayed in a manner highly calculated to conciliate the reader's mind towards them and to lead him to acquiesce at least, if he cannot rejoice, in the mercy which Jehovah shews them. Lastly we have to observe, that Israelite readers have presented to them in the character of Jonah, not an exceptionally wicked man, who would not so fairly mirror their own character, but on the contrary, one who, with all his bitter prejudices, is, however, sincerely pious; one able in full honesty to indite a psalm, which completely re-echoes the strain of Israelite devoutness as employed by other servants of God; and who yet needs for himself that patient and forgiving mercy, which he would fain withhold from others. The genuine piety which the prophet exhibits, brings into darker relief the particular vice of character, which it is the especial object of the book to hold up to reprobation; for in Jonah's example are shewn the marvellous wilfulness and disobedience, which a really good man may be betrayed into by its indulgence.

We thus discern throughout one

he will find that most of these references leave the point undecided. When our Lord, on the occasion recorded in Matt. xii. 39, 40, says, "There shall no sign be given to this generation but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth;" or, as the same discourse (in all probability) is recorded in Luke xi. 29, 30, "There shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet; for as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation;" and when on another occasion, related Matt. xvi. 4, He says, "There shall no sign be given unto it but the sign of the prophet Jonas," the reference to Jonah's experiences, as yielding an illustrative parallel to what would be seen in His own case, or even as predictive of it, seems as cogent on the supposition of the book being an inspired parable, as on that of its being an authentic narrative. The same remark applies to those other references, which have been above mentioned as made by Christ, and afterwards by His disciples, to the prophet's *three days'* entombment in the fish, as prophetic of Christ's resurrection on the third day (Luke xxiv. 46; 1 Cor. xv. 4). But we cannot so construe our Lord's words found in Matt. xii. 41: "The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here." The example of the Ninevites could only serve to abash impenitent Jews on the supposition that they were real persons, who really acted in the way described. It is plain that our Lord felt the repentance of Nineveh to be a piece of true history, and as standing in this respect on the same footing as the journey of the Queen of the South referred to immediately after. But if the repentance of the Ninevites was an actual fact, the other occurrences related in the same book must be understood as being of the same character: for there is not a shadow of reason for supposing, that the repentance of Nineveh was known to the Jews of our Lord's time through any other channel of information; and therefore, if it was to be believed that the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah because the Book of Jonah affirms it, the same reason requires it to be also believed, that Jonah actually went through all that experience which the book records. From the use which our Lord made of this particular part, we may certainly infer, that He Himself regarded those other portions, to which He referred, as likewise strictly historical.

The Book shewn to be historical from internal evidence.

And, indeed, the result of a close inspection of the contents leads strongly to the conclusion, that the book is not a parabolical story. For (1) although, as has been shewn, the book is characterised by a certain unity of object, yet this principal didactic purpose is not so much kept in view, is not so all-informing in the composition, as we should have expected it to be, if it had been a fiction invented simply for the purpose of conveying this lesson. To feel this, we need only compare it in this respect with the parabolic prophesying contained in the first three chapters of Hosea. (2) In particular, the psalm in the second chapter, so far from subserving the ruling purpose of the book, would, on the supposition of the book being a parable, seem to be altogether in the way. It is, no doubt, as eminent critics, for example Ewald and Bunsen, have pronounced it, a beautiful composition, taking rank in Hebrew poetry with the most perfectly conceived compositions in the Book of Psalms. But its finding a place here can only be explained by the supposition, that Jonah had actually composed such a psalm, embodying his sentiments in connection with the situation referred to. (3) It appears unlikely that a real and eminent prophet, such as Jonah is otherwise known to have been, should gratuitously have been selected, whether by himself or by another, to be represented as so foolish, so wayward, so much out of harmony with the mind of God, as he here appears, if he had not in fact so proved himself. It would have been a wanton sacrifice of a prophet's religious character, without a parallel. (4) If we compare the story told of Jonah with that told of Elijah in 1 K. xvii., xviii., and

xix., we find a very remarkable resemblance. Elijah's life, like Jonah's, is preserved by miracle; the conversion of Israel on Mount Carmel corresponds with that of Nineveh; Elijah's spirit needs to be schooled by Divine discipline as Jonah's does; in both cases a similar expression of extreme impatience is contrasted with tokens of Jehovah's longsuffering care (1 K. xix. 4—14 compared with Jonah iv.); in both a similar interposing control is exercised by Jehovah over various objects with respect to them, described in several instances in very similar terms (1 K. xvii. 4, 9, xviii. 13, xix. 6; with Jonah i. 4, 17, ii. 10; iv. 6, 7, 8); lastly, each account closes with an interlocution between Jehovah and His servant, by which we are left to infer, without being explicitly told, that the prophet is brought to a more healthy state of feeling. The striking analogy subsisting between the two narratives, and in particular the highly supernaturalistic character which marks them equally, affords a very strong presumption, that the one story, as much as the other, was meant to be taken as a narrative of actual occurrences.

For the further discussion of this point, as also for the consideration of objections which have been urged against the canonical character of the book, the reader is referred to Excursus A.

Jonah the probable Author of the Book.

In reference to the *authorship* and *date* of the book, its title of course decides nothing; for, as in the cases, for example, of 'Ruth' and 'Esther,' its title may only describe its principal subject. It is more material to observe the place which the earliest Jewish tradition assigned to it in the roll of the Twelve Minor Prophets. The Books of Hosea, Joel, and Amos, which come before it, and that of Micah which succeeds it, are those of the four oldest of the prophets, whose prophesyings make up this portion of the sacred Canon. This position, it is true, may be due to Jonah's own era being early; for in truth he was probably the very earliest of all the twelve. But as the prophetical character of the book appears to consist, not in its comparatively short reference to Nineveh, but in the didactic purpose of the whole narrative, it is a reasonable conjecture, that the Jewish Synagogue regarded the narrative itself as a prophesying dating from a very early period, and (most probably) as originating from Jonah himself. And the judgment of ancient Jewish criticism on such a point has of itself much weight. It may be further observed, that since the delineation which the book gives of Jonah's behaviour is so highly unfavourable to his character, it commends itself to our sense of fitness, that it should have proceeded from no other pen than his own[1]. The story itself being, as we suppose, true and not imaginary, its materials at any rate must have been supplied by Jonah; but there appears to be no just reason for doubting, that he himself put them together in their present form.

For further remarks on this point see Excursus B.

In Jonah's Hymn several expressions occur which are found also in the Psalms. This has suggested the remark, which has been often repeated, that the hymn is little more than a *cento* made up of passages taken out of the Psalms, and that therefore the book was of late composition. More exact and discriminating criticism warrants the conclusion, that probably the writer of the hymn was familiar with some of the Psalms, as the pious among the Israelites would be certain to be; but that the phrases which the hymn has in common with the Psalms seem *from internal evidence* to be of two kinds; some having the appearance of being adopted from the Psalms (namely in verses 2, 5 and 7 from Ps. xviii. 3—6; in verses 4 and 8 from Ps. xxxi. 22, 6 and 7; and, possibly, in verse 7 from Ps. cxlii. 3); while others apparently were used first in the hymn, and were borrowed therefrom by other writers (namely, in verse 2, borrowed by Ps. cxx. 1; in verse 5, by Lamentations iii. 54). The relation between verse 3 and Ps. xlii. 7 is ambiguous. This point is discussed in fuller detail in Excursus C. Now it has been observed that, while

[1] Compare the analogous considerations adduced in the Introduction to Exodus (Vol. I. p. 240), in reference to the authorship of that book.

the Psalms, in which phrases of the latter class are found, are probably of late composition, those Psalms, in which we find phrases of the former class, are assigned in the Hebrew headings to David, and most probably were written by him; while Ps. xlii. is with the most probability assigned to David's time (see Vol. IV. p. 267). In respect to two of these correspondences, namely the one with Ps. cxlii. 3 ("of David") and the one with Ps. cxx. 1 ("of degrees"), internal criticism furnishes no sufficient ground for determining, with any preponderance of probability, which in each case was derived from the other. The internal evidence therefore supplied by the hymn, taken all together, so far from proving a late era for the book, strongly favours the belief, that at least this portion of the book was written by Jonah himself.

EXCURSUS A.

Objections made to the Historical Character of the Book.

It appears necessary to consider the reasons which have been alleged in favour of a parabolic construction of the book; especially since they are for the most part the same, as by some are urged to shew, that the narrative, not being parabolic, is legendary and incredible.

i. Stress has been laid upon its containing so few of those historical particulars, which commonly serve to authenticate a genuine narrative by their correspondence with acknowledged history. The paucity of such references, however, so far as it exists (for it has sometimes been greatly exaggerated), is adequately explained, both by the brevity of the whole book, and also by the object of its composition, as being not so much historical as moral and religious. The historical notice which it furnishes relative to the magnitude of Nineveh (chap. iii. 3), though it is not given in the interests of objective history, but merely for the subjective purpose of indicating how the work which the prophet had to face appeared at the time to his own mind, is nevertheless fully borne out, not only by ancient testimony, but in a most striking manner by the explorations made on the spot during the last few years. (See note on the passage.)

In reference to this objection, attention is further requested to the note on ch. i. 3, "Joppa," and to the Note in p. 592 on ch. i. 6, "chief pilot."

ii. Much account has been made of the extraordinary degree, in which, as is alleged, the supernatural element enters into the story throughout, culminating in the incident of the prophet's continuing three days alive in the belly of a fish. With one who rejects miracles altogether, we can of course have here no discussion. We take it therefore for granted, that those who urge this consideration are not biassed by a foregone presumption against miracles in general, and that they heartily believe, for example, the great evangelical miracle of Christ's Resurrection. And to such we would plead: *First*, that the story of Jonah, viewed as miraculous, is, as has been already pointed out, perfectly homogeneous with other Bible narratives. *Secondly*, that the principal miracle which it records is made credible, beyond many others, by that typical relation to our Lord's Resurrection, which Christ before His death Himself referred to. Those who believe in this greater miracle, need find no difficulty in admitting the lesser, as in the prophetical economy a typical representation thereof. *Thirdly*, that a field in nature for the exhibition of this miracle is found in the fact, which natural history puts beyond question, that monsters of the deep, proving themselves capacious enough to take in, and to retain in their bodies, a full-grown man entire, have been known to exist (see note on ch. i. 17);—more than which, professing as we do that the circumstance was still highly miraculous, we are not called upon to make good. And *lastly*, that there is no room for objecting that the miracle was simply gratuitous, having no justification in the story; for even if it had not for its object the accrediting, or at least emphasizing, to the Ninevites the message which Jonah brought to them, which is a doubtful point, yet at all events it was calculated to be useful to the prophet himself; for in face of the many considerations which might make his mission seem to him, not merely repulsive, but perhaps even unlikely to be really the Divine will, it would serve to satisfy him, that it was indeed the purpose of God that he should preach repentance to these abhorred heathen, and, more than this, that it was a work the performance of which by the prophet lay very near to God's heart.

iii. It is urged that the account of the repentance of Nineveh is both improbable in itself, and unaccredited by other evidence. There is however no ground for deeming it improbable. It is described in the story as a popular movement; and popular movements are often hard to account for, and would but for testimony appear highly improbable, even where we know much both of the character of the people and of their particular circumstances at the time; whereas of the character

of the Ninevites, and of their condition just then, we know extremely little. The Assyrians in general are shewn to have been prone to superstition and grossly polytheistic (see Rawlinson's 'History of Herodotus,' Vol. I. pp. 480—517, Essay 'On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians;' and 'Ancient Monarchies,' Vol. I.); they would therefore be quite accessible to religious impulses though emanating from a strange religion; and the apparition of the prophet walking along the streets of Nineveh, and proclaiming aloud his terrible message, was no way unlikely to strike the minds of the populace with terror, and to set going that general passion of self-humiliation which the book describes. "I have known (says Mr Layard) a Christian priest frighten a whole Musselman town to tents and repentance, by publicly proclaiming that he had received a divine mission to announce a coming earthquake or plague" ('Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 367, London, 1867). But the impression, like that made by Elijah on Israel (see 1 K. xviii. 39, xix. 10), was no doubt as superficial and shortlived, as it was for the moment marked by passionate earnestness. We cannot wonder therefore if it has left no traces in the Ninevite monuments; though we think he should be a bold man who, in the face of the unexpected confirmations of the Bible history which these records are from time to time yielding up to us, would venture to assume that no such traces will ever be found. But we need not be disappointed or staggered if none *are* found. The staple subjects of these inscriptions, so far as they have hitherto been deciphered, are campaigns, conquests, sieges, building of palaces, and the like; matters of barbaric interest, in which a merely moral or religious element is not to be looked for. See Ménant's 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' passim. To which we must add (see note on ch. iii. 10), that the terms in which the repentance of the Ninevites is described, fall short of suggesting the belief, that it interfered with the practice of the public worship of Assur; and if this was the case, this furnishes a further reason for supposing it unlikely that the public annals would contain any reference to it.

That an outward profession of national repentance was treated by Jehovah as a ground for remitting the threatened overthrow, notwithstanding that it was both superficial and shortlived (compare 1 K. xxi. 27—29), was in accordance with the *pedagogic* character of the Old Dispensation, wherein external shows were very commonly made use of to represent in vivid symbol the actings of God's justice and mercy, and thus to draw men on to that true spiritual repentance which it is the object of all Divine revelation to bring about.

iv. Most especial stress has been laid upon the account given of the prophet's own behaviour, which (it is said) is altogether incredible, if viewed as a story of actual occurrences. His foolish attempt to escape from Jehovah's presence; his throwing himself (he an Israelite!) upon residence among heathens, rather than discharge the commission enjoined upon him; his making in his psalm no confession of the sin which had brought him into that distress; his repining at the success of his preaching, at which he should have rejoiced; his desiring that all those human creatures should perish, rather than that his prophecy should not come true; his selfish fretfulness under personal discomfort. But whatever of ethical improbability seems at first sight to attach to these traits (which are sometimes unnecessarily exaggerated), it will be found to disappear altogether, if only we will be at the pains to scan the details with no unfair prejudice, but with a candid mind, and with that disposedness to reverential belief which Scripture is entitled to claim. The whole delineation, however, beyond question exhibits the prophet's moral and spiritual character in a very unfavourable light. Yet here several things are to be taken into account:

(1) We must remember, when endeavouring to estimate Jonah, that the religious sentiments of an earnest Israelite would naturally savour far more of nationalism, of bigotry even, than would be tolerated, or even thought possible, in a character formed by the genius of Christianity. How reluctant were the very apostles of Christ to admit into their bosoms the spirit of expansive benevolence, with which their Master sought to imbue them! Cp. Luke ix. 54, 55; Acts x. 28.

(2) It cannot possibly be imagined that the writer of the book, whoever he was, designed to present Jonah's behaviour and spirit as other than highly reprehensible. Now let us only suppose the writer to have been Jonah himself (see above, p. 580), and then the whole composition assumes the character of a frank and self-humiliating confession; by the very act of penning it, Jonah at once emerges out of his former character, and appears to our view not merely as a prophet, but as a remarkably humble and noble-spirited saint. For the self-humiliation of the penitent is made all the more striking, when he simply narrates the story of former folly and unworthiness, while he forbears all such expression of self-disapproval as would tacitly serve as a justification of his present self. By writing as he has done, Jonah (supposing him to be the author) has exposed his character to the reprobation and even contempt of the great majority of his readers; grandly careless of what they would think of *him*, concerned only for the cause of God and His righteousness.

(3) It may be objected that the hymn expresses the posture of mind proper to a God-fearing and holy man, and is therefore out of harmony with the supposition, that the narrative was composed in a spirit of penitential

confession. But in fact the hymn explicitly acknowledges that the sufferings in which Jonah was plunged were brought upon him by God Himself ("Thou hast cast me into the deep;" "all thy billows and thy waves passed over me"). And these acknowledgments, taken as they must be in conjunction with the foregoing narrative, plainly imply the sense which he had, when composing the psalm, that he had *justly* incurred that most extreme rebuke of God; while his thankful acknowledgment of God's having heard his voice in the hour of almost utter despair, magnifies only the mercy of Jehovah and not his own meritoriousness. For the rest, a servant of Jehovah he really was, although both then and subsequently under rebuke for disobedience or wilfulness.

EXCURSUS B.

Objections made to Jonah's being the Author.

Without troubling ourselves to refute the utterly trivial reason which has been alleged against Jonah's being himself the author of the book, founded on its speaking of him in the third person, we may however refer to two arguments, which have been especially relied upon as shewing that it was written at a much later period.

1. It has been observed that Nineveh is described in the past tense; "Nineveh was an exceeding great city" (chap. iii. 3); and this is assumed to imply that Nineveh was no longer great when the book was written. The explanation, however, of the writer's employing the past tense is, that he is concerned to shew, how the city struck the prophet's mind when addressing himself to the discharge of his mission. If one, writing at the present day, wished to extol the greatness of Austria, he might say, "Austria went to war with France, and France was a very powerful kingdom," without giving his readers ground for inferring that France has since ceased to be very powerful.

2. The style is thought to bear traces of a "Chaldaising element," due it is supposed to the influence exercised by Chaldæa upon the Hebrew language later in the Israelite history. The philological details, on which this objection rests, fail to substantiate it. Some of them are due to the fact, that the writer, describing for the first time in the Old Testament an ocean voyage, uses the proper technical terms which he heard employed on the occasion: such are *mallach*, "salt-sea man," for "sailor;" *sephinah*, "covered," *i.e.* "decked," for "vessel," the more common term *oniyyah* being also used; *rabh hachobhel*, "chief of the sailors," for "captain;" *vayyachteru*, (most probably) "and they ploughed," for "rowed hard." We may recollect the parallel case of St Luke, in his account of St Paul's shipwreck, employing a variety of nautical terms, which he had no doubt heard used when himself on ship-board at the very time. Again, he uses the word *taam* of the edict which was issued by the king and nobles; not a Hebrew word but Aramaic; probably the very word used in Nineveh to designate such a decree. On the use of Aramaic in the East as "the language of diplomacy," see p. 228 of this Volume. The somewhat Aramaic tinge discovered in the Hebrew of "it displeased Jonah" in ch. iv. 1, as compared with Gen. xxi. 11, and of "deliver him" in iv. 6, may very well be due to Zebulonite provincialism.

EXCURSUS C.

Relation of Jonah's Hymn to other Scriptures.

We will place side by side the several passages as they are found in Jonah and in the Psalms; following the Authorized Version, except so far as occasionally to alter the translation, when the Hebrew phrase in the two is identical, for the purpose of marking more conspicuously the agreement.

(1)

Psalm xviii.	Jonah ii.
4 The sorrows of death compassed me about,	5 The waters compassed me about, even to the soul.
And the floods of ungodliness made me afraid.	3 And the stream closed me round:
5 The sorrows of hell closed me round about.	5 The depth closed me round about.

Psalm xviii.	Jonah ii.
6 In my distress I called unto the LORD:	2 I called from my distress unto the LORD.
He heard my voice out of his temple,	4 Yet I will look again towards thy holy temple.
And my cry came in before him into his ears.	7 And my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.

The concurrence of so many similar expressions and images cannot have been fortuitous: the one poet must have had sounding in his mind the language of the other. In David's psalm, the situation by which he images forth his past afflictions, viewed as one whole, is described with a just sequency of features,

which plainly evolves itself before his imagination as an original conception: it is out of his fancy that the description is drawn, and not from the composition of another. We cannot doubt, therefore, that David's delineation of his being figuratively overwhelmed supplied Jonah with some of the terms, under which he more curtly sets forth his own actual submergement.

(2)

Psalm xxxi.	Jonah ii.
22 And I said in my haste, I am cut off from before thine eyes.	4 And I said, I am cast out from before thine eyes.
6, 7 I have hated them that regard vanities of falsehood: but I trust in the LORD: I will be glad and rejoice in thy mercy.	8 They that are regardful of vanities of falsehood forsake their mercy.

In the psalm, the context shews that the thought of being in Jehovah's eyesight is, at this time, very present to the writer's mind as his greatest happiness. In the overpowering, almost triumphant pressure of mighty, vindictive and slanderous enemies, he had almost felt himself isolated, and captured by them; "in their net" (*v.* 4), almost "shut up into the hand of the enemy" (*vv.* 8, 15). He had felt that he should be delivered from this, if only "Jehovah's face would shine upon him" (*v.* 16): that he should then be hid away safe from them "in the secret of His presence." This happiness he had *now* at length realised in his own experience; found that he had spoken in haste, when he had said that he was cut off for good and all from before Jehovah's eyes; for that he was not thus isolated, cut off; for that his prayer had reached Jehovah's ears. It is impossible not to feel, that the twenty-second verse of the psalm is of spontaneous growth, springing out of the sentiments which at the time fill the psalmist's mind; and that it is therefore original and not borrowed. And therefore, when we find in this same psalm two expressions almost identical with two in Jonah's hymn, we cannot but conclude, that the language of the psalm, expressing thankfulness for deliverance out of a state of utter despair, was present to Jonah's mind, when penning his own feelings of thanksgiving for (anticipated) deliverance out of a state, again, of utter despair.

For the probable era of the psalm see the introductory note to it.

(3)

Psalm cxlii.	Jonah ii.
3 When my spirit was overwhelmed upon me, then thou knewest my path.	7 When my soul was overwhelmed upon me I remembered the LORD.

The psalm is in the heading ascribed to David; and on that ground we may find in Jonah's words an echo of David's. But internal evidence does not of itself determine the relation between the two.

(4)

Psalm xlii.	Jonah ii.
7 Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts:	3 For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the heart of the seas: and the stream closed me round:
All thy breakers and thy waves have over me passed.	All thy breakers and thy waves have over me passed.

Here the phrase found in both is one which in Jonah might have seemed spontaneously evolved out of the situation: certainly, it most naturally and literally expresses it. In the psalm, it appears as an image suggested probably by local experience (see note in loc.). If there did not seem to be reason on other grounds for regarding the psalm as of the Davidic era, from this comparison alone we might have inferred that the psalmist's language was a reminiscence of Jonah's. As it is, the reverse conclusion appears the more probable. At all events, the era of Jonah's hymn is here left unassailed.

(5)

Lamentations iii.	Jonah ii.
54 The waters flowed over mine head: I said, I am cut off.	4 Then I said, I am cast out from before thine eyes.

The verse in Jeremiah presents an image disconnected from the imagery of the context, and is probably a reminiscence of the imagery of earlier poets: but it is quite uncertain whether it comes from Ps. xviii. init. (or xlii. 7), combined with Ps. xxxi. 22, or from the general description in Jonah combined with verse 4.

(6)

Psalm cxx.	Jonah ii.
1 To the LORD in my distress I called, and he answered me.	2 I called out of my distress to the LORD, and he answered me.

This correspondence proves little. As there can be no doubt that Jonah ii. 2 was drawn from Ps. xviii. 6, the probability is small that it was a reminiscence of Ps. cxx. 1. This last came either from Ps. xviii. 6, or from Jonah.

Ps. cxx. is in the heading simply described as "a song of degrees (ascents)." It is thought to be a later composition: Dr Pusey, however, thinks it earlier than Jonah.

JONAH.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Jonah, sent to Nineveh, fleeth to Tarshish.* 4 *He is betrayed by a tempest,* 11 *thrown into the sea,* 17 *and swallowed by a fish.*

NOW the word of the LORD came unto [1] Jonah the son of Amittai, saying,

[1] Called, Matth. 12. 39. *Jonas.*

2 Arise, go to Nineveh, that [a] great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me.

[a] Gen. 10. 11, 12. chap. 3. 3.

3 But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the LORD, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish:

CHAP. I. 1. *Now the word of the LORD came*] Heb. **And the word**, &c. The copula *And* heads also the following books: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, and Ezekiel; where, in our Authorized Version, it is sometimes rendered *Now* or *Then*. Nehemiah commences thus: "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah. And it came to pass," &c. In a similar way, in Jer. i. 4; Hos. i. 2; and Amos i. 2, after a heading, which syntactically is quite separate from what follows, the narrative begins with the copula. We infer, especially from the last class of cases, that the use of the copula shews a consciousness on the part of the writer in each case, that he was setting himself to write matter, which would connect itself organically with previously existing records. It is an interesting indication of (what may be styled) a continuous literary consciousness subsisting among the Jehovists of the Israelite nation.

Jonah the son of Amittai] See 2 K. xiv. 25, and Introduction above, p. 575. "Amittai" is an adjectival form from *emeth*, "truth;" according to Hitzig = Ματθαῖος: "for in Syriac, as in Arabic, ℵ is often dropped." The Syriac has *Mathai*, or Matthew, here.

2. *Arise, go to Nineveh*] **Rise up, go**, &c. After seeing how fruitless is the work of the prophets in Israel, try what it will effect in the metropolis of heathendom.

that great city] Let not its greatness make thee afraid: for that very greatness makes its welfare dear to Me (ch. iv. 10, 11). Greatness in power seems intended, as well as greatness in size.

and cry against it] Or, "unto it," as we have in ch. iii. 2. His preaching was to be not merely a denunciation *against* Nineveh, but *to* her. No further statement is here given of the nature of the message which he had to deliver; probably because the writer's business at present is more with the prophet himself than with Nineveh: but we learn from ch. iv. 2 that its import must have been indicated to the prophet.

for their wickedness is come up before me] **into my presence.** Is become so great that I can no longer overlook it. Comp. Gen. vi. 11; Acts x. 4; Rev. xvi. 19.

3. *But Jonah rose up to flee*] He set himself to go a journey as commanded (cp. "rise up," *v.* 2), but in the opposite direction.

unto Tarshish] Josephus ('Antiq.' IX. x. 2) thinks Tarsus in Cilicia is meant; Theodoret and others, Carthage (as the Septuagint in Isai. xxiii. 14 for "ships of Tarshish" has πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος, though it here retains the Hebrew word); the Targum and Jerome render "to the sea," *i.e.* to some far-off place on the ocean. But as the seamen with whom Jonah went were heathens, and as Tarshish was a place connected with Tyre (Isai. xxiii. 14), Tarshish is more probably the Phœnician settlement of Tartessus in Spain, near the Guadalquivir. See Note B on 1 K. x. 22. Jonah wished to get away to the furthest point westward that he knew of; so averse was he from the mission eastwards to Nineveh.

from the presence of the LORD] "To be," or "stand, in a king's presence" is often used as a set term to denote acting as his official minister. See Gen. xli. 46; Deut. x. 8; 1 K. viii. 25, xvii. 1; 2 K. iii. 14; Luke i. 19. The phrase here employed may therefore mean, and most probably does mean, "to get away from his official ministration as Jehovah's prophet," or, as the Targum gives it, "that he might not prophesy in the name of the Lord." Some have supposed, that it means getting away from the Holy Land, referring to 2 K. xvii. 20 and 23 ("cast them out of his sight"); but although in those passages the expression "the sight," or "the presence of the Lord," points to the peculiar relation of

so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the LORD.

favour in which Israel stood to Jehovah, as long as He permitted them to live in Canaan, it yet has not in itself any local reference. There is no ground for imagining, as some have been eager to do, that Jonah was, even momentarily, oblivious of that truth of Jehovah's omnipresence, which had been so grandly set forth by David in the 139th psalm (*vv.* 7, 8, 9).

We here naturally ask, why it was that Jonah was so unwilling to discharge the mission imposed upon him. The only explanation directly afforded in the narrative is, that he felt assured that Jehovah in His mercifulness would, after all, not fulfil the commination which He was commissioning him to deliver (ch. iv. 2). That which made this anticipation distasteful to him was, we may suppose, not merely that his own credit as a prophet might be thereby impaired, nor even that the word of Jehovah not being verified by any visible action of Heaven might perchance bring dishonour upon Jehovah Himself (cp. Exod. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13—16). While something may have been due to both these feelings, it is probable that Jonah's repugnance to the mission had its roots much more in his national feelings and in his religious prejudices. The Assyrian monarchy had already begun to assail Palestine, and to assert sovereignty over it. It is true that the first king of Nineveh referred to in Scripture is one who is there named "Pul," who made an expedition against Menahem, 2 K. xv. 19, 20, where see note. See also p. 401 of this Volume. But Assyrian inscriptions state, not only that Vullush (or Vul-nirari) II., a senior coeval of Jeroboam II., imposed tribute upon Syria, "the land of Tyre, of Sidon," and "the land of Omri" (*i.e.* Samaria) (Ménant, 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' p. 127), but also that his grandfather, Shalmaneser II., had warred with "Benhidri [Benhadad] of Damascus," and "Ahab of Israel," and subsequently with "Hazael king of Damascus," and had received tribute from "Jehu, son of Omri" (Ménant, pp. 99, 100, 104, 114, 115, 116). This brings us as far back as the middle of the ninth century before Christ. See Canon Rawlinson's 'Five Ancient Great Monarchies,' Vol. II. pp. 103, &c. We can therefore easily understand, that a prophet whose patriotic sympathies delighted in Israel's aggrandisement (2 K. xiv. 25), would, on the one hand, receive with much satisfaction the intimation that Nineveh was to be overthrown, and on the other, would be very unwilling to undertake a mission that might very possibly delay so desirable a catastrophe. To this we must add, that it must have been a rude shock to his religious sensibilities, when he, a prophet in Israel, was commanded to leave for a while his ministrations among his own people, in order to go far away among heathens, upon an errand of kindness to them; for of course he could not but know that it was in effect a message of mercy that he was commissioned to bear. It was not like Nahum's call, some hundred years later, to prophesy *among his own people* of the vengeance which Jehovah was about to take on His adversaries, the "woe" that was to fall upon "the bloody city." Was he to prophesy for the good of uncircumcised Gentiles, Israel's enemies? The fourth chapter proves that he had no sympathy for *them*. A service like this, new and unprecedented, so far as appears, in the prophetic annals, might naturally appear so remote from his ordinary function, as well as so repulsive to his religious and national sensibilities, that he may very well have come even to doubt whether such a message could really have been "the word of the Lord;" and we may reasonably believe that the strange machinery of miracle, by which he was at length brought to the execution of his task, was designed to overcome an intellectual, as well as a moral, repugnance.

and went down to Joppa] Hebr. **Japho**; "Joppa" in Acts ix. 43, now *Jaffa*. It was in Solomon's time the port of Jerusalem, 2 Chro. ii. 16, where see note. It was fifty miles from Gath-hepher, which shews the deliberate character of Jonah's purpose in going thither. A somewhat indeterminate statement of Josephus ('Antiq.' XIII. xv. 4) assigns it to the Phœnicians. This agrees with Josh. xix. 46 ("with a border before," or "over against Japho"); which seems to say, that the land of the Danites only approached Japho. If the Danites ever possessed it, it is very possible that in Jonah's time it had fallen into the hands of the Phœnicians. At all events, we may feel sure that these had the carrying trade between this port of Palestine, the outlet of an enormously fruitful corn district (see 'Bible Dict.' Art. *Dan*), and the distant emporia of Phœnician commerce. Compare together Ezek. xxvii. 12 and ibid. verse 17, also ibid. verse 19. The Israelites were themselves no great navigators. It is thus in conformity with all that we otherwise know, that the mariners in Jonah's ship are represented as idolaters.

and he found, &c.] Plainly he came to Japho with the definite purpose of sailing for Tarshish, and provided with money which he was willing to give for the passenger fare usually paid between the two places: so much was he in earnest in wishing to be now quit of his prophetical function.

went down into it] **went aboard.**

† Heb. *cast forth.*

4 ¶ But the LORD †sent out a great wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that

† Heb. *thought to be broken.*

the ship †was like to be broken.

5 Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast forth the wares that *were* in the ship into the sea, to lighten *it* of them. But Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep.

6 So the shipmaster came to him, and said unto him, What meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.

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4. *sent out*] Rather, **cast.** See margin. The same verb (which, in *vv.* 5, 12, and 15, is rendered "cast forth") is used of Saul's casting his lance (1 S. xviii. 11, xx. 33). It expresses vividly Jehovah's absolute and exact disposal of the wind. Josephus ('Jewish War,' III. ix. 3) tells of the sea near Joppa being on a certain occasion suddenly visited by "a violent wind, called by them that sail there "the black-north wind," μελαμβόρειον. How far the ship had got before the storm fell upon her, is not stated; but it was probably not far. Theodoret and the Jewish commentators very commonly suppose, that this hurricane fell only where this particular ship was sailing, and that the sea around was calm. This supposition would be quite in conformity with the rest of Jonah's history as here related; and it would help to explain the conviction which the sailors had (*v.* 7), that the storm was a preternatural one.

the ship was like to be broken] Lit. "the ship thought to be broken;"—a strangely figurative expression, for "appeared certain to be wrecked." The verb, as applied to the ship, confusedly blends the ship with her crew; for the clause means, The ship's crew all counted upon her being wrecked.

5. *cried every man unto his god*] Not only had the Phœnicians themselves a multiform mythology, but also the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel makes it probable that the crews employed in their ships were often drawn from a great variety of nations; and these, of course, would have various forms of idolatrous worship.

cast forth the wares] We gather, that the storm was of some continuance, and that, under its pressure, the laden ship was in danger from the seas which from time to time she was shipping, as well as of springing leaks. Throwing the cargo overboard is the last expedient which a crew has recourse to before abandoning the vessel. But this clause gives the reader to understand, not only that the danger was extreme, but also that the really formidable burden upon the labouring ship was the guilty prophet himself.

to lighten it of them] **to lighten their distress.** The Hebrew phrase, lit. "to lighten from against them, *or* from upon them," is the same as in Exod. xviii. 22, "so that it shall be easier for thyself," and 1 K. xii. 10, "make thou it lighter unto us."

the sides of the ship] **the innermost parts of the ship.** See note on Ps. cxxviii. 3. When the storm set in, Jonah took no part in the proceedings which were going on, but withdrew where he might be as much out of the way as possible. He was, we may suppose, not insensible nor undismayed; but in his obstinacy he would do nothing, but only wait till he should be hunted out by Providence, if that must come, as he now darkly felt it must. Meanwhile, at bay, he resigns himself to gloomy moodiness, such as is natural to one who knows himself wrong and miserable, but yet stubbornly refuses to yield. The dull monotonous reverie of a person in such a posture of feeling easily passes into sleep. Comp. Matth. xxvi. 40.

6. *the shipmaster*] Lit. "the chief of the pilots," see Note below. This chief officer, seeing himself utterly helpless against the storm, which he felt to be preternatural, bethinks himself in his despairing leisure of the stranger. There was something about Jonah which had attracted his attention; perhaps there was rising in his mind a doubt, whether he was not in some way the cause of their distress. Why had he alone slunk away? He now goes in quest of him and finds him asleep!

What meanest thou] "What aileth thee?" The question in the Hebrew is the same as in Ps. l. 16 and Jer. ii. 18: "What hast thou to do?" In all three passages it is an exclamation against the utter unreasonableness of the conduct referred to.

arise, call upon thy God] During that period of disobedience Jonah had been incapable of prayer. Now, the call to this duty is, in mercy, forced upon his mind; and that too through the lips of a despised heathen man! And Jonah speedily obeyed the call (ch. ii. 2). The chief pilot thinks it a shameful thing, that in such an emergency Jonah should be doing nothing at all: he might at least pray.

if so be that God will think upon us] "God," in Hebr. "the God." It is not clear that the speaker identified "Jonah's God" with "the God" (comp. Deut. iv. 35; 1 K. xviii. 39). It was common among the heathen (as Tertullian and other Christian apologists reminded them), in their more serious moments, to raise

7 And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil *is* upon us. So they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah.

8 Then said they unto him, Tell us, we pray thee, for whose cause this evil *is* upon us; What *is* thine occupation, and whence comest thou? what *is* thy country? and of what people *art* thou?

9 And he said unto them, I *am* an Hebrew; and I fear the LORD, the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry *land*.

10 Then were the men † exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, Why

† Heb. *with great fear.*

their minds above the gods of their mythology to the thought of a higher Deity; and perhaps all that the chief pilot meant was, that if they all called each man upon his god, the fruit of their piety might perhaps be that God, whatever god was the God, would spare their lives. It was later that they came to recognize the truth, that Jehovah was the God, *v.* 16. "Think upon us," bethink Himself of us. Compare Ps. xl. 17; Gen. viii. 1; Exod. iii. 7, 9. But perhaps the true rendering is, "will brighten upon us," will no longer shew this dark frowning countenance, but will look down upon us with a serene and clear light. Comp. Ps. iv. 6, xxxi. 16. See Note.

7. *let us cast lots*] Hebr. "make lots to fall." Comp. Homer, 'Il.' VII. 182, "forth from the [shaken] helm sprang the lot which they were wishing for, that of Ajax." The δεισιδαιμονία of heathenism, as well as the piety of more enlightened Hebrews (see, for example, 2 S. xxi. 1), was commonly inclined to refer any uncommon disaster to some Divine vengeance; "as is usual in such cases," remarks Josephus in giving the story ('Antiq.' IX. x. 2). Critics here remind us of the anecdote told by Cicero of Diagoras ('De Natura Deor.' III. 37). This sufficiently accounts for these shipmen having a belief, that the storm was an expression of Divine wrath, and even perhaps for their being so sure of it as to set about discovering the guilty person by means of the lot.

In the cases of Achan and Saul, the lot was had recourse to by Divine direction (Josh. vii. 14; 1 S. x. 20): in that of Jonathan, and most probably in that of Matthias, the expedient was chosen by man, but consecrated by prayer gaining the Divine concurrence (1 S. xiv. 41; Acts i. 24). In the present instance, what precedes in *vv.* 5 and 6 leaves no doubt, that these shipmen likewise used the lot with a devout reference to Divine guidance (comp. Hom. 'Il.' VII. 177); and the whole spirit of the book forbids our saying, because they were heathens groping in much darkness, that therefore their pious invocation of heavenly aid would of course count with Jehovah as nothing. However, the narrative of the successful issue of the lot in this case is in perfect consonance with other parts of sacred history. We are to remember also, that Jehovah was in a very especial manner overruling all circumstances to subserve His own work upon Jonah.

8. That the shipmen do not at once act upon the result of the lot by throwing Jonah overboard, but set themselves first to search out the real circumstances of his case, exhibits in a very favourable light their fairness and humanity. Possibly, also, the gravity and decorum, which marked the prophet's demeanour, had moved their respect. The hurried accumulation of questions, vividly expressive of eagerness, reminds Jerome of Virgil. "Notanda brevitas (he says) quam admirari in Virgilio solebamus:

> Juvenes, quæ causa subegit
> Ignotas tentare vias? Quo tenditis? inquit.
> Qui genus? Unde domo? Pacemne huc fertis, an arma?" 'Æneid' VIII. 112—114.

As the first question was the same as had been put to the decision of the lot, their now putting it to Jonah himself would betoken, that, for some cause or other, they who put it found it hard to believe that the lot had decided truly. There is, however, some reason for doubting whether this clause originally belonged to the text. See Note. The other questions were probably not random inquiries of curiosity, but were suggested by the apprehension that the stranger's "occupation" generally, or, at least, just then, was offensive to Heaven; or else that some detestable pollution (ἄγος, *cherem*) attached to his native "place," or his "country," or his "people."

9. *Hebrew*] The word occurs altogether in the Old Testament thirty-three times; whether in the mouth of heathen or Israelite, it always stands opposed to the notion, expressed or implied, of "Gentiles." See, for example, Gen. xliii. 32; Exod. i. 19, iii. 18, xxi. 2; 1 S. iv. 9. Jonah therefore means, "I am no Gentile like you; I am an Israelite."

I fear the LORD] "I worship JEHOVAH, and own myself His servant." He exults in the peculiar happiness and dignity which belong to the servants of the true God; while in his own mind he also confesses the folly he had before been guilty of, in wishing to break away from the service of One, Who was now proving Himself the Sovereign of the universe. We have here the turning-point of Jonah's

hast thou done this? For the men knew that he fled from the presence of the LORD, because he had told them.

† Heb. *may be silent from us?* ‖ Or, *grew more and more tempestuous.* † Heb. *went.*

11 ¶ Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto thee, that the sea † may be calm unto us? for the sea ‖† wrought, and was tempestuous.

12 And he said unto them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake this great tempest *is* upon you.

13 Nevertheless the men † rowed hard to bring *it* to the land; but they could not: for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous against them.

† Heb. *digged.*

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conversion from his fall.—That Jonah now openly took his stand as the servant of Jehovah, and thereby returned to his obedience, appears to the narrator to have been just the most salient feature in the reply which he made to the shipmen. And this explains why the story does not in this place specify the statement, which (as we learn from the next verse) the prophet likewise gave of the offence by which he had incurred Jehovah's anger; for though this would of course appear to the shipmen to be the most interesting point of all in his address, it does not so strike the mind of the narrator. Does not this circumstance betoken the subjectivity of the writer, as being Jonah himself?

10. *were ... exceedingly afraid*] Before, their alarm had been vague; they had only had a general suspicion that there was something supernatural in the storm. But now, Jonah's statement made it certain that they were in very truth being pursued by a divine wrath; nay, by the wrath even of the Most High God!

Why hast thou done this?] Or, as the same Hebrew words are rendered in Gen. iii. 13, xii. 18, **What is this that thou hast done?** It is a question of wonder, not of inquiry. *Q.d.*, "How *couldest* thou so wilfully provoke the anger of this mighty God? And why must thou needs involve us too in thy guilt?" That he, a prophet, should be thus rebuked by heathen men, was no small ingredient in his punishment; whilst it is also a part of his penitent self-humiliation, that he himself so frankly recorded the fact; for whether he wrote the book or not, the knowledge of the facts must have come from himself.

11. *Then said they unto him*] From what Jonah had told them, they felt sure that the storm was from Jehovah on account of Jonah's guilt, and could only be appeased by his being in some way sacrificed; but knowing that Jonah was a prophet of Jehovah, they considered him too sacred a person for them to meddle with unadvisedly. At the same time, they supposed, that as a prophet he would be able to tell them what Jehovah's will was; which, from the spirit that he displayed, they did not doubt that he would do faithfully.

calm] **silent.** Compare Mark iv. 39, "peace, be still," σιώπα, πεφίμωσο. The Hebrew verb occurs, besides here and in the next verse, only in Ps. cvii. 30, "be quiet," and Prov. xxvi. 20, "strife ceaseth."

wrought, and was tempestuous] *i.e.* as in margin, **grew more and more tempestuous**, or perhaps, taken as the words of the shipmen themselves, "is growing more and more tempestuous." So Kimchi, Gill. The Hebrew idiom (literally, "going on and being tempestuous") is precisely the same as in 1 S. ii. 26, "grew on" (literally, "was going on and being great"); 2 S. iii. 1, "waxed stronger and stronger" (literally, "was going on and being strong"); where see note.

12. *cast me forth*] There can be no doubt that Jonah is here speaking under a prophetic impulse. That he should be thrown overboard and saved in a fish, was the very course of things contemplated, as it should seem, by God in this part of Jonah's history; and it was the drawing of the Divine will working inwardly upon the prophet's soul, as well as his penitential, and yet sublimely heroical, self-surrender thereto, that led him to propose to the shipmen, that they should dispose of him in this particular way, rather than in any other. Jonah's conduct here presents a striking analogy to Christ's going forward, in harmony with His Father's will, to suffer as the *piaculum* of the human race. That Jonah does not cast himself overboard, is a fact which illustrates in a remarkable manner that abhorrence of suicide, which distinguishes the heroism of the Bible as contrasted with that of heathenism; for it would be hard to imagine any combination of circumstances that should so plausibly justify the deed.

I know] He speaks as a prophet, both in confirming the strong surmise they had themselves formed, and also in promising that the sea should be calm to them when they were no longer burdened with his guilt.

13. *rowed hard*] Heb. "digged," or rather, "digged through." See Note below. The scantiness of references to navigation in the Old Testament sufficiently accounts for our finding no parallel instance to this particular use of the verb. It may well have been a nautical phrase. See Introd. p. 583.

rowed hard to bring it to the land] **to**

14 Wherefore they cried unto the LORD, and said, We beseech thee, O LORD, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life, and lay not upon us innocent blood: for thou, O LORD, hast done as it pleased thee.

bring her back to the land. "Bring back," same verb as Gen. xxviii. 15, xlii. 37, and often. A sailing vessel of those days would be equipped with benches of rowers (see Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27), available when sails were of no use. In the present instance, the wind not only was high, but apparently also blew from the land; while the shipmen wanted to "bring back" their vessel to the coast which they had left, for the purpose of setting Jonah on shore. It is at all events clear from this attempt of theirs, that they were not very far from the land. Their disinterested endeavours to save Jonah have been commented upon in all ages. Thus Jerome: "Istis imperatur ut occidant, mare furit, tempestas jubet; et proprium periculum negligentes, de aliena salute soliciti sunt." The next verse however shews that they stood in awe of Jonah on account of his relation to Jehovah, of Whose mighty power they were now having such sensible proof: they were afraid they might offend this great God, if they were hastily to cast a prophet of His into the sea, even though he himself was generously bidding them do it.

for the sea, &c.] **for the sea grew more and more tempestuous against them.** See note *v.* 11. The longer they delayed the fiercer the storm grew.

14. *they cried unto the* LORD] A new worship on their part, and rendered in language of the most earnest humility possible.

let us not perish for this man's life] Lit. "this man's soul," *i.e.* "for doing what may touch his life;" which is more clearly expressed in the next clause.

lay not upon us innocent blood] *i.e.* "Charge us not with the guilt of murder." "Innocent blood" means shedding the blood of one whom we have no call to slay. We have the same phrase Deut. xxi. 8, "lay not innocent blood in the midst of thy people Israel;" that is, "Regard not thy people as having the guilt of murder among them." The tenderness of these heathen sailors over a prophet's life stands in marked, possibly in designed, contrast with the readiness, with which the blood of prophets was shed among the Israelites.

hast done as it pleased thee] *i.e.* "We are only doing what Thou all along shewest that Thou willest us to do." They inferred this, from the storm which had arisen and was still increasing; from the determination of the lot; from Jonah's confession; and from Jonah's declaration as Jehovah's prophet, that it was incumbent upon them to do it.

15. *took up Jonah*] "Non repugnantem, sed præbentem manus ipsorum voluntati" (Jerome).

ceased] Same verb as in Gen. xxix. 35, xxx. 9.

from her raging] The "*raging* of the sea," "*fury* of the storm," are perfectly obvious and natural expressions common to all languages. Here however the personification is somewhat more vivid than usual; and Jerome's paraphrase hardly appears overstrained: "Invenerat quem quærebat. Mare, quod absente Jona irascebatur, in visceribus suis desideratum tenens, gaudet et confovet, et ex gaudio tranquillitas redit."

16. *feared the* LORD *exceedingly*] The cessation of the tempest was so sudden that they felt it to be the work of a present God. Comp. Mark iv. 41.

offered a sacrifice] As this was a ship going to Tarshish and therefore of large size, the animal required for a sacrifice was no doubt at hand. The statement therefore which the words most obviously present is a perfectly probable one: they offered a sacrifice to Jehovah at once; while they also bound themselves to the performance of further acts of devotion afterwards. Even if the words fall short of saying, as some have supposed, that they promised to Jehovah a lifelong and exclusive religious obedience, yet it belongs to the general purpose of the book to note, that, in this instance likewise, Gentiles proved themselves more accessible to religious impressions than His own chosen people often were.

The ship, no doubt, pursued her voyage to Tarshish. There is therefore no room for supposing (as some have wished to do) that the effect of Jonah's preaching at Nineveh was assisted by the testimony of the mariners. They were gone away to the opposite end of the world.

17. *prepared*] **appointed.** LXX. προσέταξεν. The same expression is used in reference to the gourd, the worm, and the east wind in chap. iv. 6, 7, 8. See also Dan. i. 5, 10; Ps. lxi. 7. As the Hebrew verb properly means "to measure" or "number," it does not appear, that in any of these passages it refers to the bringing into being of the object in each case spoken of, but simply to its being assigned to do a particular work. In 1 K. xvii. 4, 9, another verb, "commanded," *i.e.* "appointed," "charged," expresses exactly the same thought.

a great fish] The LXX. has κήτει μεγάλῳ, whence is drawn the κῆτος in Matt. xii. 40, rendered "whale" in A.V. The Evangelist, and the Lord Jesus Himself if He was speaking Greek, would of course take the word presented

15 So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea: and the sea † Heb. stood. †ceased from her raging.

16 Then the men feared the LORD exceedingly, and †offered a sacrifice unto the LORD, and made vows. † Heb. sacrificed a sacrifice unto the LORD, and vowed vows.

by the Greek version which was in ordinary use: it did not matter for the purpose of the citation whether the "great fish" of the Hebrew text were or were not a κῆτος, supposing this Greek word to mean any particular kind of fish. The term however is of a very wide import. Originally, as used by Homer, it appears to have embraced all the larger creatures of the sea; though in later usage it was employed in particular of whales, sharks and large thunnies. See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon. In respect to the question what was the kind of fish intended, the observation has been frequently repeated, that the whale has so small a throat, as to be incapable of swallowing a man. This is, beyond question, true in respect to the *True* or *Greenland Whale* (the *Arctic Right Whale*, the *Balæna Mysticetus* of Cuvier and other naturalists); but it is not true of all species of whales. The natural history of these monsters of the deep, whom it is not very easy to subject to investigation, is invested with much uncertainty; their classification indeed has varied in the hands of successive naturalists so greatly, as to make it extremely difficult even to name some of them with precision. The one kind, which next to the *Greenland Whale* we know the most about, is the *Great Spermaceti Whale* (the *Physeter Catodon* of Linnæus, the *Cachalot Macrocephalus* of Cuvier and Lacépède); whose natural history has been elucidated by one, who enjoyed ample opportunities of studying it, in a work entirely devoted to the subject ('Observations on the Natural History of the Spermaceti Whale, by Thos. Beale, surgeon, London, 1839'); and in p. 294 of his work Mr Beale expressly observes, "The throat is capacious enough to give passage to the body of a man, presenting a strong contrast to the contracted gullet of the Greenland whale." The presence of these *Physeters* in the Mediterranean is expressly asserted by Cuvier in his 'Règne Animal,' Vol. I. p. 342. (For further particulars relating to these sea-monsters, comp. Knight's 'English Encycl.' Nat. Hist. Vol. I. pp. 902, &c.; Brewster's 'Edinb. Cyclop.' Vol. V. Part 2; Cuvier's 'Règne Animal,' Vol. I. Mammifères, pp. 340 &c.; 'Encycl. Brit.' 8th ed. Vol. XII. Ichthyology, pp. 321 &c.; and Vol. XIV. Mammalia, pp. 217—237.) Again, that there are sharks, *Carcharidæ*, common inhabitants of the Mediterranean, which are capable of swallowing a man entire, and of rendering him up again entire, is a fact which Dr Pusey has completely established ('Minor Prophets,' 'Introd. to Jonah,' pp. 257, 258). Further, there is a Rorqual, not uncommon in the Mediterranean, named indeed by Cuvier *Rorqualus Mediterraniensis*, and by M. Lesson, *Balænoptera Mediterraniensis* (the *Rorq. Musculus* of Linnæus and Lacépède), which deserves to be considered in relation to this history. Though it is not known to attain that huge size, which makes its *Boreal* congener the "mightiest giant of the great deep and probably the most powerful and bulky of all created things," yet one of this species was stranded near St Cyprien, Eastern Pyrenees, in 1828, which was 75 feet long; and of course this may have been not one of the largest inhabiting that sea. The distinguishing feature of the whole genus, to which it owes its Norwegian name of Rorqual, *i.e. whale with folds*, is the possession of a "number of longitudinal folds, nearly parallel, which commence under the lower lip, occupying the space between the two branches of the jaw, pass down the throat, covering the whole extent of the chest from one fin to the other, and terminate far down the abdomen;" in the Mediterranean species "reaching to the vent" ('Encyl. Brit.' 8th edit. Vol. XIV. pp. 235, 236). It does not appear that this Rorqual's throat is large enough to swallow a man, though almost incredible numbers of great cod have been found in its stomach; yet there is no improbability in supposing that a Rorqual was employed in the present instance. The use of its plical apparatus has not been exactly ascertained; but its existence suggests the hypothesis that it may have been in the folds of a Rorqual's mouth, which in the case of an individual 75 feet long would be a cavity of between 15 or 20 feet in length, that the prophet was embedded, being there, both miraculously detained and miraculously preserved alive. The word "bowels," in the New Test. κοιλία, furnishes no valid objection to this view: the prophet, knowing himself to have been taken into the mouth of the monster, would naturally conceive of himself as having been, when immured in the manner supposed, lying in the animal's belly. But amongst various possibilities which offer themselves, we are wholly incapable of determining what the actual fact was, either in respect to the part of the animal in which the prophet was imprisoned, or as to the particular kind of marine creature which was selected for the purpose. It is enough that we are able to shew, that the sea is provided with a variety of inhabitants already known to us, and there may well be others as yet unknown, from among which the Almighty, without having recourse to any new exercise of creative power, might call forth an individual fish for the strange office here assigned to it.

17 ¶ Now the LORD had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And [b] Jonah was in the [†] belly of the fish three days and three nights.

† Heb. *bowels.*

[b] Matth. 12. 40. & 16. 4. Luke 11. 30.

was in the belly of the fish] Heb. **bowels of the fish.** There was nothing miraculous in Jonah's being swallowed up, alive and whole, by a fish: but that he continued alive in the fish for three days and was then yielded up alive, was altogether miraculous. It is indeed professedly as a miracle that the fact is exhibited to us in Scripture: our Lord repeatedly called it "the sign (*i.e.* the miracle) of the prophet Jonah" (Matt. xii. 39, xvi. 4). The fact is therefore to be accepted as an extraordinary intervention of Divine Power, and as standing on the same footing as the other miracles recorded in Scripture. It is not more difficult to believe than many others; not more difficult, for example, than the "sleep" and "awaking" of Lazarus. And its typological bearing may reasonably be regarded, both as its *raison d'être*, and as evidence of its especial credibility. See Introduction, p. 577.

three days and three nights] Commentators in all ages, beginning with Jerome, have wished to qualify this expression, for the purpose of bringing it into conformity with the duration of our Lord's *state of death*. See Matt. xii. 40. It has been supposed that "a day and a night," a νυχθήμερον, a space of twenty-four hours, simply means "a day;" and that as, in the numbering of days, parts of days are often reckoned as if they were entire days, so Jonah may have been in the fish's belly no longer than Christ was in the grave. But biblical usage does not warrant this modification of the particular phrase here employed; not *e.g.* in Esther iv. 16, compared with ib. v. 1, nor in Judg. xiv. 17, 18. The length of time here specified was hardly required for the purpose of bringing the prophet back to the coast of Palestine (see note on verse 13); whilst it certainly would not suffice for a fish to convey him through the Propontis to the coasts of the Euxine Sea, as Josephus relates the story ('Antiq.' IX. x. 2). The most probable explanation is, that it was chosen by Divine Providence for the purpose of more completely typifying Christ's imprisonment in "the belly of hell."

NOTES ON CHAP. I. 6, 8, 13.

6. "Chief Pilot." In the 27th chapter of Ezekiel, which gives us many interesting hints relative to Phœnician naval affairs, we find several designations of different classes of sailors. We have "rowers" in verses 8, 27. Another class consists of *mallachim* (*vv.* 9, 27, 29); a word which seemingly is derived from *melach*, "salt," and means "ocean-sailors." This term we have in Jonah i. 5, where it is very suitably rendered "mariners." A third class consists of *chobhelim* (*vv.* 8, 27, 28, 29); *chobbel* is commonly derived from *chebhel*, "rope;" but in sense it seems to have affinity with the word *tachbuloth*, rendered "counsels" (gubernationes) in Job xxxvii. 12; Prov. xx. 18, &c. In LXX. *chobelin* in the above cited verses in Ezekiel is translated κυβερνῆται, and in A.V. "pilots." Certainly Ezek. xxvii. 8 marks the class as possessing higher skill than the *mallachim*. The phrase in the verse before us is *rabh hachobhbel*, "the chief of the *chobbelim*," the singular being used as a noun of multitude, like *ha-orebh*, "liers in ambush," Josh. viii. 14, 19, &c. The Septuagint here has πρωρεύς, "steersman." It is another circumstance of conformity between the book of Jonah and other history, that we have here, in reference to (probably) a Phœnician ship, terms descriptive of classes of sailors, which occur also in Ezek. xxvii. as proper technical terms for certain classes of Phœnician sailors, and which occur nowhere else.

"Bethink himself of us." The verb *hithassheth*, in the Chaldee of the Targum, is repeatedly used for "contrive," "design," as also is the kal of the verb in the Chaldee of Dan. vi. 4 (but all *in malam partem*). Also two derivative nouns (see Job xii. 5; Ps. cxlvi. 4) mean "thought." Wherefore Rashi, Aben-ezra, Gesenius, Fürst, Rosenm., Keil, Pusey, and others translate as A.V. does, "will think upon us:" so the Vulgate, "recogitet de nobis." But the kal also means in the Hebrew of Jer. v. 28, "shine;" as also a derivative adjective in Ezek. xxvii. 19, means "bright:" so that the hithpahel, found only here in the Hebrew Bible, may well mean "make himself bright." Since in the view of these mariners God was already "thinking of them," though with anger, we appear to desiderate here some verb which shall more directly express propitiousness. Thus Calvin, Gill, Hitzig. The Targum, which gives *yithracheym*, "shew himself merciful," and the LXX., εἴπως διασώσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς, give no clear indication in favour of either of the two renderings.

8. The Hebrew of the first question is *baăsher lĕmi hara'ah hazzoth lanu*; whilst the Hebrew of the question in *v.* 7 is *bĕshellĕmi hara'ah hazzoth lanu*: the closely literal rendering of both being, "On account of that which belongs to whom? is this evil upon us?" Now since *baăsher lĕmi* in *v.* 8 is

exactly the expansion of the more unusual contracted form *bĕshellēmi* in *v.* 7, there seems to be a considerable probability in the surmise of a learned critic (Grimm), that the former was originally an explanatory gloss in the margin to *v.* 7, which afterwards crept into the text of *v.* 8. Dr Henderson ('Minor Prophets') observes in his note in loc. "The words in *v.* 8, *bă'sher lĕmi hara'ah hazzoth lanu*, are omitted in two of Kennicott's MSS., in the Soncin. edition of the Prophets, and in the Vatican copy of the LXX.; and Kennicott's MS. 154 omits *lĕmi*." In Kennicott's MS. no. 384 it stands in the margin. As the question in *v.* 8 is in the Hebrew identical with that in *v.* 7, we cannot translate it differently; although the Targum which in *v.* 7 has "for whose cause" has in *v.* 8 "for what cause," and in doing so is followed by Gill and Henderson. The same objection is fatal to Dr Pusey's rendering: "*what* hast thou done *to whom?*" Possibly the Hebrew text paraphrased by the Targum in *v.* 8 omitted *lĕmi*, which is in fact found wanting in Kennicott's MS. 154. We can very well dispense with the first question in the form in which it stands in the common Hebrew text; for in the remaining inquiries the shipmen already take it for granted, that it was for Jonah's cause that "that evil was upon them," their drift evidently being now to learn, how it was that he had made himself so guilty.

13. The Hebrew verb rendered "rowed hard," in the other passages in which it is found, means "to dig through" a wall (Job xxiv. 16; Ezek. viii. 8, xii. 5, 7, 12; Exod. xxii. 2; Jer. ii. 34; Amos ix. 2, "dig into hell"). As the action of rowing is nowhere else mentioned in the Old Test., we cannot be sure whether the verb was the one commonly used to express simple rowing, or whether it has the stronger sense which our English version as well as the Septuagint (παρεβιάζοντο) gives to it. Cp. the use of another verb signifying to dig, in Job xxxix. 21, note.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The prayer of Jonah.* 10 *He is delivered from the fish.*

THEN Jonah prayed unto the LORD his God out of the fish's belly,

2 And said, I [a] cried [l] by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD, and he heard me; out of the belly of [l] hell cried I, *and* thou heardest my voice.

3 For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the [†] midst of the seas; and

[a] Psal. 120. 1.
[l] Or, *out of mine affliction.*
[l] Or, *the grave.*
[†] Heb. *heart.*

CHAP. II. 1. *Then Jonah prayed*] **And Jonah prayed.** Jonah's ode is an act of thanksgiving rather than of petition, the verb "prayed" being the same as introduces Hannah's hymn of praise in 1 S. ii. 1.

the LORD his God] There is a pathos in this expression, reminiscent of the happy sense of communion with God which the prophet then felt. Comp. Rom. i. 8, "my God." The tone agrees with the supposition, that the writer of the book was Jonah himself recording his own experience.

out of the fish's belly] **fish's bowels.** The narrative allows us to assume, that upon his sinking in the water and being at once swallowed up by the fish, the prophet, in a perfectly natural way, became in a very short while insensible; that, though miraculously kept alive, he however continued thus insensible; and that it was not till towards the close of the time specified, or even not till he was being ejected upon the land, that he was "waked out of sleep." The testimony of many persons who have suffered drowning, or been otherwise in imminent danger of almost certain destruction, shews, that, at such seasons of extraordinary experience, the extreme tension of the mind makes it capable of passing with amazing rapidity through a vast succession of thoughts and feelings, many of which are afterwards distinctly remembered. Something of this kind we may surmise to have occurred in this case of Jonah:—earnest prayers, while he was sinking in the deep, and was being swallowed up by the fish, with perhaps, even then, a prophetic assurance of Divine preservation; and when he awoke to consciousness, a joyous sense of safety, and ardent outgoing of thankfulness to his Preserver. The *sentiments* of his ode are those which he had then felt: the *form*, into which they here appear cast, and which presents a highly finished specimen of Hebrew poetry, we must suppose to have been the production of a later and more tranquil hour. A similar remark applies to the 22nd, 69th, and other Psalms.

On the correspondences between this hymn of Jonah and the Book of Psalms, see Excursus C, p. 583.

2. *I cried by reason of mine affliction*] **I cried out of my distress to the Lord.** Taken from Ps. xviii. 6, and possibly in turn suggesting Ps. cxx. 1. This "cry" (we may suppose) went up from his heart (not from his lips, comp. Gal. iv. 6), when he was sinking in the deep or had passed into the fish's mouth, before he became stilled into insensibility.

he heard me] **he answered me.** Jonah knew this, when he found himself still in life

the floods compassed me about: all thy billows and thy waves passed over me.

4 Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple.

5 The [b] waters compassed me about, *even* to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head.

6 I went down to the [t] bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her

[b] Psal. 69. 1.

[t] Heb. *cuttings off.*

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within the fish; he knew it, when he found himself restored to the dry land.

out of the belly of hell cried I] The utterly desperate state in which he was submerged, when he went down in the sea, and passed into the fish, he styles, not merely "Sheol," but the very "belly of Sheol."

thou heardest my voice] "out of that far-down abyss my prayers reached Thy ears!"

3. This verse and the next bring out more fully the thought of the foregoing: this verse taking up the horrors of his situation; the next, the devotional feelings which it suggested.

For thou hadst cast me into the deep] It was not (he feels) the mariners, but the Hands of an angry God, that hurled him into the boiling deep.

in the midst of the seas] **in the heart of the seas.** Comp. Exod. xv. 8. "The heart" expressing the same thing as "the belly" of *v.* 2, that is, "the inmost recesses," probably suggested the phrase, "the heart of the earth" (*i.e.* Sheol), used by our Lord (Matt. xii. 40).

the floods compassed me about] "went round and round about me," or possibly, "whirled me about." The word rendered "floods," literally "stream," is the one which is regularly used for "rivers," as "the river Euphrates," "the river Nile," &c. Here it denotes the waters of the sea, either viewed as seemingly driven on before the gale, or as whirled about in breakers. The latter notion is the one favoured by what follows.

all thy billows and thy waves] Lit. "all thy breakers and thy rollers." "All," *i.e.* "No billows or waves of thine can be more terrible than those which then passed over me." The expression is identically the same as in Ps. xlii. 7, where it is used figuratively. Here, as the context shews, it is, at least in part, used literally. See chap. i. 11. At the same time, however, the tempest which then made him its plaything symbolizes, to the prophet's view, that wrath of God, to which in that hour he felt himself delivered over.

4. *Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight*] **cast out from before thine eyes**, as A. V. of Ps. xxxi. 22. He felt himself driven out, put away, as Adam from Paradise (Gen. iii. 24), as a wife put away from her husband (Lev. xxi. 7, 14), and that Jehovah in His displeasure would perhaps never look upon him any more. The prophet's language is a reminiscence of David's description of his despair in Ps. xxxi. 22, "I said in my haste, I am cut off from before thine eyes."

yet] **only**; if nothing else is left me.

I will look again] In humble supplication and dependence.

toward thy holy temple] In heaven. Comp. Ps. xi. 4, xviii. 6. It seems precarious in the case of a prophet of the Northern kingdom to suppose a reference to Solomon's temple (1 K. viii. 30, 38). Comp. Introduction to Hosea, p. 406. The prophet's spiritual case in relation to Jehovah seemed to him as hopeless as the circumstances of his bodily condition; yet, who could tell what Jehovah in His power and mercy might not do? These alternating emotions, of despair and of supplication, may have been the last workings of his soul as he was passing into unconsciousness.

5. *compassed me about*] The Hebrew verb here used occurs besides only in Ps. xviii. 4, from which passage no doubt Jonah borrowed it.

even to the soul] Invading the very citadel of life. The expression is borrowed with a literal application from Ps. lxix. 1, where the language is figurative.

the depth closed me round about] The same verb is in *v.* 3 rendered, "compassed me about." As there, its meaning is, "went round and round about me," or possibly again, "whirled me round and round."

the weeds were wrapped about my head] This is intended to mark, either the depth to which he had sunk, that is, the very bottom of the sea, or his hopeless condition, as inextricably entangled in the weeds wrapped round him by the eddying water. The addition of this particular, which would have been frigid in the extreme if only an amplification of the figure employed in Pss. xviii. and lxix., makes it evident that the writer is describing a literal submersion.

6. *to the bottoms of the mountains*] Hebr. "to the cuttings-off of the mountains," *i.e.* to the far-away depth, where the foundation-mountains of the earth (Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6) were vaguely conceived to end, or to be "cut off," resting on the floor of the sea. To this nethermost depth David implies that he had himself, in figure, sunk, where in Ps. xviii. 15 he says, in reference to Jehovah coming down to his rescue, "Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered." Jonah's expression

bars *was* about me for ever: yet hast thou brought up my life from [1] corruption, O LORD my God.

7 When my soul fainted within me I remembered the LORD: and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.

8 They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.

9 But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of [c] thanksgiving; I will pay *that* that I have vowed. [d] Salvation *is* of the LORD.

10 ¶ And the LORD spake unto the

[1] Or, *the pit.*

[c] Psal. 50. 14, 23. & 116. 17. Hos. 14. 2. Hebr. 13. 15.

[d] Psal. 3. 8.

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vaguely indicates the border-region which divides the upper world from Hades, or rather, perhaps, points to Hades itself. In sinking thither, he had, in truth, felt himself sinking into Hades.

the earth with her bars was about me] Or rather, **as for the earth, her bars were fast about me for ever**, *i.e.* "the gates of earth had been closed in upon me." As the phrase "the lower parts of the earth" in Ps. lxiii. 9 represents Hades, it is probable that Jonah means, that he was shut up in the nethermost recesses of earth, that is, in Hades. The Hebrew word rendered "about me" is the same as occurs in Gen. vii. 16 (Hebrew, "shut *the door* upon him"); Judg. iii. 23; 2 K. iv. 4, 33; Isai. xxvi. 20. As it is constantly used in reference to one's being shut *in* and never to one's being shut *out*, Jonah is not to be understood as directly saying that he was shut out of "the land of the living" (Jer. xi. 19), but that he felt himself shut up hopelessly ("for ever") in the caverns of Sheol.

from corruption] Or, "the pit." The Hebrew noun *shachath*, if referred to one root, may be rendered "pit;" if referred to another, it may mean "corruption;" and commentators are divided between the two renderings, both here and in other passages; cf. Ps. xvi. 10, note. The rendering "pit" is perhaps here favoured by the analogy of Ps. xxx. 9, where *shachath* appears to be a substitute for another noun (*bor*), which, in *v.* 3 of the same psalm, as also in Isai. xiv. 15, stands parallel to Sheol. Whichever rendering is preferred, "pit" or "corruption" means the abyss of Hades.

O LORD my God] The language of affectionate gratitude, "blandientis affectus," as Jerome remarks. Comp. Ps. xxx. 3, 4.

7. *When my soul fainted within me*] In utter despair, or, perhaps rather, literally, in physical exhaustion, at the moment of the prophet's resigning himself to the insensibility of drowning. Comp. Ps. cxlii. 3, "When my spirit was overwhelmed within me," where see note. Probably Jonah's word, "soul," is chosen in reference to *physical* exhaustion, in preference to David's word, "spirit," which is used in reference to *spiritual* exhaustion.

I remembered the LORD] Darting upwards to Him an act of prayer and self-resignation.

and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple] Compare *v.* 4, and Ps. xviii. 6. "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried unto my God: he heard my voice out of his temple, and my cry came before him, even into his ears;" of which passage Jonah's words are plainly a reminiscence.

8. *They that observe lying vanities*] "Regard vanities, nothingnesses, of falsehood;" a contemptuous designation of idols, evidently borrowed from Ps. xxxi. 6, where see note. Jonah has already quoted from this psalm in *v.* 4. The occasion of his making this reference to idolaters appears to be, that just before he had been plunged into the sea he had been brought into close contact with their worship (ch. i. 5), and had marked its futility. The subjoined reference to Jehovah's mercy stands parallel to the next verse in David's psalm. Possibly the prophet glances also at his own folly, in having chosen his own way instead of obeying Jehovah's command.

forsake their own mercy] **their goodness**, *i.e.* their loving Friend; the God in whom alone is effective lovingkindness. So in Ps. cxliv. 2, "my goodness (mercy), and my fortress;" where see note.

9. *But I*] **But as for me**, as in Ps. v. 7. The personal pronoun, expressed in the Hebrew, marks a contrast to the idolaters of the preceding verse.

will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving] *i.e.* I will offer sacrifices ("sacrifices of thanksgiving," Lev. vii. 12, 13), accompanying my offering with the public proclamation of Thy benefits to me. Cf. Ps. xxii. 25, 26, l. 14, note. Whether at Jerusalem, or at some altar of Jehovah in the Northern kingdom, does not appear.

that that I have vowed] *i.e.* vows to offer thanksgiving sacrifices, made in connection with those anxious prayers for deliverance mentioned *v.* 7 (comp. Ps. lxvi. 13—15); or, like the mariners in ch. i. 16, in his overflowing feelings of thankfulness when he awoke to find himself so miraculously preserved.

Salvation is of the LORD] **Salvation unto the Lord!** This clause, almost the identical expression found in Ps. iii. 8, presents the sum and substance of the whole hymn: it is an exclamation of triumphant thanksgiving, like Rev. vii. 10.

10. *And the LORD*, &c.] The manner in which this statement follows the hymn con-

fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry *land*.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Jonah, sent again, preacheth to the Ninevites.*
5 *Upon their repentance,* 10 *God repenteth.*

AND the word of the LORD came unto Jonah the second time, saying,

2 Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee.

3 So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the LORD. Now Nineveh was an †exceeding great city of three days' journey. † Heb. *of God.*

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veys the impression, that the command was given to the fish, in consequence of the state of feeling which had now been wrought in Jonah's mind. The sequel, it is true, shews that the prophet's wrongheadedness was not yet entirely corrected; but humbled he had been into obedience, whilst he had also been brought to conceive such a sense of Jehovah's power to save, as would serve to arm him with courage for engaging in his perilous mission.

spake unto the fish] The expression indicates, both the immediateness of the Divine intervention, and also in an anthropomorphic way the action of Jehovah upon the fish's volition.

upon the dry land] As the ship in which Jonah had sailed from Joppa appears to have gone no great distance from the land (see note on ch. i. 13), there is no reason to suppose, that the coast on which he was cast forth was any other than that near Joppa.

CHAP. III. 1. *the second time*] It is clear from the fourth chapter, that Jonah's inward feeling still revolted against the spirit of his message, as aiming at the good of the Ninevites; and so far, the prophet was still wrong. But on the other hand, his waiting for the renewal of the commission, before proceeding to execute it, was the dictate of a just humility. If, after the rebuke which he had incurred, he had gone forth at once as Jehovah's messenger, as if he had done nothing to forfeit his high function, his conduct might have savoured of presumption rather than of obedience. Cp. Num. xiv. 40. See also John xxi. 15—17.

2. *preach unto it the preaching*] **cry unto it the cry**; with a loud voice, so as to be publicly heard. The verb is the same as "cry" in ch. i. 2.

that I bid thee] Or, "shall bid thee." For the expression allows us to suppose, that Jonah was not now distinctly told, what his message was to be, but was to learn when he got to Nineveh.

3. *arose, and went unto Nineveh*] Cp. *v.* 2. The prophet's action is marked as being now exactly responsive to God's word to him.

was] The past tense is used because the statement of Nineveh's greatness is not intended as a historical notice, but is altogether relative to Jonah's sentiments respecting his mission: as if it were, "He went to preach to the Ninevites, though he knew that Nineveh was so vast a heathen city."

an exceeding great city] Heb. "a city great unto God." The margin of A.V. reminds us of Gen. xxx. 8, "wrestlings of God;" Ps. xxxvi. 6, "mountains of God;" Ps. lxxx. 10, "cedars of God;" to which we may add Gen. xxiii. 6, "prince of God;" Ps. viii. 3, "thy heavens;" Gen. x. 9, "mighty hunter before the Lord;" Luke i. 15, "great in the sight of the Lord;" Acts vii. 20, "fair unto God." In all such passages, the reference to God is plainly meant to intensify the expression, so that (to take the case before us) any such paraphrase as "great in God's judgment," or "great through God's especial blessing," fails to satisfy the mind. But neither is the meaning of such passages adequately represented by any mere phrase of superlativeness. The truth seems to be that, by blending the thought of God with the object spoken of, the expression designs to add to that object, by a kind of rhetorical exaggeration, a certain indefinite notion of *divine* grandeur, of *divine* infiniteness.

of three days' journey] "A day's journey" has always been a favourite unit of distance in Oriental topography, but it is somewhat indefinite in its magnitude. (See the article on *Tagreise* in Winer's 'Biblisches Realwörterbuch.') Herodotus, in one passage (IV. 101), estimates it at 200 stadia, *i.e.* about twenty-three English miles; but in another (v. 53) he seems to reckon it as 150 stadia, about seventeen miles. Those familiar with Assyrian inscriptions inform us, that a day's journey, as used in Assyria, appears to denote about fourteen English miles. Taking this last, the lowest estimate, we find the "three days' journey" of the text to be about forty-two miles; the statements of Herodotus would make it fifty-one or sixty-nine miles. A "city of three days' journey" might mean, a city which it takes three days to traverse from end to end: but such a description would not determine its size unless the city were built in a circle; not to say that it is very improbable, that there could be a city forty or fifty miles long in one direction. A second view, mentioned, but not approved, by Theodoret, takes it as a city, in which the preacher could not in less than

4 And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.

5 ¶ So the people of Nineveh [a] believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them.

6 For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne,

[a] Matth. 12. 41. Luke 11. 32.

three days completely traverse its various principal thoroughfares. The objection to this is, that the description appears designed to be a determination of dimensions, which, if taken thus, it would hardly be. The most probable sense is that which, from the days of Jerome, has been generally given it, viz. a city of three days' journey in circuit. This agrees with the notion of enormous size suggested by the preceding words, "a city great unto God." We have a further notice of its magnitude in ch. iv. 11, "wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand" (where see note), which affords ground for estimating the whole population at some 700,000; while the additional specification, "and much cattle," points to there being within the circuit of the city large space for their keep. All these particulars combine to give the reader the impression of Nineveh having been, in its general character, similar to what Babylon is described to have been (see Rawlinson, 'Five Great Monarchies,' Vol. II. pp. 511—514, 3rd ed.). For the question, how far this representation is found to agree with information derived from other sources, see Note below.

4. *a day's journey*] **one day's journey.** Not, perhaps, going straight on, but moving about among the more frequented streets, the market-places, or other places of concourse to be found among the scattered population. Before he could finish one day's journey, the impression made by his words among the people was so great, that he had no need to go further.

cried, and said] The great burden of his preaching was this one proclamation, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown!" If this was delivered by Jonah in his own form of Semitic speech, though his dialect might seem uncouth to the ears of Assyrians, and indeed be only *barely* intelligible (see 2 K. xviii. 26), yet his brief message was perhaps not on that account the less impressive to the popular ear. The Assyriac of both "forty" and "days" (*irba'ai* and *immi*) was substantially the same as in Hebrew; and the Hebrew verb for "destroy" might also be intelligible to the Ninevites. The "Who can tell" of *v.* 9 shews that he made no offer of pardon upon their repentance, though he probably would not withhold advice when asked for it. See note on *v.* 7. That the denunciation, however, was in actual fact minatory, and not absolutely predictive, appears not only from the event, but from the fact of its being made at all. Comp. Jer. xviii. 7, 8.

forty days] The Septuagint followed by the Arabic has "three days," a reading which no doubt originated, as Theodoret and Theophylact believed, in a clerical blunder. But it occasioned much embarrassment to St Augustine ('De Civit. D.' XVIII. 44). Compare also Bochart, 'Hieroz.' P. II. lib. v. ch. 12).

overthrown] The verb is the one which is repeatedly used of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xix. 21, 25; Deut. xxix. 23, &c.). Compare the prediction of Babylon's destruction in Isai. xiii. 19. Josephus softens the threatening too much, when ('Antiq.' IX. 10. 2) he states, that Jonah told the Ninevites that in a very little while they should lose the dominion of Asia.

5. *believed God*] **believed in God**, the phrase being the same as in Gen. xv. 6. There is a certain pathos in the choice of the expression "believed in God," rather than "believed what Jonah said." It seems to betoken admiration for the simplicity of their faith, not without oblique reference to Israel's unbelief (Ps. lxxviii. 22). It is extremely doubtful, whether Jonah's foregoing miraculous experience had anything to do with the faith which the Ninevites at once gave to his proclamation. See Note below. On their readiness to be affected by the prophet's "cry," see p. 582 of Introduction.

proclaimed a fast] The sequence of the narrative (*vv.* 5, 6, 7) indicates, that Jonah's "cry" produced so strong an impression upon those who heard it, as to originate an immediate demand for a penitential fast; and accordingly, in one locality after another, a fast was at once proclaimed; the contagion of penitence spreading as a popular passion, until at length it "reached" (*v.* 6) the ruling persons, and even the sovereign. Great excitements caused by preaching have not seldom followed this course.

greatest...least] In rank, as Esther i. 5, 20; Jer. vi. 13, xxxi. 34.

6. *For word*] More exactly, **And the word reached the king**, &c. The rendering "For" in the Authorized Version is due to the ungrounded supposition, that the "fast" spoken of in *v.* 5 was the fast proclaimed by the king.

the king of Nineveh] The name is not mentioned, the writer's purpose being didactic rather than historical. The Assyrian kings

and he laid his robe from him, and covered *him* with sackcloth, and sat in ashes.

7 And he caused *it* to be proclaimed and † published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his † nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water:

8 But let man and beast be covered

† Heb. *said.*

† Heb. *great men.*

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who reigned in the period to which Jonah probably belonged (see Introd.), were Vullush, or Vul-nirari III. (812—783), Shalmaneser III. (783—773), Assur-dan or Assurdayan III. (773—755), and Assur-nirari II. (755—745). See Canon Rawlinson, 'Anc. Mon.' II. p. 126 (3rd edit.).

his throne] Delineations of a king's throne and a footstool, found in the N. W. palace of Nimroud, are given in Layard's 'Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh' (1851), p. 98.

robe] "wide mantle," with allusive contrast perhaps to the scanty vestment of sackcloth.

sackcloth...ashes] The use among the Hebrews, in fasting as well as in mourning, of coarse black haireloth ("sackcloth," more exactly "sieve-cloth"), and of ashes scattered over the person, is quite familiar to the reader of the Bible. See Esther iv. 1, 3; Isai. lviii. 5; Jer. vi. 26, &c. In the absence of distinct proof that similar usages were practised by the Assyrians, we might be tempted to suspect, that possibly, in ascribing them to the king of Nineveh, the writer intended no more than to indicate, that the king made every demonstration of penitential sorrow. But the particular feature specified in *v.* 8, of sackcloth being put upon the cattle, is so peculiar and graphic, and so remote from all mere routine description, that it appears much more probable that here as in *v.* 8 the statement is to be taken literally. And we may recollect, that the expression of grief by sackcloth and ashes was used in patriarchal times (Gen. xxxvii. 34; Job xvi. 15, ii. 8), and among other tribes besides Hebrews (Jer. xlix. 3; Ezek. xxvii. 31), and that the prohibition of entering into the gates of the Persian sovereign wearing sackcloth (Esther iv. 2) presupposes the use of that form of mourning among ancient Persians. The soiling of one's person with mud, dust, sand, or sometimes even dung, was and still is in the East a very widespread usage in deep sorrow. See *e.g.* Herod. II. 85; Homer 'Il.' XVIII. 23; XXIV. 164; and the numerous instances cited in 'Dict. of Bible,' Art. *Mourning*, pp. 437, 438. Our Lord alludes to this passage, Matt. xi. 21.

7. *And he caused...nobles*] Lit. "And he proclaimed and spake in Nineveh by the decree of the king and his great men," or rather, "And *one* proclaimed, &c." In view of the words "by the decree of the king and his great men," the latter translation is to be preferred. The Hebrew word for "proclaimed," being in the Hiphil conjugation, *may* mean "caused to be proclaimed;" but in actual use it does not appear to have this sense, except perhaps in Job xxxv. 9. (See Gesenius's 'Thesaur.' in verb. and Ewald's 'Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache,' § 122 c.) The verb rendered "published" in the A.V. is in the Heb. "said," which is followed by "saying," as in Gen. xxxi. 29; Josh. i. 12; where in the A.V. it is suitably rendered "spake."

decree] The Hebrew word is in this sense peculiar. It occurs often in the Chaldee of Ezra to denote an official order of the Persian sovereign (ch. iv. 8, 9, 17, chancellor, "lord of edict," 19, 21; v. 3, 9, 13, 17; vi. 1, 3, 8, 11, 14; vii. 13, 21), and repeatedly in the Chaldee of Daniel for an order of the monarch of Babylon (ch. iii. 10, 29, iv. 6, vi. 26). As used in this sense it is an Aramaic word; and it is with much probability supposed, that it was technically used in those countries for an imperial order, and that it was therefore adopted in this sense in the Hebrew of Jonah. Indeed Schrader gives the root of the word in Assyrian: cp. his 'Assyr. Babl. K.' p. 375, Babyl. Its use is consequently no argument for the later authorship of the book. See above, p. 583, Excursus B.

decree of the king and his nobles] Lit. "his great men." The mention of the nobles in conjunction with the king himself as authorizing the edict, is indicative of the qualified character of the Assyrian despotism. Its accordance with Dan. vi. 7, 17, incidentally corroborates the truth of the narrative.

nor beast] It strikes our minds as a piece of barbaric enthusiasm, shewing however its passionate intensity, that the decree associates with the self-affliction of man the compulsory affliction also of all such animals as stood in close connection with man; but, like the mention in the next verse of sackcloth being put upon man *and beast*, it is a feature more likely to have been introduced into the narrative because of its being true to fact, than to have been merely invented by a writer of fiction. It is the only instance of the kind in ancient times that is known; for the *voluntary* fasting of animals wild as well as tame, at the death of Daphnis, described by Virgil ('Eclog.' v. 24—28), which has been often referred to, is plainly a mere poetic fancy. That the particular mode selected for placating Divine wrath was, not the immolation of

with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that *is* in their hands.

9 [b]Who can tell *if* God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?

[b] Joel 2. 14.

10 ¶ And God saw their works,

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animals, or that of even human victims which was often the resource of heathen terror, but fasting and putting on sackcloth and forsaking evil ways, can only be explained by the supposition of their having received Hebrew instruction. Nothing was more natural, however, than that they should have asked Jonah himself, what they were to do; and Jonah's advice would doubtless be the same as that which his contemporary Joel gave to the Israelites when threatened by calamity (Joel i. 13, 14, ii. 12, 16). And then, again, what was more natural, than that in their present alarm their eager but uninstructed zeal should lead them to carry out the measures which he recommended to a childish extreme? Possibly they thought that moans and cries of distress, sent up by these dumb animals, would at once harmonize with their own mood of sorrow and aid it; possibly also, that they would bear part in pleading with Heaven for the general deliverance (cp. Joel i. 20). Sounder knowledge of God's will would have shewn them that the sorrows of true penitence are more suitably accompanied by doing to the helpless works of mercy. Cp. Isai. lviii. 6, 7.

8. *But let man and beast...sackcloth*] Rather, "And let them cover themselves with sackcloth, man and beast." The words "man and beast" are added parenthetically as a kind of afterthought, the subject to all the verbs in the verse being properly only the rational agents. In reference to the beasts which are here alluded to, probably those animals only are contemplated which were wont to wear harness, such as horses, asses, mules, camels, and draught oxen. In all ages, men have been wont, on occasion, to put upon such animals trappings suited to the particular season, whether in rejoicings, or (as among ourselves) at funerals. Commentators further refer to particular instances in which other shows of mourning have been extended to them. The Persians, when mourning for Masistius, not only cut off their own hair, but that also of their horses and draught-beasts, "according to their custom," says the historian: Alexander the Great ordered the like to be done in honour of Hephæstion: so did the Thessalians and their allies at the death of Pelopidas (Herod. IX. 24; Plutarch, 'Pelop.' § 33, 34). See also Eurip. 'Alcestis,' 443. The remarkable peculiarity of the case before us consists in the fact, that the garb of penitence was put upon beasts in order that they might thus help in placating Heaven.

the violence] This noting of "violence" as being the especial sin of the Ninevites agrees with Nahum iii. 1. The wars of conquest in which, as we know, Nineveh was engaged throughout the ninth century B.C. and in the beginning of the next century under Vulnirari, probably tended to develope the spirit of insolent aggression in her population to a remarkable degree.

that is in their hands] Hands holding the gains of violence and polluted by their guilt. Cp. Job xvi. 17; Ps. vii. 3; Isai. lix. 6; Ezek. xxiii. 37, and the contrasting phrase, "clean hands," in Ps. xxiv. 4. This call for a moral reformation shews, that the Ninevites had been apprised on what account it was that Divine judgments were about to fall upon them; namely, that it was not for mere neglect of religious ceremonials, as heathen men in time of distress have generally been prone to think, but for moral delinquency. This view of their case, which was in perfect accordance with the teaching of Hebrew prophets in general, had no doubt been presented to their minds by the prophet Jonah; this too, we may conjecture, in answer to inquiries which they had addressed to him.

9. *Who can tell...repent*] Lit. "Who knoweth, God will turn and repent." Jewish commentators, following the Targum, both here and in Joel ii. 14, interpret thus: "Whoever knoweth sins to be with him, let him turn from them, and God will have mercy upon him. But the similar use of the same phrase, "Who knoweth," in 2 S. xii. 22, where as here the A.V. has "Who can tell," favours the sense given in the A.V. and by almost all modern expositors. The occurrence of the very same words, "Who knoweth *if* he will return and repent," both here and in Joel ii. 14, can hardly have been a chance coincidence: most probably, one of the two writers, it is uncertain which, borrowed them from the other. The author of Jonah naturally clothes the sentiments of the Ninevites in his own forms of expression; which explains also the correspondence of the following words, "turn from his fierce anger," with Exod. xxxii. 12; Deut. xiii. 17; 2 K. xxiii. 26.

10. *saw*] With special heed and complacency. Cp. Gen. i. 4, 31, iv. 4.

their works] Or, "their deed," namely, of turning from their evil courses. The Hebrew noun is in a form which may be either singular or plural. See Gen. xlvii. 3,

that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did *it* not.

and Ewald's 'Lehrbuch der heb. Spr.' § 256 b.

turned from their evil way] Their repentance was shortlived, it is true; its evanescence being perhaps due to the fact, that they had no external proof presented to them that the message by which their consciences had been alarmed was really from heaven: but shortlived as it was, it betokened such a susceptibility of better feelings, as proved that they did not as yet fully merit the infliction of that distinguishing judgment. See Gen. xv. 16. It has left no traces in any cuneiform memorials which have hitherto been deciphered. There is however, a most remarkable deficiency of these records relative to just the very time at which we may most reasonably suppose Jonah to have visited Nineveh. As is seen in Ménant's 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie' (pp. 130—134), the only records relating to the reigns of Shalmaneser III., Assur-dan III., and Assur-nirari II., are those supplied by the Canon and the Chronological Table; a meagreness of detail which contrasts most remarkably with the fulness of record relating to Vul-nirari III. immediately before, and to Tiglath-Pileser II. immediately after, the period of those three reigns. See also above, p. 582, Excursus A, iii.

It deserves to be further considered how much it is that is actually stated respecting the repentance of the Ninevites. Nothing is said, in their case, of any worship rendered to Jehovah the God of Israel, such as is so pointedly stated to have been paid by the mariners in the first chapter (ch. i. 14—16). Here the object of belief and fear is simply spoken of as "God" (*vv.* 5, 8, 9): God, the spiritual, indefinite Idea, which to the heathen mind in general stood behind the concrete conceptions which were the immediate objects of popular worship, and which oftentimes in their higher moods of feeling more or less replaced these last to their view, even when they assigned the name of these to that higher Idea. As Socrates eyed that more spiritual Essence with reverence and pious feeling without in practice discarding the popular worship, and did so (we may hope) not altogether without acceptance, so we may suppose these Ninevites to have now feared and sought to placate "God," without any such break in the continuity of the national worship of Assur as would have reflected itself in their permanent records.

repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them] We have the identical expression in Exod. xxxii. 14. In withdrawing His decree to destroy Nineveh, Jehovah acted in accordance with the principle distinctly laid down in Jer. xviii. 7—10; a principle which in fact flows directly from the immutability of the Divine character.

did it not] That is, the appointed hour came and passed leaving Nineveh undestroyed.

NOTES on CHAP. III. 3, 5.

3. It is apparent that in Jonah, as well as in Nahum and Zephaniah, Nineveh is viewed, not as a mere separate city, however important, but as the capital and seat of Assyrian sovereignty. It would evidently not have covered the meaning of any one of these three writers, if what is now known as Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunas had been destroyed, while Nimroud and its palaces and fortifications, and, in reference to the two later prophets, Khorsabad, had continued in their imperial glory.

Now it is proved by the Assyrian records that Kouyunjik and Nimroud were interchangeably imperial residences of Assyrian kings, from the time of Shalmaneser I. (1320 B.C.) down to the reign of the last Assyrian king, Assur-ebil-ili (620—607): in the earlier part of this long period they shared their imperial honours with Assur, the original capital, now Kileh-Sherghah, forty miles south of Nimroud; but Assur was gradually superseded by the other two cities, until, in the reign of Assur-nazir-pal (885—860), it ceased to be a seat of empire altogether. It is proved by the same records, that Kouyunjik and Nimroud, as being both alike the home of Assyrian sovereignty, were from time to time through this period, and most notably in the 9th, 8th, and 7th centuries B.C., interchangeably enriched by Assyrian monarchs with palaces, temples, and other monuments; Sargon (722—705) adding to them a new imperial city of his own founding, strongly fortified, which is now called Khorsabad[1].

[1] The following particulars are gathered out of Canon Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' passim, especially ch. IX.; Ménant's 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie;' and Mr George Smith's 'Assyrian Discoveries,' whose chronology (given in pp. 445—447) is here followed. Kjk. means Kouyunjik, Nrd. Nimroud.

At Kjk. there existed from remote ages a temple of Ishtar, which about 1800 B.C. was restored by Samsi-vul I.; ab. 1400, by Assur-ubalid; 1300, by Shalmaneser I.; 1271, by Tugulti-ninip; 1200, by Assur-dan I.; 1150, by Assur-rîsilim; 1080, by Samsi-vul III.; 884, by

In the cuneiform monuments the name of Nineveh, "Ninua," is exclusively given to the locality of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunas, where there stood a city nearly eight miles in circuit,

Assur-nazir-pal; 825, by Samsi-vul IV.; and subsequently by others.

Shalmaneser I., 1300—1271, is stated by Assur-nazir-pal (Mén. p. 27) to have "built" Nrd. ("Calah"); but unless the notice in Gen. x. 11, 12 is an addition to Moses's history made by a later hand, Shalmaneser must have found there a city previously existing, which he only restored or enlarged. Shalmaneser I. likewise built a palace at Kjk. (G. S. p. 140), where also inscriptions are found of Tugulti-ninip I., 1271—1240.

Mugtagil-nusku, 1170—1150, and Assur-risi-lim, 1150—1120, rebuilt Shalmaneser's palace at Kjk.

Assur-nazir-pal, 885—860, rebuilt Ishtar's temple and built a palace (N. W.) at Kjk. and also the Ziggurat with a temple to Nebo in N. W. corner of Nrd., making Nrd. the chief object of his care (Rawl. I. p. 98), palace after palace rising on the lofty platform. It was at this time that the seat of government was transferred from Assur (G. S. p. 51).

Shalmaneser II., 860—825, built the Centre Palace at Nrd., completing also the Ziggurat: he also rebuilt the palace and temple at Kjk.

Samsi-vul IV., 825—812, raised a stelé at Nrd. as well as adorned Ishtar's temple at Kjk.

Vul-nirari III., 812—783, and his wife Sammuramit, dedicated two statues in Nebo's temple in the S. E. corner of Nrd.: he also built the upper chambers at Nrd. (Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' p. 358): likewise a palace at Nebbi Yunas, and a new temple to Nebo and Merodach at Kjk.

In the scanty records relating to Shalmaneser III., Assur-dan III., and Assur-nirari II., *i.e.* from 783 to 745, we have no details of buildings.

Tiglath-Pileser II., 745—727, repaired the Centre Palace of Shalmaneser II. at Nrd. and built a new one there, the S. E. palace; he also built a palace at Kjk. at the bend of the river Khosr.

Of the reign of Shalmaneser IV., 727—722, we have no Assyrian records at all.

Sargon, 722—705, repaired Assur-nazir-pal's N. W. palace at Nrd. and at Kjk. repaired the temples, but devoted his chief cares to the construction of his own new palace and city at Khorsabad, "Dur-Sargina."

Sennacherib, 705—681, once more renewed the glories of Kjk. as the chief royal residence, building a new palace in the S. W. part, the greatest of all Assyrian palaces hitherto found (G. S.), covering eight acres of ground; as well as two new palaces at Nebbi Yunas. "The great walls round Nineveh were also his work" ('G. S.' p. 93).

Esarhaddon, 681—668, built a palace at Nebbi Yunas, the S. W. palace at Nrd. and a smaller one at Shereef Khan, N. W. of Kjk.

Assur-bani-pal, 668—626, at Kjk. built a palace near to his grandfather's, and some structures at Nebbi Yunas.

which, at least from the time of Sennacherib (705—681), was surrounded by strongly fortified walls: what fortifications it possessed before the time of Sennacherib, as, *e.g.*, in the time of Jonah, does not appear. Sargon, *e.g.*, repeatedly mentions his own new city as "near to Nineveh" (Ménant, 'Annales des Rois d'Assyrie,' pp. 196, 197), and as designed to "resemble Nineveh" (ib. p. 202). So in the early record of Gen. x. 11 Nineveh is named as separate from Calah (now Nimroud). But it seems a very probable assumption, that as the Assyrian monarchy came into contact with the south-western extremity of Asia, occidentals, when wishing to speak of the *capital* of their mighty neighbour, instead of naming two or three cities, had recourse to the name of Nineveh, which was at once the largest, and also the nearest to themselves, to cover the whole; although at other times, when they wished to specify a particular locality, they would use the word in its stricter sense, as Isaiah appears to do in Isai. xxxvii. 37; for Nineveh proper was, as we know, Sennacherib's favourite city. We may compare the stricter and the wider use of the name of "London."

Besides Nineveh and Calah, there were doubtless scattered over the plain, which stretches north-eastward from that part of the Tigris where it flows between Kouyunjik and Nimroud to the hills Mar-Daniel and Jebel Maklub, various other towns and villages. At the present day this plain is studded with ruins which have been as yet very imperfectly explored. We can point, *e.g.*, to Selamiyeh, a ruin of considerable extent, which is conjectured to be the "Resen" of Gen. x. 12, and to Keremlis, inscriptionally named "City of—," some god not phonetically known. The "Rehoboth-Ir" of Gen. x. 11, *i.e.* "streets (*or* open spaces, *or* suburbs) of the city," probably designated some other locality in this vicinity; for the words in *v.* 12, "the same is the great city," seemingly mark the four places named before as forming one whole. Cf. note in loc., and Schrader's 'Keil-Inschriften und das A. T.' p. 23. Closely connected as the great imperial cities were with each other politically, and bound together of course by continual intercommunication, the intervening country could not fail to become especially populous. The probability amounts almost to certainty that the plain between the two great homes of Assyrian empire was during the 9th, 8th, and 7th centuries before Christ sprinkled over thickly with a population which might very well amount to the six or seven hundred thousand suggested by Jonah iv. 11.

Whether this "great city" was at any time marked as one whole by the enclosure of a circuit of walls is a difficult question to decide. The authenticated fact that Babylon was surrounded by an *enceinte* of some fifty or sixty

miles (Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' II. p. 512), makes it appear likely that Babylon's great neighbour and rival had a similarly wide enclosure. Diodorus ('Bibl.' II. 3) states—where he got his information we know not; possibly from Ctesias, to whom he occasionally refers, and who lived in the Persian court about 400 B.C.—that Nineveh formed a quadrangle 150 stadia long and 90 broad, which gives a circuit of nearly sixty miles. This agrees very fairly with the dimensions of the rhombus, of which Nimroud and Khorsabad should form the acute angles at the south and north respectively; Kouyunjik, the obtuse angle towards the west, and Keremlis the much more obtuse angle towards the east: for according to the estimate of Capt. Felix Jones, I. N., the distance from Kouyunjik to Nimroud is eighteen miles; from Nimroud to Khorsabad about twenty-eight; and from Khorsabad to Kouyunjik fourteen (see 'Topography of Nineveh,' in the 15th vol. of Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, and the reduced map of Capt. Jones in Dr Pusey's 'Min. Proph.' p. 255). Diodorus adds further particulars of the magnitude of those fortifications, due possibly to his applying to the whole real or supposed circuit dimensions true only of Sennacherib's walls round Nineveh proper, of which Canon Rawlinson gives an account in his history (Vol. I. p. 257). The absence of all remains authenticating this wide circuit of walls does not appear fatal to the probability of its having existed; for a similar objection lies against the vast enceinte round Babylon, which nevertheless we are not at liberty to reject. If ever there was a wall round the whole of the "great city," it may have vanished, either through being, from strategic motives, purposely removed, or through being superseded by the stronger fortifications, first of Khorsabad by Sargon, and then of Nineveh proper by Sennacherib, both of which came into being later than Jonah. But, however, our belief that "the great city," Nineveh, had dimensions far beyond those of the platform of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunas, has no necessary connection with the acceptance of Diodorus's statements, or with the belief in the existence of any walled enclosure. Without this adjunct, it tallies perfectly with the tradition embodied by Strabo (XVI. 1, 5), that Nineveh was larger than Babylon. Mr Layard observes, "Nineveh might be compared with Damascus, Ispahan, or perhaps more appropriately with Delhi, a city rebuilt at various periods, but never on exactly the same site, and whose ruins consequently cover an area but little inferior to that assigned to the capital of Assyria" ('Bibl. Dictionary,' Vol. II. p. 554). In a later work, 'Nineveh and Babylon, abridged from his larger work' (1867), Mr Layard writes: "After repeated careful examinations of the ruins and of the spaces enclosed by 'the ramparts of earth" [referring to Nimroud, Kouyunjik and Khorsabad], "I am still inclined to the opinion that they were royal dwellings with their dependent buildings and parks or paradises, fortified like the palace-temples of Egypt, capable of standing a prolonged siege, and places of refuge for the inhabitants in case of invasion. They may have been called by different names, but they were all included within the area of that great city known to the Jews and to the Greeks as Nineveh. I will not venture to say that the whole of this vast space was thickly inhabited or built upon. We must not judge of Eastern cities by those of Europe. In Asia, gardens and orchards, containing suburbs, and even distinct villages collected round a walled city, are all included by the natives under one general name. Such is the case with Ispahan and Damascus, and such I believe it to have been with ancient Nineveh. It appears to be quite inconsistent with Eastern customs, as well as with historic testimony, to place within so short a distance of each other several great and distinct cities. Recent researches have in no way shaken the opinion that I ventured to express in my former work, partly founded upon arguments derived from the fact of each of these separate fortified palaces having been built by different kings."

5. Does Jonah's miraculous history in any way serve to explain the belief of the Ninevites in his message? It is true that our Lord spoke of Jonah being "a sign to the Ninevites," as He Himself was afterwards to be to the "generation" around Him (Luke xi. 30); and there can be no question that He thereby referred to the fact of Jonah's having come to the Ninevites supernaturally, after a kind of resurrection: but though Jonah's appearing at Nineveh was *in reality* a "miracle," through the marvellous train of circumstances which brought him there, it does not therefore follow that our Lord thought of the Ninevites as *aware* of this character attaching to Jonah's apparition among them. And how should they be? On the one hand, the Phœnician mariners, who in fact could only be cognizant of Jonah's being swallowed up by the fish, if indeed they were even of *that*, had, moreover, gone on to Tarshish in the far west; and on the other, it does not seem probable that any persons on the sea-board of Syria who were acquainted with any of the circumstances, if such there were, had come to Nineveh before Jonah arrived there, or that any report of the strange story had in any other way reached this so far distant city. It only remains to question, whether Jonah himself spoke of it at Nineveh. This does not seem likely. In the sequel Jonah shews too little sympathy for the Ninevites to warrant us in supposing that he would be inclined of his own accord to go beyond the strict line of his message.

CHAPTER IV.

1 Jonah, repining at God's mercy, 4 is reproved by the type of a gourd.

BUT it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry.

2 And he prayed unto the LORD, and said, I pray thee, O LORD, *was* not this my saying, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I [a] fled before unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou *art* a [b] gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil.

3 Therefore now, O LORD, take, I beseech thee, my life from me; for *it is* better for me to die than to live.

4 ¶ Then said the LORD, ‖ Doest thou well to be angry?

[a] chap. 1. 3.

[b] Exod. 34. 6. Psal. 86. 5. Joel 2. 13.

‖ Or, *Art thou greatly angry?*

CHAP. IV. 1. *it displeased Jonah*] Rather, "it grieved Jonah," as the same phrase is rendered by A.V., Neh. ii. 10, xiii. 8. Literally, "it was evil with Jonah *with* very great evilness," "evil" often in Hebrew meaning "sorrow," as Gen. xl. 7; Deut. xv. 10; 1 S. i. 8; Neh. ii. 2. So LXX., Vulg., Hitzig, Keil. This was probably after the forty days had expired without the threatening being fulfilled. See note on *v.* 5.

he was very angry] This is unquestionably the common meaning of the Hebrew phrase, lit. "it was hot to Jonah." It is probably its meaning even in 1 S. xv. 11 ("it grieved Samuel," A.V.) and 2 S. vi. 8 ("David was displeased," A.V.), where it has been supposed by many to express grief rather than resentment. There certainly does not appear to be any ground for thus modifying its meaning in the present instance. Jonah shews himself in his behaviour so extremely wayward, that it is perfectly conceivable that he was not merely grieved, but angry, when he saw the city not destroyed. He might reflect that in the eyes of men he had been made a fool of; for how could the world know the actual circumstances of the case? He might also feel vexed by the reflection, that he had in his own despite been forced to be the means of saving a city which Jehovah had been on the very point of destroying, and which the instincts of a narrow patriotism prompted him to wish destroyed. See above, p. 582, Excursus A, iv., and note on ch. i. 3.

2. *he prayed*] This refers, not in particular to the request in *v.* 3 that God would take away his life, but, much as in ch. ii. 1, to his whole communing with God upon the subject. For, in estimating Jonah's character, it is very material to observe that he did then pray: this shews that his was no sullen revolt from God—for then he would not have prayed at all—but an inward conflict rather, in which, instead of abandoning himself to feelings which he knew to be wrong though he knew not how to master, he frankly made his complaint to God, striving if he might to get at one with himself and with his God. If while the discontent had still rankled within, he had made show outwardly of pious submission, his behaviour would, it is true, have appeared to less disadvantage before men, but if man is now disposed to judge the prophet with severe and wondering disapprobation, Jehovah shewed His acceptance on the whole of His honest though wilful servant, both by His care for his present accommodation and by His whole moral treatment of him.

I pray thee] In Hebrew it is, as Jerome says, an interjection of coaxing deprecation (videtur interjectio deprecantis significare blandientis affectum). So ch. i. 14; Gen. l. 17; Isai. lviii. 3, &c. Jonah thereby submissively craves leave to speak his mind.

was not this my saying] I thought this would be the result of my preaching. Comp. Exod. xiv. 12.

I fled before] **I prevented it by fleeing**; lit. "I prevented to flee," *i.e.* "I hastened to get away before I should be exposed to such mortification."

a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness] We have the same words in Exod. xxxiv. 6 (Heb.) and in Joel ii. 13, in which latter passage, as here (see note on ch. iii. 9), is added, "and repentest thee of the evil."

repentest thee] **repenting thee.** The Hebrew word is a participle.

the evil] Whatever evil from time to time Thou threatenest.

3. *take...my life*] Or rather, **my soul.** In making this request, Jonah might plead the example of Moses in his hour of weary vexation (Num. xi. 15), and the more recent example of Elijah (1 K. xix. 4), whose history his own so much resembles. See Introd. p. 580. Here again we observe (see note on i. 12) that there is no thought of self-murder: the prophet commits himself still to the disposal of God.

than to live] To be pointed at as a false pretender; with my mission to my own people a failure; with my mission to Gentile Nineveh, already the shame of impenitent Israel, hereafter perhaps to prove its ruin. Let me not see my wretchedness (Num. xi. 15).

4. *Doest thou well to be angry?*] The words may mean either, "Art thou doing well in being angry?" or, as in the margin, "Art thou greatly angry?" The latter rendering is probably the right one. The word

5 So Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the east side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow, till he might see what would become of the city.

6 And the LORD God prepared a

rendered "greatly" is an infinitive, meaning either "to act well" generally, or "to do a certain thing well." In the latter sense this infinitive frequently stands as an adverb, denoting *thoroughness*, as Deut. ix. 21, "very small;" xiii. 14, "diligently," xvii. 4, xix. 18; xxvii. 8, "*very* plainly;" 2 K. xi. 18; Micah vii. 3, "earnestly." So it is taken here by LXX., Targ., Syr., Arab., Mercer, Henderson. This view is somewhat favoured in *v.* 9 by the answer: "I am greatly angry, even unto death," where the words "even unto death" look like a climax to "greatly." The objection of Dr Pusey, that this infinitive when used as an intensive is found only with verbs expressing activity, and never with verbs denoting a passion or quality merely, is met by the observation, that in the one rendering as much as in the other it is Jonah's active nursing of his wrath that is the thing censured, and not his being a passive subject of emotion. The question thus rendered would mean, "Can it be, ought it to be, that thou art so indignant"—here, "at Nineveh being spared?" —in *v.* 9, "at the palmcrist perishing?" But the other sense of the verb, *i.e.* "to act well," as Gen. iv. 7; Isai. i. 17; Jer. x. 5, is the one preferred by Symmachus, Jerome, Theodoret, and the great majority of modern critics. This gives us the sense, "Art thou doing well in being angry?" the literal construction being, either "Art thou well-doingly angry?" or "Is this to do well that thou art angry?" Thus rendered, the question reminds us of the remonstrance addressed to Cain, "Why art thou angry? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Gen. iv. 6, 7. With either rendering, we are struck by the gentleness with which Jehovah merely *suggests* a reproof; a representation true to the facts of usual experience: it is thus He is wont, whether by inward or by outward warning, to reprove His erring servants.

5. *So Jonah went out of the city*, &c.] **Now Jonah had gone out of the city, and abode on the east side of the city; and there he had made him a booth, and had sat under it in the shadow, till he might see what would become of the city.** So Theodoret, Rosenmüller, and others. The close of the verse makes it probable that the particulars here stated occurred before Jonah had become aware that the city was spared, and therefore before that access of angry feeling described in the preceding verses. These particulars are not stated till now, because there was no especial interest in them except as introducing the story which follows. On the other hand, the writer would naturally follow up the account of the repentance of the Ninevites with the mention at once of Jehovah's remission of the threatened judgment, and then again of the consequent displeasure of the prophet. Jonah, we may suppose, went out of the city as soon as he had sufficiently proclaimed his message: and it would almost seem that he had no occasion to continue proclaiming it beyond one single day. He would no doubt have been a welcome guest there in many a house, or even palace; but his habits of feeling would indispose him to put himself upon these terms with the people of Nineveh; besides, had he not himself pronounced the place to be doomed? He went forth therefore, and took up his abode on "the east side of the city;" on some rising ground, we may suppose, not far off, such as the Jebel Maklub or the more distant Kurdish hills, whence he could command a view of the city. There he remained till the forty days were expired, when he perceived that Jehovah had forborne to execute the sentence which he had certainly been commissioned to denounce. He had no difficulty in divining the cause of its remission, having in fact himself anticipated it (*v.* 2). It is possible that he received some more direct intimation of the fact; but of this there is no proof, and no such intimation was required. After the interlocution stated, *vv.* 2—4, Jonah still continued in his booth, till the circumstances took place mentioned in the following verses.

booth] He made a shed, we may suppose, by wattling together boughs which he cut down from trees. See note on Gen. xxxiii. 17.

6. *the LORD God*] This designation of the Deity, rare except in Gen. ii. and iii., occurs in this book only here. The explanations which have been offered of the phenomenon, whether by sceptical or by devout critics, appear alike fanciful; as likewise do those of the interchanges between the designations "the Lord" and "God," observable in the subsequent verses.

prepared] **appointed.** See note on ch. i. 17. A particular specimen, already growing on the spot, amongst perhaps others, was set apart by God to overshadow Jonah; and in order thereto had its naturally rapid growth miraculously accelerated.

gourd] **palmcrist.** The Hebrew word *kikajon* is translated "gourd" by LXX., followed by the Syriac and Arabic versions (whence this view became the established tradition of the Mahommedans), by Luther, Calvin (doubtfully), and A.V. For this view of its meaning no other evidence is alleged than the authority of those ancient versions. In Aquila,

‡ Or, *palmcrist.* † Heb. *Kikajon.*

‡ gourd, and made *it* to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief. So Jonah † was exceeding glad of the gourd.

† Heb. *rejoiced with great joy.*

7 But God prepared a worm when

Symmachus, and Theodotion, St Jerome found the word rendered κισσός, "ivy," and in consequence rendered it by "hedera." This raised a considerable commotion among Christians accustomed to the Septuagint version. St Augustine, in particular, was highly offended (August. 'Ep. x. ad S. Hieron.'). St Jerome in his commentary excuses himself by saying that he adopted the rendering "hedera" because the Latin language had no name for the plant intended; this he describes in such a way as to leave no doubt that he had in view the castor-oil plant (the Ricinus Communis or Palma Christi of botanists), which Pliny, however, had stated to be termed in Latin "Ricinus" because its seed was supposed to resemble the "tick;" a resemblance which also among the Greeks gave it, according to Dioscorides, the name of κρότων. The plant is described by Herodotus (II. 94), Dioscorides (IV. 164), Pliny ('N. H.' XV. 7), and others; who agree in telling us that it, or the oil got from its seed, was called in Egypt "Kiki." See the passages in Gesenius's 'Thes.' p. 1214, and Rosenmüller. The Targum retains the Hebrew word; but the Talmudists, beginning with Resh-Lachish of the 2nd century, affirm that the Kikajon of Jonah is the Kiki of Egypt (see Jablonski, 'Opusc.' I. 110 and Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 1476) and the Alcheroa of the Arabians, and call castor-oil, "kik-oil." See Gill's 'Commentary' and Dr Pusey's Introd. to Jonah, p. 259. The Ricinus, of the natural order of Euphorbiaceæ, a kind of spurge, known in English gardens as an ornamental annual, in all the warmer regions of the old and new continents is ligneous and perennial, growing often to the size of a small tree. It flourishes in the driest soil, among stones and rubbish; and according to the testimony of Dr Kitto ('Pictorial Bible') and other travellers it abounds near the Tigris, where it grows to a considerable size. The supposition that the Ricinus was the Kikajon of Jonah, suggested probably in the first instance, but also strongly countenanced, by its Egyptian name, is greatly favoured by several circumstances of its natural history: (1) According to universal testimony it is of extremely rapid growth, its cane-like stem and branches shooting up and spreading in a wonderfully short time. In Arabia, Niebuhr observed one which grew eight feet in five months. In America it has been even known to attain the height of thirteen feet in three months. Now, though the rapid growth indicated in Jonah was doubtless miraculous, yet Calvin's observation is just, and borne out by the general facts of Scripture: "God approaches nature when He does anything beyond nature: this is not indeed always the case; but generally we find that God so works as that He exceeds the measure of nature, and yet from nature does not wholly depart." Compare the observations made Vol. I. p. 241 on the character of the miracles wrought in Egypt. (2) It furnishes a thick and grateful shade with its wide, dark-green, six- or seven-lobed leaves, which from their resemblance to a man's hand have suggested its name of *Palma Christi*. (3) It is both extremely perishable and subject to sudden destruction by the caterpillar. See note on next verse. Altogether there is no reason for questioning the identification of the Kikajon with the palmcrist, which is indeed accepted by modern critics with great unanimity.

and made it to come up] Rather, "and it came up." The Hebrew verb *may* be causative, but in the absence of the objective "it," it is grammatically easier to take it as a neuter, as is done by LXX., Vulg., Luther, Rosenmüller. Our translators probably preferred to take as in the causative conjugation on the ground of the infinitives which follow denoting purpose; but since the manner of the palmcrist's growth was obviously the effect of Divine agency, the infinitives follow the neuter verb quite suitably.

to deliver him from his grief] The pleasant refreshment of the fair tree, imaging perhaps to his mind Jehovah's care for him, would tend to soothe the irritation of his spirit. So the food which the angel twice brought to Elijah in *his* hour of dark despondency (1 K. xix.) comforted alike the body and the soul of that prophet. There is probably a paronomasia in the Hebrew between the words "shadow" and "deliver," which may have suggested the use of the latter word. It is further remarked that in the Hebrew for "deliver him" the dative pronoun is used for the accusative. If the construction is to be suspected of Aramaism, it may be reckoned as a Galilean provincialism. But similar constructions are found elsewhere, as Amos viii. 9; Jer. xliv. 8. See also Ewald's 'Lehrbuch,' § 277 e, § 292 e.

was exceeding glad of the gourd] **rejoiced over the palmcrist with great joy.** As he was refreshed by its grateful shade, and was glad of it as a token of God's love, so his eye also delighted in it (we may suppose) from admiration of its own singular beauty.

7. *prepared*] **appointed.**

a worm] The singular noun here as elsewhere (Deut. xxviii. 39; Isai. xiv. 11; in both which places the A.V. has "worms"

the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered.

8 And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a ‖vehement east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die, and said, *It is* better for me to die than to live.

‖ Or, *silent.*

9 And God said to Jonah, ‖Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd? And he said, ‖I do well to be angry, *even* unto death.

‖ Or, *Art thou greatly angry?* ‖ Or, *I am greatly angry.*

10 Then said the LORD, Thou hast

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for the singular noun in the Hebrew) denotes the class of creatures employed, and not an individual worm. The palmcrist was in all probability "smitten" by a host of caterpillars suddenly appearing upon its leaves.

smote the gourd] **smote the palmcrist.** The verb "smote" is chosen to express the suddenness of the effect wrought by the caterpillars. Niebuhr in his 'Beschreibung Arabiens' (p. 148) observes that the leaf of the palmcrist, when torn off, or even subjected to a slight lesion, withers away in a few minutes. Rumph, moreover, in his 'Herbarium Amboinense' (IV. p. 94, cited by Rosenmüller, Winer, and Dr Pusey), writes, "On warm days when a small rain falls, black caterpillars are generated in great numbers on this plant, which in one night so often and so suddenly cut off its leaves, that only their bare ribs remain; which I have often observed with much wonder, as though it were a copy of that destruction of old at Nineveh." Dr Pusey adds, upon the indication of Sir W. Hooker, that the Ricinus of India and Assyria furnishes food to a different caterpillar from that of Amboyna, but that the account still illustrates the rapidity of the destruction.

8. *prepared*] **appointed.**

a vehement east wind] Or rather, "a sultry east wind." The meaning of the Hebrew word rendered "vehement" or "sultry" (in the margin of A.V. "silent"), is extremely uncertain, and several other senses have been given to it. The preponderance of critical authority is in favour of rendering it "silent" or "sultry." So Targum, Mercer, Grotius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Keil, Gesenius, Fürst. See Note below.

beat upon the head] **smote the head**, as in Ps. cxxi. 6; Isai. xlix. 10.

and wished in himself to die] **asked that his soul might die**; lit. "asked for his soul to die." So Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, ('Lehrbuch,' § 336 b), Vulg., Luther, Pusey. The LXX. has "renounced his soul." "Soul" here means the principle of animal existence shared with all animate creatures. Cp. Judg. xvi. 30, "Let my soul die with the Philistines" (margin A.V.). In 1 K. xix. 4 we have the very same expression as here, followed by the prayer which explains it, "now, O Lord, take away my soul" (A.V. "life"). This coincidence in the two narratives favours the belief, that the precedent of Elijah's impatience was at all events before the mind of the writer of this book, and may even have been present to Jonah's own recollection at the time; the stumbling of one prophet proving the stumbling of the other. This fresh outbreak of impatience on the part of Jonah is to be ascribed to his renewed sense of vexation at the sparing of Nineveh; this had for a while been somewhat allayed by the comfort, both bodily and spiritual, brought to him by the palmcrist; but now it rose up afresh, heightened by the destruction of the goodly tree and by the distressing heat of the sun. The impulsive vehemence of his temper is betrayed, alike in the pleasure which he took in the palmcrist's beauty, and in his vexation at its loss.

9. *Doest thou well to be angry...I do well to be angry*] Or rather, as in margin, "Art thou greatly angry?"..."I am greatly angry." See note on *v.* 4.

even unto death] That is, so that it well-nigh kills me. So Judg. xvi. 16; Ecclus. xxxvii. 2; Matt. xxvi. 38. The reply betrays a strange degree of wilfulness: it shews the prophet in the attitude of a sullen child towards a loving father who is remonstrating with it. His behaviour is in the highest degree irrational and unjustifiable; yet the description is quite true to nature; it is exactly thus that even persons in the main pious too often allow themselves to act. We must bear in mind that the interlocution between Jehovah and his servant was no doubt transacted in Jonah's own soul; the suggestions of the Holy Spirit within him being met by the outcomings of the prophet's inward feeling, in some such way (though we dare not affirm in *precisely* the same way) as the dictates of conscience are within ourselves met by those of our own evil passions.

10. *Thou hast had pity on the gourd*] **Thou on thy part hast spared** (or "hast been loth to lose") **the palmcrist.** "Thou on thy part" represents the emphatic introduction in the Hebrew of the personal pronoun. The verb is the same as in the frequently recurring phrase of one's eye "pitying" or "sparing," as Deut. vii. 16, xiii. 8; Isai. xiii. 18; Ezek. v. 11, &c.; but it is here used with the same turn of meaning as in Gen. xlv. 20, "regard not your stuff" (Heb. "let not

[1] Or, *spared.*

[1] had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which [†] came up in a night, and perished in a night:

[†] Heb. *was the son of the night.*

11 And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and *also* much cattle?

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your eye spare your stuff"). It denotes the clinging fondness one feels for a dearly prized possession.

madest it grow] **madest it great**, broughtest it to that fine degree of development which this particular plant displayed. The finely developed palmcrist which Jonah lamented, is compared with the Nineveh, which Jehovah had made so "great."

which came up in a night, and perished in a night] This is no doubt the right translation of the words, and not, as in the margin, "was the son of the night." The Hebrew is literally, "which the son of a night came into being, and the son of a night perished." There appears to be an Aramaism in this use of the phrase "son of—;" this at least, in the absence of any parallel instance in the Hebrew Scriptures (for Exod. xii. 5 is not exactly alike), we may infer from the fact noted by Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 217) that the Peshito-Syriac version, in Deut. xxiv. 15, for "at his day" (A. V.) has "the son of the day," and in Prov. xii. 16 ["a fool's wrath is *presently* known" (A.V.)] has "the son of the hour."

11. *spare*] Or, "be loth to lose." Jehovah speaks in the character of Owner, Δεσπότης, as well as in that of Maker and Preserver.

more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand] It has been suggested that this description indicates the whole population of Nineveh, viewed as destitute of moral discernment; but the history of ch. iii. shews that such a description of the Ninevites in general would have been altogether out of place. That infants are meant, is shewn by the comparison of Deut. i. 39 and Isai. vii. 15, 16, and by the subjoined reference to the "much cattle." The limit of the age to which this description would properly apply has been differently assigned, some taking that of three years, others, as Niebuhr (quoted with approval by Keil), seven. It is stated that this last is among orientals a favourite period to give to childhood; it also better suits the passage as designing to express the period of irresponsibleness than the shorter period would do. It is calculated that children under seven average one-fifth of the whole population, and that we thus are brought to six hundred thousand as the number of the inhabitants of Nineveh. There is no reason for thinking the computation extravagant, supposing the place so called to have comprised together with Nineveh proper other large masses of population in its immediate vicinity. See above on ch. iii. 3. The purpose of the mention of these 120,000 children is at once to indicate how large the city was, as appears from its immediately following the words "that great city," and also to present a plea for shewing mercy to a population so many of whom had not themselves deserved to suffer.

The argument of these last two verses comprises a number of very striking thoughts. Some of them are the following: Any vegetable growth is of small account compared with a human being, much more compared with a large city: The mushroom-like, frail, existence of a palmcrist shews as nothing by the side of the ancient city of Nineveh (Gen. x. 11): God's works are a dearly-prized possession in His eyes, with which He is loth to part, especially when He has "laboured" for them and brought them to great magnitude by a long process of care (compare Job x. 3, 8, 9; Jer. xlv. 4; the "lost sheep" and the "lost piece of silver" in Luke xv.): While no reference is here made to the repentance of the Ninevites,—a consideration of vast weight, and one which would have been of itself amply sufficient, which however at present stands in the background,—stress is *ex abundanti* laid upon the 120,000 innocents which Nineveh contained, mighty though unconscious intercessors! nay, even upon the "much cattle" which was there, shewing that God does "care for oxen." Altogether, a glimpse is here afforded us into the Heart of God whose tender mercies are over all His works, which not only marks the passage as one of remarkable beauty, but also fits it to be through all ages a standing reproof of every form of bigotry.

The narrative closes abruptly without stating the impression left upon the prophet's own mind. See Introduction, p. 580. But this the narrator deems unnecessary. It suffices him, Jonah (as we suppose) himself, that the prophet's narrow-mindedness is exposed and rebuked, and that God's mercy is justified.

NOTE on CHAP. IV. 8.

"A vehement ast wind." The rendering "vehement" preferred by Dr Pusey seems at first sight to be countenanced by the fact, established by the concurrent testimony of travellers (as Morier, Rich and Layard), that the neighbourhood of Nineveh is subject to extremely violent storms or whirlwinds of hot wind coming from the east, very partial in their extent, carrying along dense clouds of dust and sand, by which the air is darkened and under which all vegetation is burnt up and even swept away. The east wind is in fact in those countries the most violent of all winds. See *e.g.* Layard's 'Nineveh and its Remains' (abridgement, 1851), p. 82; "The heat was now almost intolerable. Violent whirlwinds occasionally swept over the face of the country. They could be seen as they advanced from the desert, carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during their passage, which lasted generally about an hour, and nothing could resist their fury. On returning home one afternoon after a tempest of this kind, I found no traces of my dwellings; they had been completely carried away. Ponderous wooden frame-works had been borne over the bank, and hurled some hundred yards distant; the tents had disappeared, and my furniture was scattered over the plain." But there are serious objections to this rendering of the word: there is no mention made of any such effects as would follow a gale of the kind supposed, which would have utterly swept away the frail booth of the prophet; such a hot whirlwind would have sufficed of itself for the destruction of the palmcrist without the agency of the "worm;" the sun's rays, instead of beating upon the prophet's head during the prevalence of the east wind, would have been rather allayed by the clouds of dust which a violent gale would have brought with it. In fact, no other effect appears to be ascribed to the east wind here spoken of than that of making the air extremely hot. It seems therefore more probable that some such sense as "sultry" is the one intended, though what the word precisely means it seems impossible to determine in the absence of any other example of its use, or of any certain guidance furnished by its etymology. Its root, meaning "engrave," "fabricate," "plough," "be deaf," or "be mute," has supplied material for a number of ingenious conjectures as to its meaning, both to Rabbinical and to modern critics. See Gill, Dr Pusey, and Gesenius.

MICAH.

INTRODUCTION.

		PAGE
§ i.	*Name and Ministry of the prophet*	609
§ ii.	*Prophetic Visions*	610
§ iii.	*Reign of Messiah*	610
§ iv.	*Comparison with Isaiah* . . .	610
§ v.	*Personal characteristics*	610
§ vi.	*Unity of Authorship, and Plan of book*	611

§ i. THE word Micah (מִיכָה) is the shortened form of Micaiah[1] (מִיכָיָהוּ) which literally means, *Who is like Jehovah?* The name was in common use among the Israelites. In one or other of its forms it is found in Judg. xvii. 1; 1 K. xxii. 8; 1 Chro. viii. 34, xxiii. 20; 2 Chro. xviii. 7; Jer. xxxvi. 11. It is applied, in a single instance, to a female, the wife of Rehoboam, but probably, by the mistake of a copyist, for Maachah. See 2 Chro. xiii. 2.

The author of this book was called "the Morasthite" (Micah i. 1; Jer. xxvi. 18), most likely to distinguish him from his namesake Micaiah, the son of Imlah, the prophet of the time of Ahab, 1 K. xxii. 8. The designation implies that he was a native, or an inhabitant, of Moresheth, a village in the neighbourhood of Gath (Micah i. 14) in the Shephelah, or maritime plain of the kingdom of Judah. The place is described by Jerome as, in his time, *viculus haud grandis*. Nothing is known of Micah's parentage. His ministry was coeval with that of Isaiah, but it did not begin so early, nor continue so late. He tells us, in the inscription of his book, that he prophesied in the days of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah. Isaiah began to prophesy under Uzziah, the predecessor of Jotham, and perhaps outlived the reign of Hezekiah. Micah appears to have died in the earlier part of Hezekiah's reign. See § ii. The time of his ministry may thus have lain between A.C. 756 and A.C. 710.

We can glean but very little regarding the circumstances of his life. It would seem that he continued to reside in his native region, or at least to regard it as the centre of his interest, from the fact that the nine places mentioned in his first chapter (*vv.* 10—15), the fate of which he saw as the result of the Assyrian invasion, appear to have been situated within a small area in the south part of the Shephelah[2]. His habitual residence at Moresheth would, of course, be quite compatible with his paying frequent visits to the capital, the object of love, reverence and hope, to every genuine Israelite. It was probably on one of these occasions, it may have been at one of the great festivals soon after the accession of Hezekiah, that he awoke with effect the slumbering conscience of his countrymen with the startling announcement, "Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest." This utterance, as the prophecy of "Micah the Morasthite," with the circumstances attending it, lived long in the minds of his devout countrymen. See Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.

[1] In several places of the A.V. spelt Michaiah.

[2] The attempt of Keil and others to identify some of these names with spots in the immediate neighbourhood, or to the north of Jerusalem, seems to fail utterly.

§ ii. His prophetic visions and, in some places, his style of recording them, have a strong resemblance to those of Isaiah. He foresaw what would be the issue of the Assyrian invasion, which Isaiah lived to record as historical fact. He foretold the destruction of Samaria, the approach of the enemy, in a later invasion, to the very gates of Jerusalem, with the laying waste of the fenced cities of Judah. Cp. Micah i. 9 with Isai. xxxvi., xxxvii. It was revealed to him that a time of grace would yet be granted to Jerusalem, but that a day would come when the whole race of Judah should be swept out of their own land into captivity. He saw, with not less clearness, that a day would come when the remnant of Israel would be restored.

He never lets his people forget that their sufferings were the proper fruit of their evil deeds. They had become debased and dishonest in their common dealings with each other: mutual confidence had perished in the nearest relationships of human life; the magistrates were open to bribes; the nobles were recklessly cruel and rapacious; the priests had become hirelings; the prophets were greedy traitors to their sacred calling: idols and witchcraft had usurped the worship of Jehovah. He deals less than Isaiah with the sins of the national government. His references to the social condition of the people would fit the state of things under Ahaz, and under Hezekiah at the very beginning of his reign, before his reforms had taken effect.

But in contemplating this utterly poisoned condition of society, he was never permitted to lose sight of the Divine promises. Again and again he abruptly turns to take a glance at the vision of good things to come. The promises made to Abraham and Jacob (vii. 20) were safely treasured in his heart as his ever ready source of comfort.

§ iii. But he also never fails to keep us in mind that the restoration of the old chosen race is but a type of the reign of the Messiah. What he says of the temporal kingdom is ever connecting itself with the kingdom to come which is not of this world. In no one of the prophets is this peculiarity more marked. But he and Isaiah stand alone in the distinctness with which they bring forth the facts of our Saviour's life on earth. It was given to Micah to see that He, Whose goings forth were from everlasting, was to come into the world, in a village as humble as Moresheth, his own birthplace. See Note after chap. v. Still it was Jerusalem, "the Flock-town" (see on iv. 8), which was to be the centre from which the divine teaching was to stream forth to cover the earth as the waters cover the seas. And it was thither the "many nations" were to rush, and Judah and Israel were to return again to become one people, the nucleus of the Universal Church of God. Chap. ii. 12, 13, iv. 2, &c.

§ iv. When speaking of their great common subject, the sublime eloquence of Micah may well be compared with that of Isaiah, except that its flights are less sustained. It is a striking point in the relation in which the two prophets stood to each other, that one notable passage is common to them, Isai. ii. 2, 3, 4; Micah iv. 1, 2, 3. A great weight of authority ascribes the original authorship of the passage to Micah. But the question is not satisfactorily settled. See the notes in each place.

§ v. Perhaps no one of the prophets, not even excepting Jeremiah and Hosea, affords us such a marked impression of his own temper and disposition, little as he expressly tells of himself. When he is not rapt into the glories of the Messiah's kingdom, his style in almost every line is full of character. He shews himself to be tenderly affectionate, sympathetic and excitable. Something of the warm familiarity, with which he regarded his own neighbourhood, seems to be exemplified in the very peculiar style of the passage in which he predicts the fate of the nine cities of the Shephelah, with a play on the name of each one of them, i. 10—15. His fervid sympathy prompts him to put himself into the guise of a captive waiting for the strokes which were to fall upon Israel (i. 8); to roll himself in dust on account of the woe to come upon Beth-aphrah (i. 10); to see with the intense excitement of an eye-witness the progress of "the Breaker" who was to force a way for the crowd of His people to escape from their captivity

(ii. 12, 13); to picture himself as shut up with his countrymen in the siege which Jerusalem was to undergo (v. 1).

Other peculiarities of his style seem to connect themselves in like manner with the natural traits of his character. His rapid transitions from threatening to promise, and from promise to threatening, are such as to have led some critics to suspect interpolations, or confusions, in the text as it stands. There appears however to be no case of this kind which is not capable of natural explanation, if we suppose the writer to have been one of those whose sympathetic yearning can find relief in throwing off its burden to enjoy, even for a moment, the sense of divine grace which abides over all. See especially ii. 12, 13.

The unexpected change of person, turning the discourse more or less strictly into the form of a dialogue, which is found in many of the psalms and elsewhere, is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in Micah's last chapter, commencing with the soliloquy of the Church. This, and the other peculiarities which have been mentioned, with his rich use of paronomasia (ch. i. &c.) and his very graphic application of such terms as "the Flock-town" (iv. 8), "the Breaker" (ii. 13), the horns of iron, the hoofs of brass (iv. 13), and his grim description of cannibal feasts as types of the greed of the rulers (iii. 2, 3), give a certain dramatic life to the whole book, which, in its way, is unsurpassed amongst the writings of the prophets.

§ vi. As regards the book as a whole, the same characteristics of style throughout bear witness to its unity of authorship. But the question has been raised, Was it composed with the original view of making it one, in its present form and arrangement? Some critics, who would answer this in the affirmative (Kleinert, Davidson, &c.), would limit the date of its composition to the first portion of the reign of Hezekiah, A.C. 727—A.C. 723, before the corruptions which had originated under Ahaz had ceased to prevail.

But an obvious objection to this is contained in the inscription of the book; —"The word of the LORD that came to Micah the Morasthite, in the days of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." There is certainly no fair ground to call in question the genuineness of this inscription, with Ewald, De Wette, Davidson, Williams and others; nor has it been satisfactorily explained by Kleinert, so as to reconcile it with the limitation of the composition of the book to the reign of Hezekiah. Internal evidence, as far as it goes, appears to countenance the plain meaning of the inscription. If, in accordance with a preponderance of critical authority, Micah was the author of the passage on the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom (iv. 1, 2, 3), and if the second chapter of Isaiah, in which it is contained, is, as is most probable, one of the earliest of Isaiah's writings, the passage must, almost necessarily, have been composed in the reign of Jotham. So Caspari, Pusey, &c. The passage on "the statutes of Omri" (vi. 16) would seem to be much more appropriate to the reign of Ahaz than even to the very first year of Isaiah. See 2 Chro. xxix. 3. While it may be admitted that the probability is in favour of a great part of the book having been written after the accession of Hezekiah, there are other passages besides those we have specially noticed which would suit, at least as well, with the time of either Jotham or Ahaz.

There does not therefore appear to be sufficient reason to suppose that what was said by the elders of Israel in the time of Jehoiakim, that "Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah" (Jer. xxvi. 18), limits the duration either of Micah's ministry, or of those portions of it which have been recorded. Indeed, if the inscription were absent, the matter and arrangement of the book might of itself suggest the probability that it consists of selections from his discourses put together by himself in his later years, with no strict regard to the chronological order of their composition, or of the events to which they refer. It does not however follow that the arrangement is without a true method. Three sections are distinctly marked, each formally commencing with an invitation to listen.

I. Chapters i., ii.

Jehovah is coming down out of His place to visit His people, Israel first and

then Judah, for their sins; but "the remnant" shall be delivered by "the Breaker." See on ii. 13.

II. Chapters iii., iv., v.

Aggravated and repeated transgressions would call down destruction on Zion; but "in the last days" Zion is to be re-established, she and Israel are to be re-united, and the nations from the east and the west are to be called to join with them when the Redeemer is born at Bethlehem.

III. Chapters vi., vii.

Jehovah holds a controversy with His people for their obstinate unfaithfulness. The Church is to undergo a period of bitter discouragement, but she will prevail at last in the power of the divine goodness, and the old promises shall be fulfilled.

The Reverend Samuel Clark's Introduction and Notes to the Book of Micah were completed, but not printed, before his unexpected and much lamented death. The Editor and a personal friend are responsible for a few final corrections.

MICAH.

CHAPTER I.

1 Micah sheweth the wrath of God against Jacob for idolatry. 10 He exhorteth to mourning.

THE word of the LORD that came to Micah the Morasthite in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, *and* Hezekiah, kings of Judah, which he saw concerning Samaria and Jerusalem.

2 †Hear, all ye people; [a]hearken, O earth, and †all that therein is: and let the Lord GOD be witness against you, the Lord from his holy temple.

3 For, behold, [b]the LORD cometh forth out of his [c]place, and will come down, and tread upon the [d]high places of the earth.

4 And [e]the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, *and* as the waters *that are* poured down †a steep place.

5 For the transgression of Jacob *is* all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel. What *is* the transgression of Jacob? *is it* not Samaria? and what *are* the high places of Judah? *are they* not Jerusalem?

6 Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, *and* as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof.

7 And all the graven images thereof shall be beaten to pieces, and all the

† Heb. *Hear, ye people, all of them.*
[a] Deut. 32. 1. Isai. 1. 2.
† Heb. *the fulness thereof.*
[b] Isai. 26. 21.
[c] Psal. 115. 3.
[d] Deut. 32. 13. & 33. 29.
[e] Psal. 97. 5.

† Heb. *a descent.*

CHAP. I. 1. *Micah*] An abbreviated form of Micaiah. The longer form is applied to the prophet in the Hebrew text of Jer. xxvi. 18. See Introd. § i.

Morasthite] That is, a native, or inhabitant, of Moresheth-gath, the place mentioned in *v.* 14, where see note.

Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah] See Introduction, §§ i. and vi.

Samaria and Jerusalem] Samaria is naturally named before Jerusalem as the earlier object of the Assyrian invasions. Cp. *vv.* 5, 9.

2. *all ye people*] Rather, **all ye peoples.** Some suppose it to refer specifically to the tribes of Israel; but it probably denotes all nations in a wider sense. This is to be reconciled with the expression in the next clause, "against you," because all the nations of the earth are concerned in the divine judgments. The same mode of address was employed by the prophet's earlier namesake, 1 K. xxii. 28. See note on ch. iv. 13.

the Lord GOD] **the Lord Jehovah.** The "holy temple" is here to be taken symbolically, as denoting the spiritual abode of Jehovah. Cp. Ps. xi. 4.

3. This verse might be rendered, For behold, **Jehovah, moving** forth out of His place, **is coming** down and **is treading** upon the high places of the earth. The vision of God coming down to execute judgment is spoken of as present to the eye of the prophet. Cp. Isai. xxvi. 21.

4. *shall be molten...shall be cleft*] Rather, **are melting...are cleaving open.** Dean Stanley observes that this imagery may have been suggested by the earthquake mentioned Amos i. 1. 'Jewish Church,' vol. II. p. 438. Cp. Isai. lxiv. 1.

5. The sin of each kingdom is here identified with the capital city as the place in which it assumed its most aggravated and concentrated form. Jerusalem is regarded as a great idol temple. Cp. Isai. x. 11, 12. In the parallelism of the first clause, Jacob stands as equivalent to the whole house of Israel: in the second clause, it denotes only the Northern kingdom as distinguished from Judah. On the "high places" see Note on Lev. xxvi. 30.

6. *as an heap...as plantings*] Rather, **into a heap...into plantings.** The city was to be so destroyed that its ruins would lie in heaps like stones gathered out of ground in the process of cultivation. See 2 K. xviii. 10.

into the valley] Samaria stood on a hill.

discover] In modern English, **lay bare.**

7. *all the hires*] The riches of the idol shrines are here spoken of as the earnings of harlots. Cf. Deut. xxiii. 18. The last clause

hires thereof shall be burned with the fire, and all the idols thereof will I lay desolate: for she gathered *it* of the hire of an harlot, and they shall return to the hire of an harlot.

8 Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the † owls.

† Heb. *daughters of the owl.*

9 For ‖ her wound *is* incurable; for it is come unto Judah; he is come unto the gate of my people, *even* to Jerusalem.

‖ Or, she is *grievously sick of her wounds.* ƒ 2 Sam. 1. 20.

10 ¶ ƒ Declare ye *it* not at Gath, weep ye not at all: in the house of ‖ Aphrah ɛ roll thyself in the dust.

‖ That is, *Dust.* ɛ Jer. 6. 26.

11 Pass ye away, ‖ thou † inhabitant of Saphir, having thy ɦ shame naked:

‖ Or, *thou that dwellest fairly.* † Heb. *inhabitress.*

ɦ Isai. 47. 2, 3.

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means that *what Samaria has earned as a harlot, shall again become the earnings of a harlot in the heathen land to which it shall be carried.* A curse will continue to attend the ill-gotten wealth.

8. In the ready sympathy with which the prophet sees ruin coming on Judah, his own country, as well as on Samaria, he speaks of himself as assuming the guise of a captive, not merely that of a mourner. He thus becomes a representative of the approaching captivity of his people.

dragons...owls] **jackals...ostriches.** See notes on Lev. xi. 16 and Job xxx. 29.

9. **For every one of her wounds** (*i.e.* every stroke falling on Samaria) **is incurable; it has come to Judah; it has reached to the gate of my people**, &c. This rendering gives the sense which has the weight of critical authority on its side. The construction of the Hebrew is not quite clear. The verb translated **it has reached** is masculine (as it is given in the A.V. "he is come") while the substantive, *wound*, is feminine. But in certain cases, of which this may be considered as one, the subject and predicate need not agree in gender. Some however prefer to supply a masculine subject, either *the enemy* (Dr Pusey, the two German versions, Leeser) or, *Jehovah* (Kleinert). Roorda takes it as impersonal.

10—15. Nine places, beginning with Aphrah and ending with Mareshah, all of which appear to have been in the south part of the Shephelah, within the neighbourhood of the prophet's dwelling-place, are here denounced in terms which are plays upon their names. It is not possible to transfer such paronomasia to a strict version; and besides this, the etymologies of several of the names are doubtful. This paraphrase may however convey a fair impression of the original:—

In Dust-town (Beth Aphrah) I wallow in the dust,
Ye people of Fair-town (Saphir), in shameful nakedness pass away.
The people of Flock-town (Zaanan) have not gone forth like a flock.
The calamity of Neighbour-town (Beth-ezel) makes it no neighbour to give you refuge.
For the people of Bitter-town (Maroth) have been yearning for something good and pleasant.
For evil has come down from Jehovah to the very gate of Jerusalem.
Ye people of Horse-town (Lachish, see note on *v.* 13), bind the horse swift for flight to the chariot,
For ye have been the beginning of sin to the house of Zion,
For in you were found the transgressions of Israel.
Therefore must thou, O Israel, give up possession of Gath's possession (Moresheth-gath).
The houses of False-town (Achzib) shall be as a false fountain to the kings of Israel.
I will yet bring an inheritor who shall lay claim to you, ye people of Heritage-town (Mareshah).
The glory of Israel shall flee for refuge to the cave of Adullam.

10. *Declare ye it not at Gath, weep ye not at all*] The prophet here refers in sad irony to the shame which the Israelite should feel in exposing his woes and his tears to the gaze of enemies. But since Gath in Micah's time was no longer a city of enemies, we must regard the expression as proverbial, evidently derived from David's elegy on the death of Saul, 2 S. i. 20.

roll thyself] The A.V. represents the reading of the margin of the Hebrew Bible. But the Hebrew text itself is the more likely to be correct, **I roll myself.** The prophet is describing his own mourning for the woes of his people, as in *v.* 8. Aphrah has been supposed to be the same as Ophrah (Josh. xviii. 23; 1 S. xiii. 17) in Benjamin, north of Jerusalem. But this conjecture is sufficiently met by the very great probability that all the places here named were in the Shephelah. See note on *vv.* 10—15. It may safely be assumed that all those places, of which the situation is either known for certain, or rendered fairly probable, are within this region.

11. *inhabitant of Saphir*] The word for *inhabitant* is here feminine and might rather be rendered **inhabitress** in this and the following verses. It stands of course collectively for the inhabitants. Saphir is said by Jerome to have been between Eleutheropolis and Aske-

the inhabitant of [1] Zaanan came not forth in the mourning of [2] Beth-ezel; he shall receive of you his standing.

12 For the inhabitant of Maroth [1] waited carefully for good: but evil came down from the LORD unto the gate of Jerusalem.

13 O thou inhabitant of Lachish, bind the chariot to the swift beast: she *is* the beginning of the sin to the daughter of Zion: for the transgressions of Israel were found in thee.

14 Therefore shalt thou give presents [1] to Moresheth-gath: the houses [2] of Achzib *shall be* a lie to the kings of Israel.

15 Yet will I bring an heir unto thee, O inhabitant of Mareshah: [1] he shall come unto Adullam the glory of Israel.

[1] Or, *the country of flocks.* [2] Or, *a place near.*

[1] Or, *was grieved.*

[1] Or, *for.* [2] That is, *A lie.*

[1] Or, *the glory of Israel shall come, &c.*

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lon. Robinson was inclined to identify it with the modern *Sawâfir*. But see 'Dict. of the Bible,' s. v.

Zaanan] Supposed by some to be the Zenan of Josh. xv. 37. The site is unknown. The latter part of the verse should rather be arranged and rendered:—

The inhabitress of Zaanan has not come forth.
The woe of Beth-ezel takes from you its resting-place.

Beth-ezel] Its site is unknown. On the conjecture that it was the same as Azel near Jerusalem (Zech. xiv. 5) see note on Aphrah *v.* 10. Dr Pusey, preferring another etymology of the name to the one here adopted, gives as the literal rendering of the clause, "The mourning of the house of woe shall take from you its standing."

12. For the inhabitress of Maroth hath sickened for good.
For evil has come down from the Lord to the gate of Jerusalem.

The two clauses in this verse appear to be co-ordinate. Each sets forth a distinct reason for the mourning of the prophet, cp. *vv.* 8, 9. The evil spoken of in the latter clause came to its height when Rabshakeh gave Sennacherib's message to the ministers of Hezekiah by the conduit of the upper pool (Isai. xxxvi. 2). The situation of Maroth is unknown.

13. Bind the chariot to the swift courser, O inhabitress of Lachish: the beginning of sin has she been to the daughter of Zion: for in thee were found the transgressions of Israel. The verbal play in this verse consists in the similar endings of the words *rechesh* (*i.e.* swift courser) and *Lachish*. It would seem from the two latter clauses that Lachish was the first place in the kingdom of Judah to adopt the idolatry of the Northern kingdom (cp. *v.* 5, vi. 16, 1 K. xiv. 16; Amos viii. 14): but we have no definite information on this head. Lachish was the most important of the places here mentioned. It is, with great probability, identified with the modern *Umhâkis*. It was one of the royal cities of the Amorites (Josh. x. 3) and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chro. xi. 9). The name probably denotes *a strong place*. Its importance is indicated in several passages, especially in connection with Sennacherib's successes, Isai. xxxvi. 1, 2; Jer. xxxiv. 7. On its history, see note on Josh. x. 3, and on the very interesting Assyrian sculptures which appear to represent it, 'Dict. of the Bible,' s. v.

14. *Therefore shalt thou give presents*] The context shews that the prophet now addresses the kingdom of Judah. The presents spoken of are the **parting gifts**, or marriage-portion, given by a father to his daughter on his sending her away as a bride to her new home. The word *moresheth* signifies possession and the paronomasia seems to hinge upon this meaning. *Thou must give up thy hold upon* Gath's *possession*. Some suppose that the resemblance of sound between *moresheth* and *morāsāh* (*i.e.* betrothed) was in the prophet's mind so as to suggest the bride's parting presents (Keil, Kleinert). There is no reason to doubt that Moresheth-gath was the native place of the prophet, since his designation, *Morasthite* (*v.* 1), would be regularly formed from its name.

Achzib] Mentioned as one of the cities of the Shephelah, Josh. xv. 44. It is supposed to be the same as Chezib, mentioned in the history of the patriarch Judah, Gen. xxxviii. 5. If so, it was one of the very old cities of the Holy Land. The modern *es-zib*, on the sea-shore, may occupy its site.

a lie] Heb. *achzab*, which is used to denote a deceptive brook that dries up and disappoints the thirsty wayfarer. Cf. Job vi. 15; Ps. cxxvi. 4; Jer. xv. 18. "The kings of Israel" must here be understood to be the kings of the surviving kingdom, after the destruction of the Northern one.

15. *an heir*] *i.e.* Sennacherib, appointed by the Lord to inherit the city. The name *Mareshah* may signify either *inheritance*, or *hill city*. Mareshah was near Achzib, Josh. xv. 44. It was fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Chro. xi. 8. Its site is probably the modern *Marash*.

he shall come] If this rendering is correct,

[f] Isai. 22. 12.

16 Make thee [f] bald, and poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge thy baldness as the eagle; for they are gone into captivity from thee.

the meaning is that the enemy shall advance as far as Adullam where the nobles of Israel have taken refuge. But the alternative rendering of the margin is perhaps to be preferred. There is an obvious allusion to the use of the cave of Adullam made by David, 1 S. xxii. 1, 2. Adullam was one of the old cities of the Shephelah fortified by Rehoboam, Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12; Josh. xii. 15; 2 Chro. xi. 7. Its exact site has not been ascertained, but there are many caves, which might have suited David's purpose, in the district in which it must have been included.

16. Judah is now again addressed, cp. *v.* 14.

Make thee bald] The idolatrous custom to which reference is here made seems to have kept its ground in spite of the prohibitions of the Divine law. See notes on Lev. xix. 27, 28; Deut. xiv. 1, 2. The prophet may here use the imperative in grave irony. The object of the mourning must be understood to include the whole range of the calamities which were coming upon Judah from the commencement of the Assyrian invasion to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. See iv. 10.

the eagle] Not the eagle but **the vulture**, which is distinguished for its bald head. The Heb. word appears to denote the great vulture (*vultur fulvus*), which is well known in the Holy Land. See on Lev. xi. 13.

NOTE on CHAP. I. 10.

There is another interpretation of this passage which should not be unnoticed, since it has been adopted by a large proportion of recent critics. The latter of the two clauses was understood by the LXX. to contain the name of a second place, Ἀκείμ, or Ἐνακείμ. The Greek text is uncertain and confused, but the mention of a second city is countenanced by several of the Fathers. Taking the hint from this fact, Reland ingeniously supposed that there is a contraction in the Hebrew text, involving the name of Accho (Judg. i. 31), the modern Acre. The rendering might thus be, "Tell it not in Gath, weep not in Accho." The word בכו, *in weeping*, is assumed to stand for בעכו. These two cities, it is imagined, might have been named to represent the foreign element in each kingdom. So Reland, 'Palæstina,' p. 534, followed by De Wette, Zunz, Ewald, Hitzig, Williams, Kleinert. On the other side are Caspari, Keil, Roorda, and Pusey. The last speaks of this interpretation, not, as it seems, without good reason, as "historically unnatural," and, in reference to the contraction assumed to exist in the original text, as "violating the Hebrew idiom."

CHAPTER II.

1 *Against oppression.* 4 *A lamentation.* 7 *A reproof of injustice and idolatry.* 12 *A promise of restoring Jacob.*

WOE to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand.

2 And they covet [a] fields, and take *them* by violence; and houses, and take *them* away: so they [‖] oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage.

[a] Isai. 5. 8.

[‖] Or, *defraud.*

3 Therefore thus saith the LORD;

CHAP. II. Having proclaimed the visitation which was coming upon Judah and Israel, the prophet now denounces special woe on those by whose offences it was occasioned. First among these were they who laid plans to enrich themselves at the cost of their brethren, and who listened to the counsels of false prophets. This denunciation is followed on a sudden by a promise of deliverance for the Lord's people.

1. *upon their beds*] The acts of the oppressors are of set purpose, determined on in the silence of the night. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 4. In contrast with this the thoughts "in the night watches" of the true Israelite are of the Lord and His goodness, Ps. lxiii. 6.

in the power of their hand] The extent of their *might* had become their measure of *right*.

2. This same grovelling ambition is spoken of also by Isaiah (v. 8). The case of Ahab and Naboth is an illustrative example. The offence was not only a cruel injustice, but it was a gross violation of the great national principle expressed in the Jubilee Law, according to which the land belonged to Jehovah, and was granted in use to His people on condition of the maintenance of an equitable

Behold, against this family do I devise an evil, from which ye shall not remove your necks; neither shall ye go haughtily: for this time *is* evil.

4 ¶ In that day shall *one* take up a parable against you, and lament [†] with a doleful lamentation, *and* say, We be utterly spoiled: he hath changed the portion of my people: how hath he removed *it* from me! [‖] turning away he hath divided our fields.

5 Therefore thou shalt have none that shall [b] cast a cord by lot in the congregation of the LORD.

6 [‖c] Prophesy ye not, *say they to them that* prophesy: they shall not prophesy to them, *that* they shall not take shame.

7 ¶ O *thou that art* named the house of Jacob, is the spirit of the LORD [‖] straitened? *are* these his doings? do not my words do good to him that walketh [†] uprightly?

8 Even [†] of late my people is risen up as an enemy: ye pull off the robe [†] with the garment from them that pass by securely as men averse from war.

† Heb. *with a lamentation of lamentations.*

‖ Or, *instead of restoring.*

b Deut. 32. 8, 9.

‖ Or, *Prophesy not as they prophesy.*

† Heb. *Drop, &c.*

c Isai. 30. 10.

‖ Or, *shortened?*

† Heb. *upright?*

† Heb. *yesterday.*

† Heb. *over against a garment.*

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distribution of it. See Note II. after Lev. xxv. On the same disposition manifested at a much later period see Matt. xxiii. 14. In connection with this description of the state of morals in Micah's time read Amos ii. 4—iv. 3.

3. *this family*] *i.e.* the whole race of Israel, called in *v.* 7 "the house of Jacob." Cp. Amos iii. 1.

do I devise an evil] While the oppressors were devising evil against their brethren, Jehovah was devising evil upon them. A hostile yoke was to be laid upon their necks. See Jer. xxvii. 12. The word *evil* is used in *v.* 1 for moral evil; in this verse, for its consequences. The emphatic repetition of the word is to be noticed, i. 12, ii. 1, 3, iii. 2, 11.

4. The threat is that their enemies should take up their own words of lamentation and make them by-words of derision.

lament with a doleful lamentation] The sound and form of the original expression are aptly rendered by Dr Pusey, "shall wail a wail of woe."

We be utterly spoiled] The form of what was to become a by-word among the heathen might be thus represented:—

We are utterly spoiled;
He is shifting the portion of my people;
How he removes it from me!
He is dividing our fields to an infidel.

In return for their sin in disturbing the equitable distribution of the land (*v.* 2), the Lord is now going to distribute it to the heathen. The word rendered "turning away" more properly means, *to one who turns away* from God, *i.e.* an unbeliever, or apostate.

5. *thou*] Each of the covetous oppressors mentioned in *vv.* 1, 2 is here personally addressed. Cp. iii. 10.

cast a cord by lot] There appears here to be an allusion to the mode in which the land was originally measured out by lot among the Israelites, Josh. xiv. 1, 5; Judg. i. 3. The complaint in *v.* 4 is to be realized. There would be no one in the congregation of Jehovah to measure out his allotment to the oppressor, who would in consequence not obtain possession of it.

6. *Prophesy*] The Hebrew word thus rendered here and in *v.* 11 (*nātaph*) strictly signifies *to drop*, as in the margin. In other places in the A.V. it is so rendered, and *word*, with a defining pronoun, is supplied after it. Ezek. xx. 46, xxi. 2; Amos vii. 16. The mode of expression is amplified and explained in Deut. xxxii. 2, "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew." This verse is obscure, owing to the absence of connective words. The meaning is probably:—(The oppressors) *say to them that prophesy, Prophesy not: (but) they will go on prophesying; (yet) it is not for the sake of these men, whose shame shall not depart, that they shall prophesy.* In the rendering of the margin of our Bible the verse is taken as advice to the true prophets not to follow the example of the false prophets. But this interpretation is not well supported.

7. *named the house of Jacob*] A glance at the boastful, national pride of the Israelites. Cp. Isai. xlviii. 1; John viii. 33, 39.

are these his doings] The sufferings of the people were their own doings. The Lord's goodness was not straitened. His words were as ready as ever to sustain and comfort the upright.

8. *Even of late*] Rather, **Even now**; literally, *yesterday*.

as an enemy] That is, as if they were at war with, the inoffensive ones, who had no thought of war, and supposed themselves to be in security.

robe...garment] The precise meaning of each Hebrew word is uncertain. It is most

9 The [1] women of my people have ye cast out from their pleasant houses; from their children have ye taken away my glory for ever.

10 Arise ye, and depart; for this *is* not *your* rest: because it is polluted, it shall destroy *you*, even with a sore destruction.

11 If a man [2] walking in the spirit and falsehood do lie, *saying*, I will prophesy unto thee of wine and of strong drink; he shall even be the prophet of this people.

12 ¶ I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel; I will put them together as the sheep of Bozrah, as the flock in the midst of their fold: they shall make great noise by reason of *the multitude of* men.

13 The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up, and have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it: and their king shall pass before them, and the LORD on the head of them.

[1] Or, *wives.*

[2] Or, *walk with the wind, and lie falsely.*

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likely that they mean the outer and inner principal garments, like the cloak and the coat of Luke vi. 29.

9. *The women...their children*] The widows, who had no husbands to protect them, and their fatherless children. Isai. x. 2; Matt. xxiii. 14.

my glory] *i.e.* the glorious gifts which the Lord had bestowed on them as the children of His people.

for ever] The oppressors held fast their booty and never made restitution.

10. The Lord now addresses the whole people. The land which He had given them was so polluted by their sin that it could no longer be their resting-place. In order to escape utter destruction, they were to go into captivity. They had made the land sick. Cp. Lev. xviii. 25, 28, 29.

11. *in the spirit*] The marginal rendering, **with the wind**, &c., is preferred by most critics. Some, however, take "the spirit and falsehood" to denote a lying spirit, with an allusion to the words of the elder Micaiah, 1 K. xxii. 22. The general meaning of the verse is, that the false prophets urge the promises of the good things of this life (such as Lev. xxvi. 4, 5, 10; Deut. xxviii. 3—5) so as to encourage their hearers in carnal indifference and security; and that it is a man of this kind whom the people accept to be their prophet.

prophesy...prophet] The literal meaning of the words thus rendered is explained in the note on *v.* 6.

12, 13. These verses appear to contain a prophecy of the return from the captivity expressed in terms which evidently set it forth as the type of the spiritual triumph of the Messiah. They furnish a most characteristic instance of the sudden transitions which mark the style of Micah, as well as of his graphic power. See Note at the end of the Chapter and Introduction, § v.

12. *as the sheep of Bozrah, as the flock in the midst of their fold*] **like sheep in a fold, like a flock in the midst of its pasture.** See Note below.

13. **The breaker goes before them; they are breaking through; they pass through the gate and are going out; their king marches on before them, and Jehovah is at their head.** On the word "breaker" see Note at the end of the Chapter.

the LORD on the head of them] Cp. Isai. lii. 12.

NOTE on CHAP. II. 12, 13.

Various opinions have been held on the interpretation of this passage. It has been taken:—

(1) As the words of Jehovah proclaiming a gracious deliverance to His people, eagerly coming together like a flock to their place of pasture, after the chastisement, denounced in what goes before, had taken effect. The weight of authority appears to be in favour of this view (Rosenmüller, Caspari, Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Keil, Pusey, &c.).

(2) As the words of Jehovah continuing the threat of the woe which was to come immediately, in which His people should crowd together into their cities like a drove of sheep for destruction (Kimchi, the Geneva translators, French and English, Williams, &c.).

(3) Taking the words in a favourable sense, as representing the lying promises uttered by the false prophets. The verses taken thus would be immediately connected with *v.* 11 (Grotius, Roorda, Kleinert).

(4) As a fragment out of its place, disturbing the connection between ii. 11 and iii. 1 (Ewald, Davidson).

The Hebrew word בצרה (*bozrah*) in *v.* 12 signifies an enclosure, such as a sheepfold.

The ancient versions, with the earliest of the modern versions, here take it as an appellative. So do Gesenius, De Wette, Ewald, Zunz, Hitzig, Kleinert, and Leeser. The English version is, however, supported by Drusius, Grotius, Bochart, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Keil, Pusey, and Williams. There appear to have been two cities named Bozrah; one in Edom, which was certainly famous for sheep (1 Chro. i. 44; Isai. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1), the other in Moab (Jer. xlviii. 24), which might well have been so from its situation. See 2 K. iii. 4. But the rendering, which has the best authority, is that contained in the note on *v.* 12. With the image in the mind of the prophet, compare Ezek. xxxiv. 31, xxxvi. 37, 38; and, as another comment on the passage, read Deut. xxx. 1—6. The crowding forth of the people from the land of their captivity suggests the hurrying of the Israelites out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 33, 38, 39.

"The breaker" (הפרץ), in *v.* 13, might denote the divine force (Isai. xlv. 1, 2), the "arm of the Lord" (Isai. li. 9), breaking down every obstacle which stands in the way of the restoration of God's people. But the construction of the verse seems to indicate a strictly personal, not a metaphorical, application of the word. A Jewish tradition, recognized in the Targum of Jonathan, identifies it as a title of the Messiah. Compare the Chaldee rendering of Isai. x. 27 with this verse. Dr Pusey, on the same point, refers to 'Huls. Thes. Jud.' pp. 143, 144. "Their king," in its nearest sense, would denote Zerubbabel.

Those who take the passage to refer to the going *into* captivity, suppose "the breaker" to express the hostile forces besieging Samaria, and those who were afterwards to besiege Jerusalem, and "their king" to represent, for each of the two kingdoms, Hoshea and Zedekiah.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The cruelty of the princes.* 5 *The falsehood of the prophets.* 8 *The security of them both.*

AND I said, Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel; *Is it* not for you to know judgment?

2 Who hate the good, and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones;

3 Who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron.

4 Then shall they cry unto the LORD, but he will not hear them: he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings.

5 ¶ Thus saith the LORD concerning the prophets that make my people err, that [a] bite with their teeth, and [a] chap. 2. 11.

CHAP. III. 1. *And I said*] The conjunction here expresses some sort of connection with the preceding chapter. The connection might seem to be strictest between this verse and verse 11 of ch. ii. But it appears to be in accordance with the prophet's style to ascribe to the conjunction a less strict connection, keeping the text as it is. See Introduction, § v. and note after ch. ii.

Micah now addresses the official rulers of Israel, and then in *v.* 2, using the third person, pronounces on them a sentence of condemnation, sternly likening their cruel outrages to cannibal feasting.

heads...princes] Rather, **rulers...judges.**

judgment] Rather, **justice.**

2, 3.] Hating good, and loving evil, tearing men's skins from off them, and their flesh from their bones, they have even eaten the flesh of my people, and have stripped their skin from off them, and have broken their bones, and have cut them in pieces as if for the pot, even like meat within the caldron.

4. *Then*] That is, in the day of retribution foretold in the preceding chapters, especially ch. ii. 4. Cp. Ps. xviii. 41; Prov. xxi. 13; James ii. 13.

5—8. In these verses Micah declares the doom of the false prophets, contrasting them with himself as a type of the true prophets.

5. *that bite with their teeth, and cry, Peace*] The Hebrew word (*nāshak*) here rendered *bite* is always used to denote biting venomously, like a serpent, or to perform a malicious act. The clause, taken by itself, and in its ordinary sense, would refer to those who are plotting mischief while they are crying Peace (see 2 S. xx. 9). But some, following the rendering of the Targum, take the word *nāshak* as used figuratively for eating food under disgraceful conditions, and refer it to bribes of food given to false prophets (so Grotius, Ewald, Hitzig, Keil, Kleinert, &c.). This, it is urged, connects the clause better with the one which follows it, giving the passage this meaning, *who, when anything is given them to eat, are ready to cry, Peace:*

cry, Peace; and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him.

6 Therefore night *shall be* unto you, † Heb. *from a vision.* that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, † Heb. *from divining.* that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them.

7 Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded: yea, they † Heb. *upper lip.* shall all cover their † lips; for *there is* no answer of God.

8 ¶ But truly I am full of power by the spirit of the LORD, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.

9 Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity.

10 They build up Zion with [b]†blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. [b] Ezek. 22. 27. Zeph. 3. 3. † Heb. *bloods.*

11 The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the LORD, † and say, *Is* not the LORD among us? none evil can come upon us. † Heb. *saying.*

12 Therefore shall Zion for your sake be [c]plowed *as* a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest. [c] Jer. 26. 18.

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but against him who refuses to find them, they proclaim war. The obvious objection to this interpretation is the forced meaning which it puts upon the word *nāshak*.

he that putteth not into their mouths] Cf. 1 S. ii. 16.

prepare war] Literally, *they consecrate war;* that is, they solemnly proclaim it, as if they were doing it by Divine sanction.

6, 7. The prophets who are false to their calling shall lose the light which they once had and shall be left in spiritual darkness. Being in shame and confusion themselves, they will no longer be able to delude others. Cp. Isai. xxix. 9—12; Ezek. xiii. 2, 3, 22, 23.

cover their lips] To cover the face up to the nostrils was a sign of sorrow and shame. Lev. xiii. 45; Ezek. xxiv. 17.

8. The prophet here declares the authority with which he was endowed. He had the clearest certainty that the power and the judgment and the might within him were from the Spirit of Jehovah.

9—12. In a fresh address, he again denounces destruction on Jerusalem, and adds, as delinquents, the priests, and the rulers, the judges, and the prophets who had been mentioned above.

9. *this*] That is, the woe to come declared in *v.* 12.

heads...princes] **rulers...judges**, as in *v.* 1.

that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity] Literally, *abhorring judgment and they pervert all equity.* There is the same sort of change in the person of the verb as in *vv.* 1, 2. The prophet leaves off speaking to the offenders and speaks of them.

10. The meaning of this verse may literally bear on the tyrannical extortions, by means of which those who were in power were adorning the city with fine buildings, like Jehoiakim at a later period (see Jer. xxii. 13—17); or it may have an ironical force and intimate that they were not *building*, but *destroying* Jerusalem and bringing God's people to ruin. In illustration of the latter explanation, see Ps. li. 18. Habakkuk (ii. 12) applies similar language to the Chaldæans, but probably with a different meaning.

11. *The heads*] The term here includes the rulers and judges.

the priests] The corruption of the priests is here first mentioned. It was an essential part of their appointed duty to explain the Law (Lev. x. 11; Deut. xvii. 9—13; xxxiii. 10). Teaching for hire was therefore unlawful and a fraud on the poor.

they lean upon the LORD] In their self-deception they blindly affected to trust in Jehovah while they were disobeying His word.

12. Cp. Isai. xxxii. 13, 14. The same fate which was just going to fall on Samaria (i. 6), awaited Jerusalem. This verse was quoted by some of the elders of Israel in the time of Jehoiakim, as having been spoken with impunity by Micah in the time of Hezekiah, in order to vindicate the similar boldness of utterance of Jeremiah. See Jer. xxvi. 18; Introd. § vi. The mountain of the Lord's house was to become as desolate as a hill in a forest. The site of the temple is here distinguished from Zion. It is generally spoken of as included within it. See Ps. ii. 6, ix. 11, xiv. 7, xx. 2, 3, l. 2, cxxxii. cp. *vv.* 5 and 8; Isai. xxiv. 23, xxviii. 16, xxxiii. 20, lx. 14; Jer. xxxi. 6, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

1 The glory, 3 peace, 8 kingdom, 11 and victory of the church.

[a] Isai. 2. 2, &c.

BUT [a] in the last days it shall come to pass, *that* the mountain of the house of the LORD shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it.

2 And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

3 ¶ And he shall judge among many

CHAP. IV. The vision of the prophet again changes, and with greater effect. While he had been denouncing the woe soon to fall upon the earthly Zion, his mind had been relieved for a short interval (ii. 12, 13) by a glimpse of a bright prospect, in which the foreseen return from the captivity served him with figures shadowing forth a greater deliverance in a more remote future. But now that deliverance is distinctly unveiled to his sight. The "last days" appear to him when the Messiah's kingdom should be set up. The Lord's house, no longer to be the Temple of Jerusalem but the Universal Church, was to be established for ever higher than the mountains; the spiritual darkness now falling upon Israel was to be dispelled, by a light destined to lighten and attract all the nations of the earth; the fearful desolations of war were to be succeeded by peace and plenty.

The prophet introduces the subject to his countrymen with words which are common to him and his elder contemporary, Isaiah.

1—3. This passage, with slight literal variations, is the same as Isai. ii. 2, 3, 4. The question, Which of the two prophets was its author? is a difficult one. A heavy preponderance of critical authority (including Caspari, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, &c.) is in favour of Micah. Dr Pusey says, "It is now owned, well nigh on all hands, that the great prophecy, three verses of which Isaiah prefixed to his second chapter, was originally delivered by Micah." The connection of the passage with what goes before it and what follows it appears to be natural and intimate in Micah. In Isaiah it forms the introduction of a new subject, and what follows it has more the aspect of a comment. The best arguments in favour of this view are given by Pusey in his Introduction to Micah, p. 289, and by Delitzsch in his notes on Isai. ii. But Dr Kay assigns powerful reasons in support of Isaiah's authorship. Note C. on Isai. ii. Some have conjectured that the passage was a document of earlier date quoted by each prophet.

1. *But*] Rather, **And yet.**

in the last days] Literally, *at the end of the days*. The phrase generally means at the termination of the period which is, at the time, in the mind of the speaker. But in the Old Testament it has rather a specific application to the Gospel Dispensation, the time of the Messiah's reign. It is used in reference to the coming of Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 1) and to the Star that was to arise out of Jacob (Num. xxiv. 14). See note on Isai. ii. 1.

established] That is, set up so as to abide and never, like the earthly Zion, to come to an end. See Dan. ii. 44; Luke i. 33.

in the top of the mountains] Better, perhaps, *as the chief of the mountains*. The context seems too clear for it to be necessary to refute the opinion of Jewish, and of some few Christian, commentators, who have referred this prophecy to the restoration of the earthly Jerusalem. The kingdom of the Messiah is what is here immediately spoken of. Compare with it Ezek. xvii. 22—24. More often indeed the deliverances of God's people from their worldly afflictions, as foreseen by the prophets, are used to furnish typical illustrations of the dispensation of the Gospel. See, for example, Ps. xlviii.; Ezek. xl.; Micah ii. 12, 13. But it is not so here. The expression "in the last days" at once transports the mind of the prophet into the remote future.

people] **peoples.** In Isai. ii. 2, "all the nations."

2. *And many nations*] Here Isaiah has "And many **peoples.**" The equivalent terms, *peoples* and *nations*, are transposed by Micah. The meaning of the expression in each verse is, to use the common phraseology which has been adopted from the Vulgate, "all the Gentiles." Compare with this passage, Zech. viii. 20—23.

Come, and let us go up, &c.] This expresses the desire of all nations, which was gradually to be awakened, for instruction in the truths of the Messiah's kingdom.

for the law shall go forth of Zion] Rather, **for out of Zion** shall go forth **a** law. The Hebrew word for *law* literally signifies *instruction*. The old law is not what is here meant, but the *fulfilment* of it (Matt. v. 17, 18), the teaching of Christ.

the word of the LORD from Jerusalem] The Gospel was to be preached, in Christ's name, "among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv. 47. Cp. Joel iii. 16, 17. The

people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords
[b] Isai. 2. 4. Joel 3. 10. into [b] plowshares, and their spears into [l] pruninghooks: nation shall not lift
[l] Or, *scythes*. up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

4 But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make *them* afraid: for the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken *it*.

5 For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the LORD our God for ever and ever.

6 In that day, saith the LORD, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted;

7 And I will make her that [c] halted a remnant, and her that was cast far off a strong nation: and the LORD [c] Zeph. 3. 19.

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light of truth from Jerusalem was to irradiate the whole earth. This sort of language probably suggested the patristic notion represented in the mediæval maps, in which the earth is represented as a disk with Jerusalem in the centre. The best illustration is perhaps the "Mappa Mundi" in Hereford Cathedral. It was drawn by a canon of Hereford about A.D. 1300, evidently with a religious purpose. From its form and size it might have been intended as an altar-piece for a side altar. This verse, taken in a gross material sense, may also be connected with the spirit which prompted pilgrimages and crusades. It might well have furnished a text for Peter the hermit.

3. *judge among many people*, &c.] judge **between** many **peoples** and **reprove** strong nations. Micah again transposes Isaiah's words. See on Isai. ii. 3.

and they shall beat, &c.] This passage may be contrasted with Joel iii. 10, where the nations are bidden to turn their agricultural implements into weapons of war. Isaiah and Micah foretell the operation of the spirit of peace, which was to mark the Redeemer's kingdom, and which was declared at its commencement, Luke ii. 14. It was to be a leaven, surely working from age to age, but, for the present, bearing imperfect results, cf. on Isai. xi. 6—9. In proportion to the prevalence of this spirit in men, the Lord is accepted as the umpire between the nations. Disputes are decided by the law of right, not by force. The Lord is at hand so as to reprove and correct them (cp. John xvi. 8) so as to avert war, and to make things tend to the realization of a true Christendom. On this faith is based our prayer that He would "give to all nations Unity, Peace, and Concord." But until all nations have been reached by the leaven, wars cannot cease from the earth. It is evidently not repugnant to the Divine will that the most peaceful nation should carry on war in the cause of right. But those who provoke war, and delight in it, are, as they have ever been, under a curse, Ps. lxviii. 30. The same reasoning which applies to war, in its bearing on Christian principles, applies also to just police regulations, and legal penalties, regarded in their connection with the personal immunity from restraint, which is due to every man until his misconduct has forfeited it.

4. Micah now continues the description of the Messiah's kingdom. Plenty and safety are the consequences of peace. "The mouth of the Lord of hosts" had spoken in times past the promise of these blessings to the Israelites, on condition of their obedience, Lev. xxvi. 4—6; the promise had in a manner been fulfilled in the reign of Solomon (1 K. iv. 25), on which every Israelite was wont to look back as a type of good things to come. The identity of expression seems to indicate that Micah, at this time, had these two passages in mind and that he now expands their meaning, applying them to the kingdom of Christ.

5. *For all people will walk...and we will walk*] According to the context, the tense of the Hebrew verb here expresses continuous habit rather than the future. **For all the peoples walk...but we walk.** The latter clause is a declaration that the true Israelites, who keep their covenant, are walking in the name of Jehovah; that is, they are trusting in His strength, in the confidence of His promise. Cp. 1 S. xvii. 12; Prov. xviii. 10; Zech. x. 12.

6—10. The prophet, yearning for his own people, declares the part they were to have in the Messiah's kingdom. That kingdom was still to be their own David's, vested in the person of David's greater Son. But the government was no longer to be that of the Lord ruling *through* David and his heirs, but that of Jehovah Himself, made One with the Seed of David. Compare the terms of promise of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin, Luke i. 32, 33.

6. *In that day*] = "in the last days," *v.* 1.

her that halteth...her that is driven out... her that I have afflicted] All these expressions designate the people of Israel. They are adopted by Zephaniah (iii. 19) in a similar connection. Micah and Zephaniah both essentially point to the kingdom of the Messiah, using in the way of illustration allusions to the return from the captivity.

[d] Dan. 7. 14. Luke 1. 33.

[d] shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever.

8 ¶ And thou, O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.

9 Now why dost thou cry out aloud? *is there* no king in thee? is thy counseller perished? for pangs have taken thee as a woman in travail.

10 Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail: for now shalt thou

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7. *And I will make her that halted a remnant*] That is, He would distinguish, and not cast off, the faithful portion of Israel, cp. Rom. ix. 27, xi. 5. This portion still represented David's old kingdom, and to them belonged mount Zion which was to be established for ever. Cp. *v.* 1 and Luke i. 32, 33.

8—13. Micah now apostrophizes Mount Zion, assuring her of the fulfilment of the promise of her future exaltation.

8. The verse is difficult and obscure in its details, but its general meaning is clear. It might be rendered, *And thou, O Flock-tower, the hill of the Daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come; yea, the ancient dominion shall come* (back), *even the kingdom of* (literally *to*, or *for*) *the Daughter of Jerusalem.* The punctuation of the Hebrew, and the order of the words, seem to be thus best represented. The substance of the promise is of course the restoration of David's kingdom in the reign of the Messiah.

O tower of the flock] Rather, **O Flock-tower.** On this designation of the Messiah, see Note at the end of the Chapter.

the kingdom...to the daughter of Jerusalem] Critics are pretty equally divided on the rendering of these words. They are taken as (*a*) denoting the kingdom assigned, or belonging, to Jerusalem, as in the version proposed in the note above; (*b*) as signifying "the dominion over the daughter of Jerusalem;" *i.e.* the government of the kingdom of God which was to come to the Seed of David, symbolized by the Flock-tower; (*c*) as united with the second verb *come* in a distinct sentence repeating in other words the substance of what goes before. The last is adopted in our version. The first is probably to be preferred.

9—13. The prophet continues to apostrophize Zion, and, while encouraging her as to the distant future, soothingly admits her just ground of sorrow at the woe which was soon to fall on her.

9. Micah is looking forward to the commencement of the captivity, when the ruling sovereign was deposed and carried off. The reference to the loss of the king was more pointed to the Israelites from the Divine promises centering, as they did, in the person of an anointed ruler, cp. Lam. iv. 20. The "counseller" was a designation of the king himself, cp. Isai. ix. 6. The questions asked, "is there no king in thee? is thy counseller perished?" do not imply a simple negative. They are rather to be regarded in connection with the promise in *v.* 8. Though Zedekiah would be removed, there would yet be a king, who would be a counsellor in Zion. Cranmer's Version strengthens the connection between *vv.* 8—9, by beginning the latter, "Why then art thou now so weary?" Cp. Hos. xiii. 9—11.

10. The meaning is, *Thou must indeed go on suffering, for thou shalt be an exile from the city and shalt traverse the country as far as Babylon; but there shalt thou be delivered, there will Jehovah redeem thee from thine enemies.*

The mention of Babylon has been regarded as a difficulty by nearly all critics. It is literally true that Judah was carried captive to Babylon, in accordance with the words of Isaiah (xxxix. 6). In the time of Micah, Babel (Babylonia) was a state nearly, or quite independent under the usurper Merodach-baladan; it was spoken of by Hezekiah as "a far country," Isai. xxxix. 3. Before this, it was enumerated amongst the places from which Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, had caused some of the inhabitants to migrate to the wasted cities of Samaria (2 K. xvii. 24; note on Ezra iv. 2); and thither, at a later period, Manasseh was carried as a captive in fetters by "the king of Assyria," 2 Chro. xxxiii. 11. Within a century of Micah's time the city Babel recovered its ancient dignity as the capital of the empire of the East under Nabonassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar.

But the context of this verse forbids that we should restrict its interpretation to the history of the captivity of Judah. The Eastern Monarchy, called by whatever name, was the acknowledged representative of the kingdoms of the world as opposed to the kingdom of God's elect. The verses which follow (11, 12, 13) foretell a victory to be gained by Zion over her enemies in terms which, in their full meaning, can only be applied to the triumph of the Messiah. The proximate historical fact suggests to the prophet the spiritual deliverance which was the ocean to the river of all true prophetic inspira-

go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go *even* to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the LORD shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies.

11 ¶ Now also many nations are gathered against thee, that say, Let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion.

12 But they know not the thoughts of the LORD, neither understand they his counsel: for he shall gather them as the sheaves into the floor.

13 Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many people: and I will consecrate their gain unto the LORD, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth.

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tion. Compare this passage with Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.; Joel iii.; Zech. xii.; also Rev. xx. 8.

11, 12. After the release of Zion from her captivity, the enemies would, in their blindness to the Divine purpose, madly desire to see her holiness profaned. Cp. Jer. iii. 2. Thus was it, in some degree, in the opposition of the Samaritans to the re-erection of the Temple, and in the outrages, more successful for a time, perpetrated by the Syrians. The following words, which relate to the victory of Zion, in their highest development have a spiritual application, and a complete fulfilment in the kingdom of Messiah.

13. *horn*] A symbol of destructive power. Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 K. xxii. 11; Amos vi. 13, &c.

hoofs] This refers to the Eastern mode of threshing by the employment of oxen to tread out the grain, Deut. xxv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 9.

many people] many **peoples**.

consecrate] Rather, **devote**. See note on Lev. xxvii. 28.

The strength here promised was without doubt manifested in every advantage gained by the Israelites over their enemies from this time; perhaps especially in the victories of the Maccabees over the Syrians. But "the thoughts of the Lord" (*v.* 12) here laid open to His prophet must have a wider, deeper meaning superadded.

NOTE ON "THE TOWER OF THE FLOCK," IV. 8.

The Hebrew name so rendered is the same as is rendered "the tower of Edar" in Gen. xxxv. 21. It is most probable that the term is here an appellative, and, as such, is applied to the fortress of Zion. It is an Eastern custom to erect towers to serve as shelters and watching-places for those who are employed to protect flocks. Such structures, in former times, must have been of stability and importance, since they occupied the care of Uzziah (2 Chro. xxvi. 10) and of Jotham 2 Chro. xxvii. 4. As the multiplication of them was a royal work, perhaps actually in progress in the time of Micah, they must have been familiarly spoken of. The prophet had just before (ii. 12) likened the chosen people to a flock, applying to them the very same word as is here compounded with *tower*, עֵדֶר, not the word in more general use, צֹאן. In this chapter, *vv.* 6, 7, he uses the same figure. The Flock-tower is therefore an apt metaphor for the Great Shepherd of the elect people. On the use of the metaphor, cp. Ps. xxxi. 1—3, lxi. 3, lxxi. 3; Prov. xviii. 10. A Jewish tradition, preserved in the Targum of Jonathan, distinctly identifies *the flock-tower* in this place as a name of the Messiah.

But another explanation of the word in this place should be mentioned, not only from the critical authority which supports it and the notice of it in our margin, but from its suggesting an association which may have co-existed in the mind of Micah. It has been taken as a proper name belonging to a structure, or the old site of one, known as "the Flock-tower," the same as "the tower of Edar," spoken of in Gen. xxxv. 21, near the encampment of Jacob after the death of Rachel. It may have been not far from Bethlehem, cp. *vv.* 19 and 21 of Gen. xxxv. It has been assumed that it was a suburb of Bethlehem, and that its name might have been identified with the abode of David's family and used as a symbol of the royal line. Now, though this as a theory rests on ill-grounded assumptions, it is by no means unlikely that Micah may have had Gen. xxxv. 19, 21 in his mind, and may have associated the words *Flock-tower* with Jacob the shepherd, as well as with David the shepherd of Bethlehem. See Hengstenberg, 'Christology,' I. p. 455 (Clark's translation). The word may also include some allusion to "the Tower of David" (Neh. iii. 25) in its allegorical significance, as indicated in Song of Sol. iv. 4.

The Hebrew word rendered "strong hold," עֹפֶל, may be used generally, denoting *a height*, as the proper name "Ophal," the fortified southern part of Mount Zion, which had been recently strengthened by Jotham, 2 Chro.

xxvii. 3. Cp. Neh. iii. 15, 26, &c. It has been not unreasonably supposed to be the same as Millo, 2 S. v. 9 (Hitzig). But whether taken, in its specific denotation, as a proper name or a common one, there can be no doubt that "the hill of the daughter of Zion" means Mount Zion, "the city of David" (2 S. v. 7), where were the temple and the royal palaces. On the topographical questions involved, see 'Bible Atlas' of the S.P.C.K., pp. 55, 57.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The birth of Christ.* 4 *His kingdom.* 8 *His conquest.*

NOW gather thyself in troops, O daughter of troops: he hath laid siege against us: they shall smite the judge of Israel with a rod upon the cheek.

2 But thou, [a] Beth-lehem Ephratah, *though* thou be little among the thousands of Judah, *yet* out of thee shall he come forth unto me *that is* to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth *have been* from of old, from [†] everlasting.

[a] Matth. 2. 6. John 7. 42.

[†] Heb. *the days of eternity.*

3 Therefore will he give them up,

CHAP. V. 1. Our translators have followed the ancient versions in making this verse the commencement of a new chapter. In the Hebrew text it stands in its more proper place as the conclusion of ch. iv. It contains a qualification of the promise which immediately precedes. Zion was indeed to have strength for war; her horn was to be iron and her hoofs were to be brass. But before her triumph she was to be prepared, not only for warfare, but for a siege, in which her supreme magistrates would be degraded.

daughter of troops] The word rendered "troops" may denote a body of men assembled to fight, or a crowd pressing together from fear or some other impulse. It has the latter meaning in this place. The play on the word is characteristic of Micah. See i. 10—14.

he hath laid, &c.] *i.e.* the enemy hath laid.

against us] The prophet speaks in the first person, and imagines himself as in the midst of his people shut up in the city. Introd. § v.

smite...upon the cheek] A common mode of expressing insult. See 1 K. xxii. 24; Job xvi. 10; Luke xxii. 64; 2 Cor. xi. 20.

the judge of Israel] *i.e.* the supreme authority. Cp. Amos ii. 3.

The siege of the Holy City represents the extremest affliction which war could bring upon Israel. Like the loss of the king (see on iv. 9), on the feelings of the Israelite it would press with peculiar weight. The prophetic threat was realized in every one of the sieges of Jerusalem. No particular is mentioned which would justify Hengstenberg's applying it especially to the siege by Titus. There is indeed an obvious objection to this restriction in the fact that that siege did not take place till after the coming of the Messiah, in fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the next two verses.

2—4. On the prophecy contained in these verses, see Note at the end of the Chapter.

2. *Beth-lehem Ephratah*] The old name of Bethlehem was simply Ephrath, or Ephrata. Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7. It was the home of David's family, see Ruth i. 1, 2, ii. 4; 1 S. xvi. 1, 18, xvii. 12. The words of this verse have been taken by some Jewish commentators to express no more than the identification of the descent of the Messiah with the family of David the Bethlehemite. On this interpretation, as well as on the distorted application of the prophecy to Zerubbabel by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Grotius, and some recent commentators, see Hengstenberg, 'Christology,' Vol. I. p. 498 sq. (Clark's translation). The force of the verse is, that the Christ was not to have His birth on earth in "the City of David," the capital of Israel (iv. 8) with its royal and glorious associations, but in the humble village (κώμη, John vii. 42) of Bethlehem.

though thou be little among the thousands of Judah] On the mode in which this is quoted by St Matthew (ii. 6), see note in loc. and Hengst. 'Christol.' I. p. 500. The Hebrew word *eleph* strictly denotes a thousand: but it was also used for the subdivision of a tribe, or (as here) of the territory of a tribe. In this application the numerical force was lost as it is in our words Hundreds and Tithings, when used for the subdivisions of counties. See Exod. xviii. 25; Num. i. 16. The same word is rendered "family," Judg. vi. 15.

unto me] for me, *i.e.* in the service of Jehovah.

from of old, from everlasting] It is hard to imagine the prophet's intention in using these words, if they mean anything less than the pre-existence of the Messiah. The Hebrew words, in themselves, might indeed denote no more than extreme antiquity. But the very same words are used, Prov. viii. 22, 23, where they can have only the meaning which we ascribe to them here; and this the context evidently requires. The Messiah's eternal goings forth are put into contrast with His coming forth from Bethlehem, His humble birthplace. Kleinert, in remarking that, if

until the time *that* she which travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel.

‖ Or, *rule.*

4 ¶ And he shall stand and ‖ feed in the strength of the LORD, in the majesty of the name of the LORD his God; and they shall abide: for now shall he be great unto the ends of the earth.

5 And this *man* shall be the peace, when the Assyrian shall come into our land: and when he shall tread in our palaces, then shall we raise against him seven shepherds, and eight † principal men.

† Heb. *princes of men.*

6 And they shall † waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod ‖ in the entrances thereof: thus shall he deliver *us* from the As-

† Heb. *eat up.*

‖ Or, *with her own naked swords.*

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such had been the purport of the words, St Matthew would certainly have included them in his quotation, overlooks the fact that the evangelist's purpose was only to give so much of the prediction as served the scribes for their answer to the question which had been put to them regarding the birthplace of the New-born King.

3. *he*] *i.e.* He Who is to be the ruler in Israel.

them] *i.e.* the people of Israel.

she which travaileth] Rather, **a travailing woman**, that is, the virgin mother of Isai. vii. 14. This interpretation is maintained by a considerable consensus of commentators from the time of Cyril. But a different one has been preferred by Theodoret, Calvin, Vitringa, Kleinert, and others, that the travailing woman means "the daughter of Zion" (ch. iv. 10), the new Jerusalem as the mother of believers, according to the figure used by St Paul, Gal. iv. 26. The absence of the definite article would seem to recommend the former, which certainly gives most point to the prophecy, in its connection with what immediately precedes it.

unto the children of Israel] Rather, **along with** the children of Israel. The returning is not to be understood as the return from the land of captivity to Jerusalem, but as a conversion to Jehovah from their distracted condition and their becoming as of old ONE Israel. Cp. Isai. xi. 13; Jer. iii. 17—19; Ezek. xxxvii. 15—22.

The following appears to be the meaning of this difficult verse:—*Therefore* (that is, because He is to come on earth in obscurity) *the Ruler will not appear amongst them, but leave them to their enemies, until a travailing woman shall have brought Him forth: then shall the remnant of His brethren of the kingdom of Judah be converted along with the other sons of Israel, so that there shall be One true Israel.*

4. *And he shall stand and feed*] That is, He will take His post as the Shepherd. Isai. xl. 9—11; John x. 11—16. Cp. 2 S. v. 2.

shall he be great] Cp. Luke i. 32.

unto the ends of the earth] Cp. Jer. iii. 17; John x. 16.

5. This verse might rather be arranged thus:—*And He shall be peace.* **When Asshur comes into our land, and when he is treading in our palaces, we shall set up against him seven shepherds, and even eight princes of men.**

And this man shall be the peace] **And He shall be peace.** As the universal LORD, Who is to be great unto the ends of the earth, He will be even more than "the Prince of Peace" (Isai. ix. 6), He will be, essentially, PEACE. Compare "he is our peace," Eph. ii. 14; also Judg. vi. 24. He will prove Himself to be such to His people in all His relations to them; He will be Peace to the conscience of each person, He will be Peace to them all as one body in Him. Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. But He must yet subdue the enemy, not only in a spiritual sense, but in a material sense. See on iv. 3, 4.

the Assyrian] **Asshur.** On this designation of the hostile empire of the East, see iv. 10, and the note on the next verse.

seven shepherds, &c.] The numbers *seven* and *eight* are used proverbially. Cp. Amos i. 3. Seven was a typical number first occurring to the mind of the prophet as expressing the sufficiency of the leaders who would be raised up in the cause of the Messiah; but a second thought multiplies the leaders to eight. There appears to be no fair ground to distinguish, as some have attempted to do, between the functions of the shepherds and the princes. As good shepherds lead and defend their flocks, so do good princes their peoples.

6. *And they shall waste*] Or, *rule.* The word rendered *waste* is literally *feed*, the same as is used of the Messiah ruling, or feeding, His people in *v.* 4. Compare "feed thy people with thy rod," vii. 14.

and the land of Nimrod] Rather, **even** the land of Nimrod. See Gen. x. 8—11. It was one of the names of the empire which from old time was the representative of imperial power opposed to Jehovah and His people. Cp. Hos. xiv. 3.

in the entrances thereof] **within its gates**, that is, in its cities. The same word occurs in the same sense, Isai. iii. 26, xiii. 2.

syrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders.

7 And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the LORD, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.

8 ¶ And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of ‖ sheep: who, if he go through, both treadeth down, and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver.

9 Thine hand shall be lifted up upon thine adversaries, and all thine enemies shall be cut off.

10 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots:

11 And I will cut off the cities of thy land, and throw down all thy strong holds:

12 And I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand; and thou shalt have no *more* soothsayers:

13 Thy graven images also will I cut off, and thy ‖ standing images out of the midst of thee; and thou shalt no more worship the work of thine hands.

‖ Or, *goats.*

‖ Or, *statues.*

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shall he deliver] The antecedent of "he" is of course the Ruler of *v.* 2.

7—9. The prophet now exults with patriotic enthusiasm in the fulfilment of the mission of the chosen people among the nations.

7. *many people*] many **peoples**.

as a dew from the LORD, &c.] The beneficent working of the Divine Love is not like conscious human effort, the operations of which must of necessity be partial and artificial; but it is like the gentle, constant influence of the dew upon the grass. It was so to work upon Israel itself (Hos. xiv. 5), and, through "the remnant of Jacob," upon the nations which were to be brought within the Messiah's kingdom. Cp. Zech. viii. 12; Hagg. i. 10. The Jews were not to further the cause of the Messiah so much by their conscious effort, as by the witness which was borne to the world by their very existence as the chosen people, along with the facts of their history. See Rom. iii. 2. They were to be the stock of the Olive on which the nations were to be graffed. Rom. xi. On the symbolism of dew, see on Ps. cx. 3.

8. *among the Gentiles*, &c.] **in the nations**, in the midst of many **peoples**, as a lion, &c.

as a lion] Yet the blessing from above, gently as it came, would have the irresistible strength and vigour of a lion in fulfilling the purpose of Jehovah. What characterizes the Messiah, as well as His works, is the perfect union of force with gentleness. He was the Lion of the tribe of Judah, yet the Lamb of God: He was to go forth conquering and to conquer, yet He was to be the gentle Shepherd: the meek and lowly One was to be the triumphant King of Glory. Cp. Luke ii. 34; Rom. ix. 33; 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

9. Rather, **Let thine hand be lifted up over thine adversaries, and let all thine enemies be cut off.**

10—14. In the Israel of the future, the true Israel, when "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established" (iv. 1), and Judah and Israel shall together return to the Lord (*v.* 3), the abominations and troubles of the prophet's time shall be done away. Jehovah declares that He will root them out. These verses should be compared with Isai. ii. 6—10, in which some of the same offences are named in immediate connection with the passage which is common to the two prophets. Micah iv. 1, 2; Isai. ii. 1, 2, 3.

10. *in that day*] = "in the last day" (iv. 1) when "the remnant of Jacob" shall have performed its appointed work, *vv.* 7—9.

10, 11. Horses, chariots, **fenced cities**, and strong holds, all pertain to war, and will not be needed when the Messiah is acknowledged by all nations to be the universal King. Cp. iv. 3 with the notes.

12. *witchcrafts*] See on Exod. xxii. 18.

soothsayers] Isaiah (ii. 6) calls these "soothsayers like the Philistines," most probably in reference to some kind of magical art, which the Israelites had learned of the Philistines.

13. *graven images*] Cp. i. 7. See on Exod. xx. 4.

standing images] See on Lev. xxvi. 1.

14. *groves*] See Note after Exod. xxxiv.

cities] **fenced cities.** See on *v.* 10.

15. *the heathen, such as they have not heard*] **the nations which have not hearkened.** Dr Pusey appears to be almost alone amongst commentators in upholding our Version in this place.

14 And I will pluck up thy groves out of the midst of thee: so will I destroy thy [1] cities.

15 And I will execute vengeance in anger and fury upon the heathen, such as they have not heard.

[1] Or, *enemies.*

Note on the Birth at Bethlehem, *vv.* 2—4.

This prophecy is peculiar in the definiteness with which it states an outward fact in the Messiah's advent, and in the clear certainty with which we know its very early and unanimous interpretation by the Jews. As a link thus distinguished in the chain of Messianic prophecies, it deserves to be looked at in connection with those that had gone before it in the gradual setting forth of the personality of the Saviour. Step by step it was made known what manner of man He was to be. The rudimentary promise that a deliverer should be born of woman, made immediately after sin had intruded into the world (Gen. iii. 15), was followed by a succession of revelations, each more definite than the preceding one. A mysterious hint connects Him with the family of Shem, Gen. ix. 27. He was to come of the seed of Abraham (Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18); of the seed of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 4); of the seed of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 14); of the seed of Judah (Gen. xlix. 10). A seer of alien race next proclaimed His regal dignity, that He should subdue His enemies, that He should have "the dominion," Num. xxiv. 17—19. The Law was now enlightening the conscience of the people, developing side by side the great fact of sin and its own weakness as a remedy, Rom. iii. 20. At the same time, the ceremonies of the Law were giving an outline sketch of good things to come in the atonement to be wrought by the One Mediator between God and man, Who, as at once priest and victim, was to make that sacrifice of Himself, towards which every type in the services of the altar converged. The giver of the Law himself, when he was bringing his own teaching to a conclusion, declared that He Who was to come was to be the Teacher Who would gain the hearts of the people. Deut. xviii. 15. Cp. Acts iii. 22, 23. The psalmist made known that He was to be the Son of David, one of that royal stock upon which every true-hearted Israelite looked as the centre of his hopes.

And now, in the time of Micah, were unveiled in clear terms His eternal glory, His universal dominion, His supreme Godhead, His superhuman birth of a virgin; yet also His sufferings and humiliation. Isai. vii., ix., li. His work also as the Redeemer of the whole race of man was made known. Cp. Rom. x., xi. In this way, the Spirit Who moved the prophets was preparing the way for the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem, of the Saviour Who was the Light to lighten the nations and the glory of His people Israel.

In the remarkable unveiling of the purpose of eternal Love, which distinguished the time of Hezekiah, Micah joined his voice with that of his elder and more prominent contemporary, Isaiah. It is, however, as unreasonable as it is unjust to regard, as some have done, the prophecy contained in this chapter as an echo of Isaiah's teaching. Its originality is singularly marked in both matter and manner.

It stands quite alone in the indubitable evidence we have of the way in which the Jews regarded it before the birth of Christ. When Herod was startled by the inquiries of the Magi, he put the question as to the birthplace of the expected Messiah to the chief-priests and scribes. These authorized teachers of the people at once turned to the words of Micah, Matt. ii. 4—6. Cp. John vii. 42. There appears no reason whatever to doubt that this agreed with the universal impression of the Jews in those early times. It is true that we find in John vii. 27 some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem saying, "When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is." But it may be regarded as certain that this passage ought to be understood to refer to the manner of His first appearance at Bethlehem, as regards earthly parentage. For proofs of this, see John vi. 41, 42, vii. 42, with the notes.

CHAPTER VI.

1 God's controversy for unkindness, 6 for ignorance, 10 for injustice, 16 and for idolatry.

HEAR ye now what the LORD saith; Arise, contend thou [1] before the [a] mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice.

[1] Or, *with.*

[a] Isai. 1. 2.

2 Hear ye, O mountains, the LORD's controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth: for the

CHAP. VI. This chapter and the seventh have no direct connection with the earlier chapters. See Introduction, § vi.

The prophet first calls upon the people to discuss with Jehovah the cause between Him and them. Cp. Isai. i. 18, xliii. 26.

1. *Hear ye now*] Rather, **Hear, I pray**

LORD hath a controversy with his people, and he will plead with Israel.

3 O my people, what have I done unto thee? and wherein have I wearied thee? testify against me.

4 For I brought thee up out of the land of [b] Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

5 O my people, remember now what [c] Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from [d] Shittim unto Gilgal; that ye may know the righteousness of the LORD.

6 ¶ Wherewith shall I come before the LORD, *and* bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves [†] of a year old?

7 Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, *or* with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my

[b] Exod. 12. 51. & 14. 30.

[c] Numb. 22. 5. & 23. 7.

[d] Numb. 25. 1. Josh. 5. 10.

[†] Heb. *sons of a year?*

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you. The appeal is made to the "everlasting mountains," as the abiding witnesses of all passing events from age to age. Cp. Isai. i. 2; Deut. xxxii. 1. On the hills as symbols of stability, see Gen. xlix. 26; Job xv. 7; Ps. xviii. 7; Hab. iii. 6.

2. *strong foundations*] Rather, **enduring** foundations.

3. *wearied*] Cp. Isai. xliii. 22; Mal. i. 13.

4. Israel continues silent, and Jehovah answers for Himself, on the plea of what He has done in old times.

For] This particle does not connect, in its strict meaning, the verse with what goes before, but it implies Jehovah's claim to answer on the ground of past benefits conferred on the people in His leading them out of Egypt to the Promised Land.

house of servants] The literal rendering of the words, elsewhere translated, "house of bondage," Exod. xiii. 3, xx. 2, &c.

5. *from Shittim unto Gilgal*] Shittim was the last place of encampment before the Israelites crossed the Jordan, in the plains of Moab (cp. Num. xxii. 1 with xxv. 1), and Gilgal was the first station on the right of Jordan, Josh. iv. 19, 20, v. 9. The Israelites are thus reminded of what befell them when their wanderings were coming to an end, as illustrating the righteousness of the Lord in keeping His word. Balaam, at the instance of Balak, had machinated against them, but he was miserably foiled, and was constrained to confirm and expand the promise of the glorious future which lay before them. At the same time the Divine righteousness was exhibited in the retribution which fell upon the Midianites and upon Balaam himself, Num. xxv. 16—18, xxxi. 8. It should be observed that, while this passage refers to the termination of the forty years of wandering, the preceding verse refers to the commencement of that period.

6—8. Bishop Butler supposed these verses to be a traditional account of what passed between Balak and Balaam, the sixth and seventh verses containing what Balak "consulted," and the eighth verse what Balaam "answered" (Sermon 'On the character of Balaam'). But the nature of the inquiry ascribed to Balak seems to be hardly in keeping with what we are told of his character and history, even if we could easily suppose the answer to have been Balaam's. Butler's view has been adopted by Dean Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Vol. I. p. 189.

According to the general view of commentators, the inquiry in *vv.* 6, 7 is put by Micah into the mouth of a sincere inquirer, not yet instructed in the true way of righteousness, in order to introduce with the greater effect the summary of the whole duty of man contained in the following verse.

6, 7. The offerings here mentioned, the young bullocks, the rams, and the oil, were probably those on which the most money was expended in the service of the altar at this time.

6. *before the high God?*] Or, *before God on high.*

7. *shall I give my firstborn*, &c.] The sort of rite here referred to must have been familiarly known in the time of Micah from its having been observed during the reign of Ahaz in honour of Molech, 2 K. xvi. 3, xvii. 17. The rite was common to the worship of Molech, the god of the Ammonites, and Chemosh, the god of the Moabites. Some, who adopt this view of Bishop Butler and ascribe these words to Balaam, conceive that they may relate to a kind of sacrifice peculiarly Moabitish, which in an after age was exemplified in the case of King Mesha, 2 K. iii. 27. See note on Lev. xx. 2—5. But a deeper suggestion might have been ascribed to the sincere inquirer. The prophet might have called to mind the experience of Abraham, by which the patriarch was instructed that what the Lord required was not his gifts in themselves, not his most cherished possession, but his heart and obedience.

firstborn *for* my transgression, the fruit of my † body *for* the sin of my soul?

† Heb. *belly.*

8 He hath ᵉ shewed thee, O man, what *is* good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to † walk humbly with thy God?

ᵉ Deut. 10. 12.

† Heb. *humble* thyself *to walk.*

9 The LORD's voice crieth unto the city, and ‖ *the man of* wisdom shall see thy name: hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it.

‖ Or, *thy name shall see that which is.* ‖ Or, Is there *yet* unto *every man an house of the wicked,* &c.

10 ¶ ‖ Are there yet the treasures of wickedness in the house of the wicked, and the † scant measure *that is* abominable?

† Heb. *measure of leanness.*

11 ‖ Shall I count *them* pure with the wicked balances, and with the bag of deceitful weights?

‖ Or, *Shall I be pure with,* &c.

12 For the rich men thereof are full of violence, and the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue *is* deceitful in their mouth.

13 Therefore also will I make *thee* sick in smiting thee, in making *thee* desolate because of thy sins.

14 Thou shalt eat, but not be satisfied; and thy casting down *shall be* in the midst of thee; and thou shalt take hold, but shalt not deliver; and *that* which thou deliverest will I give up to the sword.

15 Thou shalt ᶠ sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil; and sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine.

ᶠ Deut. 28. 38. Hag. 1. 6.

‖ Or, *he doth much keep the &c.*

16 ¶ For ‖ the statutes of ᵍ Omri

ᵍ 1 Kin. 16. 25, 26.

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8. *He hath shewed thee*] Rather, **It hath been shewed thee.**

to do justly, and to love mercy] These clauses sum up the duties belonging to the fraternal relation of man to his fellow-man, which are expressed in detail in the second table of the Decalogue.

to walk humbly with thy God] is what hinges on our common filial relation to God, the substance of the first table. It is a sense of this filial relation in the heart which alone can give worth to all ceremonial observances, including those mentioned by the inquirer. See Deut. x. 12; 1 S. xv. 22; Ps. li., comparing *v.* 19 with what goes before.

9. *unto the city*] That is, unto Jerusalem.

the man of wisdom shall see thy name] Rather, **wisdom looks to thy name.** The clause is difficult, but the meaning of it appears to be, *whoever is wise looks to Thy name, O Lord, and will obey Thee.*

10, 11. In spite of the curse which has made cheating and injustice abominable, men are still going on to heap up riches by means of them. Cp. Deut. xxv. 13—16; Lev. xix. 35, 36.

10. *the scant measure*] Lit. *a lean ephah.* The ephah was the standard of dry measure as the bushel is amongst ourselves. See on Lev. xix. 36.

11. *Shall I count them pure*] The margin is nearer to the original, **Can I be pure.** The connection may be thus supplied: *Let each offender ask his own conscience, "Can I be innocent with my false balances,"* &c.

bag of deceitful weights] See Prov. xvi. 11.

12. *For the rich men thereof...and the inhabitants thereof*] Rather, **She** (*i.e.* the city addressed by Jehovah in *v.* 9), **whose rich men ... and whose inhabitants.** The third person, thus used instead of the second person, appears to be expressive of stern emotion.

14. Cp. Ps. cvi. 15.

and thy casting down shall be in the midst of thee] **and thy hunger shall remain in thee.** The Hebrew word (*yāshach*) here rendered "casting down" is peculiar: but according to the best critical authorities it means *hunger*, or *emptiness*. So Gesenius, Furst, &c.

thou shalt take hold, but shalt not deliver, &c.] **thou shalt put away thy goods, but shalt not save them; and that which thou dost save,** will I give up to the sword.

15. Cp. Deut. xxviii. 38, 40; Amos v. 11.

sweet wine] The Hebrew word (*teerosh*) is commonly used for new wine, such as might be drunk as an intoxicating beverage, though it had not been ripened by age. But it here seems rather to denote *the juice of the grape*, unfermented, as in Prov. iii. 10; Isai. lxv. 8; Joel i. 10.

16. *For*] **And.** The prophet in this verse adds another charge against the people, and repeats the threat of chastisement. In observing the statutes of Omri, they had sunk to the lowest level of the transgressions of the Northern kingdom (1 K. xvi. 25), and followed the infamous example of Ahab. There may be a special reference to the foreign idolatry, and the wicked policy which had been introduced

are kept, and all the works of the house of [h] Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels; that I should make thee a [i] desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an hissing: therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people.

[h] 1 Kin. 16. 30, &c.

[i] Or, *astonishment.*

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The church, complaining of her small number,* 3 *and the general corruption,* 5 *putteth her confidence not in man, but in God.* 8 *She triumpheth over her enemies.* 14 *God comforteth her by promises,* 16 *by confusion of the enemies,* 18 *and by his mercies.*

WOE is me! for I am as [i] when they have gathered the summer fruits, as the grapegleanings of the vintage: *there is* no cluster to eat: my soul desired the firstripe fruit.

[i] Heb. *the gatherings of summer.*

2 The [a] [i] good *man* is perished out of the earth: and *there is* none upright among men: they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net.

[a] Psal. 12. 1. Isai. 57. 1.

[i] Or, *godly, or, merciful.*

3 ¶ That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge *asketh* for a reward; and the great *man*, he uttereth [i] his mischievous desire: so they wrap it up.

[i] Heb. *the mischief of his soul.*

4 The best of them *is* as a brier: the most upright *is sharper* than a thorn hedge: the day of thy watchmen *and* thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.

5 ¶ Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a guide: keep

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into Judah by Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and the granddaughter of Omri, 2 Chro. xxi. 6, xxii. 2—5.

that I should make] That is, your sins incur as a consequence that I should make, &c.

a desolation] Rather, as in the margin, *an astonishment.*

the inhabitants thereof] That is, the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

therefore ye shall bear] **and** ye shall bear.

CHAP. VII. The interpretation of the opening of this chapter appears to be rightly indicated in the heading of our version. Not a few commentators, of older and more recent date, have taken the passage as a desponding soliloquy of the prophet himself. But this seems to be inconsistent with the context, especially with *v.* 7. The words are, it can hardly be doubted, put by Micah into the mouth of the true Israel, the Church in a broad sense, not excluding from the term the believers before the coming of Christ. The verse thus becomes immediately connected with the gloomy picture of the condition of things in the prophet's time at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, which is continued in what follows, *vv.* 2—6. In a similar way Isaiah puts words into the mouth of the Church, xlix. 1, &c.

1. *my soul desired the firstripe fruit*] **my soul is longing for the first-ripe fig.** The earliest figs are valued, not only for their rarity, but their superior quality. See Jer. xxiv. 2; also Isai. xxviii. 4; Hos. ix. 10. They are sometimes gathered in June in the Holy Land, where the general gathering takes place in August. See Matt. xxi. 19. The Lord of the Church Himself sought in vain for the early fig. In this place, while the Church is eagerly looking within her borders for the first produce of summer, she finds herself to be rather like a field of stubble after harvest, or a vineyard that has been stripped of its fruit: she sees nothing good, but the poor gleanings of old crops.

3. The construction of this verse is very difficult, though there is not much doubt as to its substantial meaning. The arrangement of the clauses in our version cannot be maintained. The following is the most probable rendering:—**Both hands are upon evil to do it thoroughly. The prince asks for reward, the judge** *judges* **for it; and the great man, he utters the mischief of his heart, and they** *all* **weave together**, that is, all are set on one purpose to do evil.

do evil...earnestly] The literal rendering is, "both hands are upon evil to make it good." The meaning is either, *to do evil thoroughly*, or *to do evil in such a way as to appear good*, or, in the very spirit of Satan, *to make evil their good.*

4. *the day of thy watchmen*, &c.] The description of existing wickedness is again interrupted for a moment to denounce the coming judgment. The "watchmen" are the prophets, whose duty it was to look out for and to proclaim the "visitation," the "day of the Lord," which was surely to come on impenitent sinners. See Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7, &c.

5, 6. The gloomy description is resumed. The corruption reaches to the innermost recesses of society. Confidence is extinct. The dearest of human relationships are out of joint. On the use made by our Lord of the words of *v.* 6, see on Matt. x. 35, 36; Luke xii. 53.

the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom.

[b] Matth. 10. 21, 35, 36. Luke 21. 16.

6 For [b] the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in law; a man's enemies *are* the men of his own house.

7 Therefore I will look unto the LORD; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me.

8 ¶ Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the LORD *shall be* a light unto me.

9 I will bear the indignation of the LORD, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, *and* I shall behold his righteousness.

10 [1] Then *she that is* mine enemy shall see *it*, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, [c] Where is the LORD thy God? mine eyes shall behold her: now [1] shall she be trodden down as the mire of the streets.

[1] Or, *And thou wilt see her that is mine enemy, and cover her with shame.*

[c] Psal. 79. 10. & 115. 2. Joel 2. 17.

[1] Heb. *she shall be for a treading down.*

11 *In* the day that thy [d] walls are to be built, *in* that day shall the decree be far removed.

[d] Amos 9. 11, &c.

12 *In* that day *also* he shall come even to thee from Assyria, [1] and *from* the fortified cities, and from the fortress even to the river, and from sea to sea, and *from* mountain to mountain.

[1] Or, *even to.*

13 [1] Notwithstanding the land shall be desolate because of them that

[1] Or, *After that it hath been.*

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7. *Therefore I will look*] **And yet will I look.** The soul of the faithful still holds fast her faith, in spite of the darkness. The promises of Jehovah cannot fail. Salvation will surely come. Prayers cannot fail to be answered.

8. The enemy whose insolent exultation is here deprecated is the Antichrist, the imperial tyranny ever in antagonism with the true faithful Israel. In Micah's time this was represented by Asshur (*v.* 12), in St John's time, by Rome. The faithful realize that the darkest moment of the night may be that which just precedes the dawn.

9, 10. The true believing heart finds strength to endure and sure hope of reconciliation in the consciousness that her own sins are the cause of her affliction, and in faith in the righteousness of the Lord. And this righteousness will not only manifest itself to her, but also to her enemy, who is now insulting over her, and would fain tread her down as the mire of the streets.

9. *until he plead my cause*] Cp. Ps. xxxv. 1, xliii. 1.

10. *Where is the* LORD *thy God*] Cp. Isai. x. 6; Joel ii. 17.

11. The mind of the prophet abruptly turns away from the insolence of the enemy to the glory of the dispensation to come. He addresses Israel, to whom the kingdoms of the earth are to be gathered. The verse is obscure. The best rendering appears to be, **A day for building thy walls *is at hand*. That day shall the law *of separation* be utterly removed.**

thy walls] The Hebrew word denotes rather the wall, or fence, of a plantation than the wall of a city. The figure implied seems to be that of the vineyard of Jehovah.

the decree] The chief difficulty of the verse hinges upon the way in which this word is taken. The Hebrew (*choq*) generally means a statute or ordinance. It probably here refers to the ordinance by which Israel was separated from the nations of the world. Its purport would thus be identical with "the middle wall of partition," which the Messiah was to break down (Eph. ii. 11—16). This sense naturally connects itself with the verse which follows. The thought expressed in *vv.* 11, 12 would then agree with that of Jer. iii. 16—18. What is before the prophet's sight is a vision of the expansion of the Redeemer's kingdom. See note on the following verse and on iv. 2. Other explanations of the passage, which are well supported, but are less probable, are (1) The day appointed (for building the walls) is far remote. (2) The (tyrannical) decrees (of the (enemies) shall be removed. (3) The law (of Jehovah) shall spread abroad.

12. **In that day shall they come unto thee from Asshur and from the cities of Egypt, even from Egypt to the river Euphrates,** &c. The promise to Israel, in its fullest sense, is identical with that already made specifically to Zion, iv. 2. As Asshur here represents the eastern world, so does Egypt the western. Compare with this prophecy that of Isaiah, xix. 18—25. Dr Pusey, without excluding the above explanation, would refer the words of Micah primarily to the return of the children of Israel from the lands into which they had been carried captive.

13. *Notwithstanding the land shall be deso-*

dwell therein, for the fruit of their doings.

[1] Or, *Rule.*

14 ¶ [1]Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage, which dwell solitarily *in* the wood, in the midst of Carmel: let them feed *in* Bashan and Gilead, as in the days of old.

15 According to the days of thy coming out of the land of Egypt will I shew unto him marvellous *things*.

16 ¶ The nations shall see and be confounded at all their might: they shall lay *their* hand upon *their* mouth, their ears shall be deaf.

[e] Psal. 72. 9.
[f] Or, *creeping things.*

17 They shall lick the [e]dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like [f]worms of the earth: they shall be afraid of the LORD our God, and shall fear because of thee.

18 Who *is* a God like unto thee, that [g]pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth *in* mercy.

[g] Exod. 34. 6, 7.

19 He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea.

20 Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, *and* the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old.

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late] Or, And **the earth will be** *given over* **to desolation.** This is the strict rendering of the Hebrew, and it appears to suit the context exactly, if we take "the earth" to denote the guilty world, not obedient to the Divine call to join with the true Israel. But it must be admitted that a majority of commentators suppose the subject of the sentence to be the Holy Land, which, until the building of the walls (*v.* 11), that is, the setting up of the Messiah's kingdom, would have to go through a period of desolation. See Lev. xxvi. 33; Isai. i. 7. In order to make out this explanation, the verb must be taken as in the future perfect (as in our margin), or some such word as *previously* must be interpolated.

14. The true Israel again speaks, as in *vv.* 1, 7, 8, now in prayer for Divine guidance and protection. Cp. Ps. xxviii. 9.

with thy rod] Rather, with thy **staff**, that is, staff of office, as the Shepherd of His people. Cp. v. 4; Ps. xxiii. 1—3, lxxx. 1.

solitarily] Rather, **apart**, *i.e.* apart from the enemies. Cp. Num. xxiii. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 28. The most considerable pasture regions of the Holy Land are named as typical of the abode for which the Lord's people are yearning.

15. Jehovah now answers their prayer. Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 11 sq.

According to the days] **Like as in the days.**

shew unto him] Jehovah, though He is addressing His people, speaks to them in the third person, as they had spoken of themselves in *v.* 14.

17. *they shall be afraid of the* LORD *our God, and shall fear because of thee*] The discourse has imperceptibly passed over to the person of the prophet himself.

18. *Who is a God like unto thee*] Cp. the words of the song of Moses, "Who is like unto thee among the gods?" Exod. xv. 11. Some suppose that Micah here intends a play upon his own name. See on i. 1.

the remnant of his heritage] This expression here, as elsewhere, is equivalent to the people of Jehovah, the true Israel. Micah concludes his discourse with the same eternal message of forgiving mercy and love towards those who turn to the Lord, which the inspired writers are never tired of repeating. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7; Ps. lxxxvi. 5; Isai. lv. 7; Joel ii. 13; Jonah iv. 2; Nahum i. 7, &c., &c.

19. *cast all their sins*] Cp. Ps. ciii. 12; note on Lev. xvi. 22.

20. *mercy to Abraham*] These words of Micah are taken up by Zacharias, Luke i. 70—74. Compare also the words of the Blessed Virgin, Luke i. 54, 55.

NAHUM.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

I. *The Prophet* 634

II. *The Prophecy. Its date, subject, fulfilment and style* 635

I. *The Prophet.*

"THE book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite." In these few words of the prophet are comprised all the particulars that are known respecting him. And even these are not free from doubt. Whence did he derive his title of the Elkoshite? (LXX. Ἐλκεσαῖος, Vulg. Elcesæus.) It is most probable that it was not a patronymic, but a local designation. Where, then, was Elkosh, the place of his birth or residence? Until modern times it was always believed that it was situated in Galilee[1]. With this agrees the testimony of Cyril of Alexandria[2]. And a modern traveller (Schwarz, 'Descr. of Pal.' p. 188) says that the grave of Nahum is shewn at *Kefr Tanchum*, a village 2½ Eng. miles N. of Tiberias. That Capernaum is in any way connected with the prophet Nahum is merely a conjecture.

There is, however, another place of the same name, *Alkush* near Mosul. Here, according to recent tradition, is the prophet's grave, which is still visited by many Jewish pilgrims. Layard ('Nin. and Rem.' I. p. 233) speaks thus of it: "The tomb is a simple plaster box, covered with green cloth, and standing at the upper end of a large chamber. The house containing the tomb is a modern building. There are no inscriptions, nor fragments of any antiquity near the place." The first extant notice of a connection between this place and Nahum is in the 16th century. This is of itself a serious objection. But it is not only Nahum whose resting-place is alleged to be here. The Jews assert that Jonah, Obadiah, and Jephthah the Gileadite are also buried in the neighbourhood. Such witnesses as these are not trustworthy. Further, is it at all likely that a prophet, addressing his countrymen in Judah from so distant a place as this, would have called himself simply "the Elkoshite"? If indeed he wrote for his fellow-captives in Assyria, the title would be intelligible, but there is nothing in his prophecy to indicate that he was not living at the time in Judah. In fact some of his words (i. 13, 15) seem to imply that he was among those to whom he spoke. Besides, we know that the ten tribes were placed "in the cities of the Medes" (2 K. xvii. 6). There is no proof that any of them were settled near Nineveh.

It has indeed been asserted by Ewald that such is the vividness of the prophet's language, that he must have seen with his eyes the dangers that threatened Nineveh, and described what he saw. Such an assertion is inconsistent with a belief in prophetic inspiration, the reality of which may be proved from the words

[1] There the site of it was pointed out to Jerome by his guide, and in his Introduction to the Prophet he writes thus: "Cum Helcesæi [Helcesei, Elcesi] usque hodie in Galilæa viculus sit, parvus quidem et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia, sed tamen notus Judæis et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus."

[2] κώμη δὲ αὕτη πάντως που τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας.

of the prophet himself, for he certainly foretold events which no human foresight could divine, and of whose accomplishment there can be no doubt.

An appeal has been made to the knowledge shewn of Assyrian usages. Yet surely residence in the country was not required for this. Any Jew who lived in the time of Hezekiah could hardly fail to be familiar with such details as are given by Nahum. It is true that he uses what looks like a title (מִסְפָּר, iii. 17) of Assyrian command. Jeremiah (li. 27), however, has the same. And such a technical word could not be strange to the ears and lips of those whose land had been invaded and occupied by Assyrian armies. The most probable supposition is that Nahum migrated from his native place, before the overthrow of Israel, to Judah, and there lived and prophesied, at the same time as Isaiah.

II. *The Prophecy. Its date, subject, fulfilment and style.*

Hitzig has tried to prove the later date of the prophet from several of the words that he uses, or from the peculiarity of their forms. Arguments of this kind are seldom satisfactory when employed against a well-supported tradition. In this case they are inherently weak, and have been elaborately examined by Dr Pusey (in his Introd. to Nahum, pp. 371, 372), who has shewn that no proof can be drawn from the prophet's language that he lived later than is commonly supposed.

The position assigned to Nahum among the Minor Prophets, between Micah and Habakkuk, is of itself an indication of the age in which he flourished. And when we examine his prophecy with the view of determining its date, we find evidence that confirms this traditional view.

The prophet addressing Judah (i. 12, 13) says, *Though I have afflicted thee, I will afflict thee no more. For now will I break his yoke from off thee, and will burst thy bonds in sunder.* And the affliction spoken of seems to be again alluded to shortly afterwards (ii. 2) in the figurative language, *the emptiers have emptied them out, and marred their vine branches.* Such an affliction is that recorded in the book of Kings and in the prophet Isaiah, when Sennacherib *came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them*, and Hezekiah gave him *thirty talents of gold, and three hundred talents of silver*, stripping the house of the Lord to meet the demand (2 K. xviii. 15, 16). This was the *yoke* that Judah had felt. And Sennacherib in his second invasion threatened to make it still heavier, by exacting more tribute, and transporting the people to his own land. Then it was that Isaiah was inspired to foretell the frustration of his plans, the overthrow of his army, his own retreat and tragical death (xxxvii. 7, 29). It is at least consistent with what Nahum has written, that he too was raised up at this crisis in his country's history, to be what his name signifies, a *Comforter*, to console his countrymen in the hour when they seemed within the grasp of a merciless enemy, with the assurance that Jehovah would protect and save them. *The Lord is good, a strong hold in the day of trouble; and He knoweth them that trust in Him* (i. 7). Certainly the death *of the wicked counseller, that imagined evil against the Lord* (i. 11) is foretold in the words *I will make thy grave* (i. 14), whether they point to the scene of the tragedy or not, as the extinction of his family is announced—*no more of thy name shall be sown.* The same *wicked one* was no more to pass through Judah. It can hardly be doubted who is meant, if the narrative of the book of Kings is carefully and impartially read in connection with the prophecy (i. 15).

And with this agrees all that is intimated of the state of Judah and Assyria. The deliverance is promised while the yoke still presses hard, as it never pressed again. The *wicked one* had hitherto hindered the people from going up to keep their solemn feasts. Now the ways are open, and they are bidden to worship, and *perform their vows* (i. 15), the vows they had made in recent times of overwhelming fear.

The Assyrians are spoken of as in the fulness of their strength (i. 12, note). They are enriched alike by war and commerce. The lion filled his lair with prey (ii. 12). The merchants are multiplied above the stars of heaven (iii. 16). Such a description would suit the days

of Asarhaddon also and Assurbanipal[1]. But the earlier date is required by what is said of Judah. (See notes on i. 9, 12.)

Another note of time is found in the capture of No Amon, imperial Thebes, with which the prophet compares Nineveh. If the event were recent, the example would have greater force. Until recently we possessed no certain historical evidence on the subject. It seemed only highly probable, that No Amon fell in that expedition whose victorious issue was foretold by Isaiah (xx., where see notes). Lately, however, contemporary evidence has been brought to light in a cuneiform inscription, given in Schrader's 'Keilinschriften und das A. T.' p. 288, which records that Assurbanipal's army defeated the troops of Urdamani, *i.e.* Rud-Amon, "who fled alone and entered into Thebes, his capital. In a march of a month and ten days they [my troops] followed him by a trackless route, took the entire city, and swept it like chaff." Then follows a description of the plunder carried off to Nineveh. The text and another version are given in G. Smith's 'Assurbanipal,' p. 52—57. It should also be remarked that when Sennacherib spoke of Egypt as a *bruised reed* (2 K. xviii. 21), he may fairly be understood to refer to some severe blow that she had recently received.

The prophet Jonah was sent to Nineveh to preach repentance, and was listened to. Nahum has no single word of comfort or of sympathy for the guilty city that had fallen back into the sins for which she had been rebuked, and for which she had humbled herself. The title of his prophecy is *The burden of Nineveh*[2]. It is no ordinary disaster that he foretells. It is not conquest or overthrow only; it is annihilation: *He will make an utter end of the place thereof* (i. 8, 9). *There is no healing of thy bruise* (iii. 19). *She is empty, and void, and waste* (ii. 10). *Thou shalt be hid* (iii. 11). Gibbon (c. xlvi.), describing the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627), writes: "The city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared: the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operation of the two armies;" adding in a note that Niebuhr passed over Nineveh without perceiving it. And such had been the state of the city for many centuries before the defeat of Chosroes. How the buried city has been brought to light in our own days is known to all.

It should not be forgotten, that when the prophet wrote, the world had never witnessed or imagined such an overthrow of a great city. Nor could it have reasonably been anticipated that commerce would have forsaken its old emporium. Yet so it has been. Mosul has flourished within sight of ruined Nineveh, and her delicate fabrics, called *muslins*, have made her name famous among the nations of Western Europe.

It has been supposed by some that Nahum foretold the agency of water in the capture and destruction of Nineveh (ii. 6, i. 8). But, however this may be, it is certain that the city was to be burned with fire (ii. 13, iii. 13, 15). And the traces of the ravages of fire were seen everywhere in the excavations. (See 'B. D.' Art. *Nineveh*, Vol. II. 555. Rawlinson's 'A. M.' Vol. II. 377.)

The doom of Nineveh has been delineated by one upon whom, besides the gift of prophecy, God bestowed the highest poetical powers. The criticism of Lowth has been generally accepted. "Ex omnibus minoribus prophetis nemo videtur æquare sublimitatem, ardorem et audaces spiritus Nahumi." Those who can read the prophet's own words will best understand their force, beauty, and vivid imagery. Yet very much of this is retained in a good translation, and he who is familiar with our own, and has a cultivated taste, will hardly dispute what has been said by a recent accomplished writer, himself a poet, that "Nahum described the fate of the vast city in images which human imagination or human language has never surpassed." (Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' Vol. I. p. 369, 1866 ed.)

[1] Rawlinson ('A. M.' Vol. II. p. 502) speaking of the latter says: "The decline of Assyria does not seem to have commenced till after his death. In his reign the Assyrian dominions reached their greatest extent, Assyrian art culminated, and the empire seemed likely to extend itself over the whole of the East."

[2] On the extent and topography of Nineveh, see additional Note on Jonah iii. 3.

NAHUM.

CHAPTER I.

The majesty of God in goodness to his people, and severity against his enemies.

THE burden of Nineveh. The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.

2 ‖ God *is* [a] jealous, and the LORD revengeth; the LORD revengeth, and † *is* furious; the LORD will take vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth *wrath* for his enemies.

3 The LORD [b] *is* slow to anger, and great in power, and will not at all acquit *the wicked:* the LORD *hath* his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds *are* the dust of his feet.

4 He rebuketh the sea, and maketh it dry, and drieth up all the rivers: Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth.

‖ Or, *The* LORD *is a jealous God, and a revenger, &c.*
[a] Exod. 20. 5.
† Heb. *that hath fury.*
[b] Exod. 34. 6, 7.

CHAP. I. 1. The form of the inscription is peculiar. But each part is necessary. The former contains the subject, *Nineveh*, which is not mentioned again until ii. 8. Had this been omitted, the earlier part of the prophecy would have been obscure. The latter supplies the name of the prophet. What is known concerning him is stated in the Introduction. His short prophecy is described in two ways—as a *burden* and a *vision*. The word rendered *burden* is commonly so translated in our version of the prophetical books, and elsewhere. Such is undoubtedly its literal meaning, as in Neh. xiii. 15, 19, and metaphorical also, as in 2 S. xv. 33. See note on Isai. xiii. 1.

Nahum's *book* contains a *vision*. It is not a poetical description of a past event. It is no mere far-seeing anticipation of the future, described in glowing terms. It is a *vision* of that which, as a mere man, he could not see. He speaks of that which had been shewn to him by the Lord. He describes that which had been revealed to him, cf. Num. xii. 6; Isai. i. 1.

2. The threefold repetition of the sacred name deserves notice. Cf. the form of blessing in Num. vi. 24, 25, 26, and Isai. vi. 3. *Lord* should be the subject in each of the three clauses, as in the margin. In Hebrew the same word (a participle) represents *revengeth*, and *will take vengeance*. This therefore is also used three times. The epithet *jealous* is taken from the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 5). It expresses the feeling of the husband to a wife. See Num. v. 14. God is *jealous of* His people. He punishes them if unfaithful, as in the second commandment (Exod. xx. 5). He is *jealous for* His people. He will not suffer them to be wronged or oppressed. See Joel ii. 18. In the three clauses there is something like a climax. He is *jealous*. He is *furious*. He *reserveth wrath for his enemies*.

furious] or, as in the margin, *that hath fury*, is the rendering of a Hebrew idiom which literally is *owner, possessor of fury*. The same phrase is used of man in Prov. xxix. 22 (A. V.), *furious man*. In either case it represents what is permanent, not temporary.

reserveth wrath] The latter word is not found in the original. The phrase occurs in Ps. ciii. 9 (*keep anger*, A. V.); Jer. iii. 5, 12. The primary meaning is *watching*, *looking after*, and, in places like this, expresses the *watchfulness* of an enemy, ever ready to seize an advantage.

3. *slow to anger*] The same Hebrew phrase is rendered *longsuffering*, Exod. xxxiv. 6.

will not at all acquit the wicked] The prophet's language is here too the same as in Exod. xxxiv. 7, where the A. V. has, *will by no means clear* the guilty.

The imagery is the same as that of Ps. xviii. and other places. What is peculiar to the prophet is the expression, *the clouds* are *the dust of his feet*. He does not employ the common word for *dust*, but one that means *fine, small dust*. The Lord seems to be here described as *a man of war* (Exod. xv. 3) advancing against his foes. Glorious and majestic as the clouds look to man, they are but as the *fine dust* of His feet.

4. In this verse there is probably an allusion to the drying up of the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 21) and of the Jordan (Josh. iii. 13).

For *Bashan* and *Carmel*, see Amos i. 2, iv. 1.

For *Lebanon* see note on Hos. xiv. 6, where we read of its fragrant *smell*.

5 The mountains quake at him,
and the hills melt, and the earth is
burned at his presence, yea, the
world, and all that dwell therein.

6 Who can stand before his in-
[1] Heb. *stand up.* dignation? and who can [1] abide in
the fierceness of his anger? his fury
is poured out like fire, and the rocks
are thrown down by him.

7 The LORD *is* good, a [1] strong hold in the day of trouble; and he knoweth them that trust in him. [1] Or, *strength.*

8 But with an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof, and darkness shall pursue his enemies.

9 What do ye imagine against the LORD? he will make an utter end:

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5. *is burned*] In adopting this rendering our translators have followed Jewish authorities, as they have in 2 S. v. 21, where the marginal translation is better. The verb is a very common one, and means *to lift, to raise*. It has been supposed here to mean *burn*, because a derived substantive is used for *the rising* of smoke and flame. See Judg. xx. 38, 40. Both verb and substantive occur together in Jer. vi. 1, *set up a sign of fire*.

Most of the Ancient Versions seem to have adhered to the ordinary meaning of the word, which suits the passage well. What is peculiar here is, that though used in the active voice, the context requires that it should be understood reflexively, *lifts itself*, or *heaves*, as we say—a word most appropriate to an earthquake, to which there seems to be an allusion. The same verb is rendered similarly in Ps. lxxxix. 9; Hos. xiii. 1.

yea, the world] In the Hebrew simply, *and the world*. The word for *world* is generally used for those parts of the *earth* which are occupied by man, who, as here, is frequently mentioned with it, *e.g.* Ps. xxiv. 1.

6. If such the vast power of God over the material world, how shall man withstand or endure His wrath? The *fury* of which He is the possessor (v. 2) is *poured out like fire*, like fiery showers (Gen. xix. 24; Exod. ix. 23, 24), or perhaps as torrents of lava, cf. Jer. vii. 20. The same verb is used of the outpouring of rain, Exod. ix. 33.

the rocks are thrown down] Or, *uprooted*. The same word is used of the *wrenching out* of teeth (Ps. lviii. 6) and the overthrow of houses and altars (Lev. xiv. 45, xi. 35; Judg. vi. 30).

by him] Lit. *from*. The same preposition is used as in *v.* 5: The mountains tremble, the rocks are dislodged *at* His presence. They shrink *away from* Him in terror. The same preposition is used in Hebrew with verbs of fearing, of the object *from* which men shrink; as we say, "to be afraid *of*." Comp. the use of ἀπὸ προσώπου (Rev. xx. 11).

7. In the midst of this description of the terrible majesty of God, here is an assurance of His *goodness* to His people. He is a *strong hold* to them, cf. Prov. xviii. 10. He *knoweth*, in the fulness of meaning that the word bears in Scripture, *them that trust*, literally, *take shelter*, or *refuge*, *in Him*, cf. Ps. ii. 12. *Knoweth* and *trust* are participles in Hebrew, and so express what is habitual and permanent. The *day of trouble* is the time when Nineveh invaded or oppressed Judah.

8. *But*] Heb. simply *And*. While He protects His own, He overwhelms His enemies.

the place thereof] Heb. *her place*, *i.e.* of Nineveh, that had been mentioned in *v.* 1. With this emphatic use of the pronoun compare the opening of Ps. lxxxvii.: *His foundation*. The city is personified as a female. A *flood* is a common image, expressive of any great calamity, as in Ps. xxxii. 6. Sometimes it represents an invading army, as in Isai. viii. 7, 8. It may have such a meaning here. Or it may refer, as some suppose, to the inundation of the river, which aided the capture of the city. It is *overrunning*, bursting all barriers, and sweeping all before it. Nineveh's *place* should know her no more. The populous imperial city should become a perpetual desolation, according to the vivid prediction of another prophet (Zeph. ii. 13, 14, 15). There should be *an utter end*. This is represented by one word in Hebrew. The same is often rendered in Jeremiah, *a full end*. Its meaning is *complete destruction*.

darkness] to be followed by no dawn, should *pursue His enemies*, the Assyrians, who, as represented by their king, had defied and fought against the *Lord*. See 2 K. xviii. 30, 35. This clause might also be translated, *and His enemies He will pursue*, or *drive into darkness*.

9. *What do ye imagine against the* LORD?] According to this rendering the prophet here addresses the *enemies* of the previous verse, the Assyrians, and he asks what they *imagine*, *devise*, or *plan*, in the way of aggression, or possibly of resistance against God. Would they still presumptuously fight against Him, as Sennacherib had done? or could they hope that they could do anything to withstand His power? But it is more likely that the question is put to the Jews, and should be rendered, *What think ye of the Lord?* For though our A. V. has the same preposition (*against*) here and in *v.* 11, it is otherwise in the Hebrew, in

affliction shall not rise up the second time.

10 For while *they be* folden together *as* thorns, and while they are drunken *as* drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry.

11 There is *one* come out of thee, that imagineth evil against the LORD, † a wicked counseller.

† Heb. *a counseller of Belial.*

12 Thus saith the LORD; ‖ Though *they be* quiet, and likewise many, yet thus shall they be † cut down, when he shall pass through. Though I have afflicted thee, I will afflict thee no more.

13 For now will I break his yoke from off thee, and will burst thy bonds in sunder.

‖ Or, *If* they would have been *at peace, so* should they have been *many, and so should they have been* shorn, *and he should have passed away.*
† Heb. *shorn.*

which there are two prepositions, and of these the one here employed does not mean *against*, but *with respect to*. And it is most improbable that the prophet would have used two different prepositions with the same verb, yet with the same meaning.

he will make an utter end] The phrase is the same as that used in *v.* 8, but the form is slightly changed and the order of the words is emphatic, *an utter end He maketh*, or *is making*. Strong as they thought themselves He was already ordering events for their destruction.

affliction] The word is the same as that rendered *trouble* in *v.* 7. It should *not rise up the second time*. Compare the language of Abishai in 1 S. xxvi. 8. These words contain an assurance to Judah that it should not suffer *affliction* again from Assyria, cf. *v.* 12. The Lord would not deliver up Judah to the Assyrians as He had delivered up Israel.

10. The image of the *thorns* has been variously interpreted. It is thought by some that the Assyrians are compared to thorns that the husbandman is at no pains to disentangle, but casts in a bundle into the fire. More probably they represent the fancied strength of the Assyrians—deeming themselves invincible—like a thick growth of *thorns*. They are *folden* or *tangled to the same degree as thorns*. Such is the force of the word used for *as*. This interpretation of the figure may be illustrated by 2 S. xxiii. 6, 7; Ezek. ii. 6. "These thorns, especially that kind called *bellan*, which covers the whole country, and is that which is thus burned [i.e. to clear the ground], are so folden together as to be utterly inseparable, and being united by thousands of small intertwining branches, when the torch is applied they flash and flame instantly like *stubble fully dry*." Thomson, 'L. and B.' p. 342.

drunken as drunkards] Lit. *soaked* or *drenched according to their drink*. Their excesses and sense of security are intimated. It is related by Diodorus (II. 26) that the city was taken by assault, when the besiegers heard from deserters that carelessness and drunkenness prevailed in Nineveh.

they shall be devoured] The prophet uses the past tense, *they are devoured*, as of an event quite certain, though yet future. They are represented by *stubble fully dry*, the image of what is worthless and refuse, fit only to be destroyed by fire, Exod. xv. 7; Joel ii. 5. The adverb *fully* should perhaps be taken with the verb rather than the adjective. Thus, *devoured, fully, i.e.* completely, altogether.

11. *out of thee*] Nineveh. The person referred to seems to be Sennacherib, who, by his general, Rabshakeh, had *reproached and blasphemed* God. See Isai. xxxvi. 14—20.

a wicked counseller] More literally, *counsellor of impiety*, in Hebrew, *belial* (as in the margin), but according to the general usage of the Old Testament, not to be taken as a proper name. It means strictly *uselessness, worthlessness*, and then *depravity, wickedness*, like *nequam*, and *naughty* in old English.

12. In the first part of this verse the prosperity of the Assyrians and the overthrow of people and king are described.

quiet] is not an adequate rendering. The word means rather, **complete, in full strength**. They want nothing which can give security—their resources are unimpaired.

and likewise] Lit. *and thus, i.e. many, numerous as* they are *complete*.

yet thus shall they be cut down] Lit. *mowed down* as grass. Their strength and numbers should be of no avail against the scythe that should lay them low.

when he shall pass through] Rather, **and he shall pass away**, disappear, perish, as the same word is used in Ps. xxxvii. 36; Job xxxiv. 20. The use of the verb in the singular may point to the king, as distinct from the people, as in *v.* 11, and in *v.* 13, *his yoke*.

Though I have afflicted thee, &c.] Judah is here addressed, as is shewn by the feminine pronoun for *thee* in Hebrew, and is assured that a repetition of affliction from the Assyrian would never occur. And it did not recur. Though Manasseh was carried captive by *the captains of the host of the king of Assyria* (2 Chro. xxxiii. 11), Judah was not *afflicted*, as in the days of Sennacherib. The king on his return fortified Jerusalem, and *put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah* (ib. *v.* 14), becoming, as it would seem, a tributary to Esarhaddon.

13. *For now will I break*, &c.] The

14 And the LORD hath given a commandment concerning thee, *that* no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image: I will make thy grave; for thou art vile.

15 Behold upon the [c] mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! O Judah, [†] keep thy solemn feasts, perform thy vows: for [†] the wicked shall no more pass through thee; he is utterly cut off.

[c] Isai. 52. 7. Rom. 10. 15.
[†] Heb. *feast.*
[†] Heb. *Belial.*

CHAPTER II.

The fearful and victorious armies of God against Nineveh.

[1] HE that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face: keep the munition, watch the way, make *thy* loins strong, fortify *thy* power mightily.

2 [a] For the LORD hath turned away [‖] the excellency of Jacob, as the

[1] Or, *The disperser, or, hammer.*
[a] Isai. 10. 12.
[‖] Or, *the pride of Jacob as the pride of Israel.*

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image employed is of frequent occurrence to denote liberation from servitude, cf. Gen. xxvii. 40; Lev. xxvi. 13; Isai. x. 27. There may be an allusion to the fact that Hezekiah had become a tributary to Sennacherib, 2 K. xviii. 14.

14. *concerning thee*] The pronoun in the Heb. is again masculine, and this shews that it is probably the Assyrian monarch who is spoken of. His overthrow would not be the result of chance. Concerning him, the commandment was gone forth from the Lord, that *no more of thy name be sown*, by which is meant, not that he should have no successor in his family, but that his dynasty should last but a short and definite time. It is thought that it was a grandson of Esarhaddon who was king when Nineveh was taken.

We learn from 2 K. xix. 18, that the Assyrians destroyed the gods of the nations that they conquered. When they were overthrown in turn, their gods should in the same manner be *cut off* by their conquerors.

I will make thy grave] We read in 2 K. xix. 37 that Sennacherib was murdered by two of his sons in the house of Nisroch his god. And in the Targum the words are taken to mean, *I will make it (the house of thy gods) thy grave;* but they will hardly bear this rendering. In the Hebrew there are but two words, which mean, *I will set thy grave.* So the Vulg. "ponam sepulchrum tuum." Instead of long life, prosperity, and a career of glory, there was a *grave* appointed for him, and that, as it would seem, prematurely. And the reason for this is given.

for thou art vile] Like the king of whom we read in Daniel (v. 27) he was *weighed in the balances and found wanting.* He had *despised* the Lord, and was *lightly esteemed* by Him. Cf. 1 S. ii. 30, where the same word is used.

15. In the Hebrew text ch. ii. begins here. The land recently occupied by the Assyrians welcomes the arrival of the messengers who announce their destruction, and promise safety for the future.

Behold] It is the expression of surprise and gladness.

the mountains] are those that encompass Jerusalem. The language is very like that of Isai. lii. 7. While the enemy occupied the country, the people could not come up to Jerusalem to *keep the solemn feasts.* Now the way was open, there was no hindrance, and Judah is bidden to *perform the vows* which had been made in her distress. Not only had her deliverance from the invader been a signal instance of God's power and love—there is an assurance that the Assyrian should never again pass through the land.

the wicked] As in ver. 11, *wicked counseller.*

CHAP. II. 1. The prophet turns suddenly from the deliverance of Judah to the overthrow of Nineveh.

He that dasheth in pieces] in Hebrew is one word, *the scatterer*, the devastator, the besieger who should overthrow the walls of Nineveh and disperse her inhabitants.

is come up] The same verb is used elsewhere of military attacks, as in 1 K. xv. 7, xx. 22.

before thy face] Rather, *against thy face.* The pronoun is again feminine. It is Nineveh that is addressed, and she is derisively bidden to spare no pains in guarding against the assault of the foe.

keep the munition] The words are from the same root in Hebrew and much alike in sound. Were we to render *keep the keep*, we should retain the similarity of sound, but should limit the meaning too much, for *munition* comprehends all the fortifications. The word occurs in the phrase rendered *fenced cities* in Chronicles (*e.g.* 2 Chro. xiv. 5).

watch the way] By which the enemy can approach.

make thy loins strong] Or perhaps, *gird up thy loins*, gathering up the flowing garments for vigorous action.

fortify thy power mightily] A more general expression, as we might say, strain every nerve.

2. *hath turned away*] Better, **hath returned to**, which is equivalent to, *hath re-*

excellency of Israel: for the emptiers have emptied them out, and marred their vine branches.

3 The shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men *are* [1] in scarlet: the chariots *shall be* with [2] flaming torches in the day of his preparation, and the fir trees shall be terribly shaken.

4 The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall justle one against another in the broad ways: [†] they shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightnings.

[1] Or, *dyed scarlet.*
[2] Or, *fiery torches.*
[†] Heb. *their show.*

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stored. The Lord had seemed to forsake His people for a while, when He suffered the Assyrian to invade and ravage their land. But He was still jealous for them. He would avenge the wrongs done them. Therefore He would summon the destroyer against Nineveh, cf. Isai. xxxiii. 1; Zech. i. 15.

the excellency of Jacob] is that in which *Jacob* justly gloried, all the privileges and honours with which God had invested the chosen people, cf. Amos vi. 8, viii. 7. *Jacob* and *Israel* are taken by many as representing the kingdoms of Judah and Israel respectively, though it would not be easy to find another place where the two names are thus used. Perhaps Jacob and Israel are designations of the whole people, as in Ps. lxxviii. 21. *Jacob* was the name given by man, *Israel* that conferred by God, and thus *the excellency of Israel* is something higher and more glorious than *the excellency of Jacob*. In i. 15, the language is very like that of Isai. lii. 7. So this place is like Isai. lii. 8 (where see note), *the Lord shall bring again* (or **return to**) *Zion.*

for, &c.] This clause expresses the reason why God would restore His people, because their enemies had inflicted the full measure of punishment.

emptied] Depopulated, plundered, cf. Isai. xxiv. 1, 3. *The emptiers* are the Assyrians.

marred their vine branches] The image is like that of Ps. lxxx., in which the people of Israel are spoken of as a vine. By the *branches* may be understood the cities of the land. The reference may be to the evils inflicted by Sennacherib in his first invasion. See 2 K. xviii. 13—16, and Isai. xxxvi.

3. In verses 3—7 the prophet with a few bold strokes gives a picture of the besiegers and the besieged, and the capture of the city.

In this verse we see the invading army. *The shield*, small and round, *is made red*, or, as the word is rendered elsewhere (Exod. xxv. 5, xxxv. 7), *dyed red.* This is better and simpler than "stained with blood," or "of reddish lustre," as being covered with copper, and it is confirmed by the Nineveh monuments, in which the shields and dresses of the warriors are generally painted red (Smith, 'B. D.' Art. *Nineveh*, Vol. II. p. 556). This is said to have been the colour in use among the Medes, and from them, of the Persians (Xen. 'Cyr.' I. 3. 2, VIII. 3. 1). The Spartans also wore the same (Xen. 'de Rep. Lac.' XI. 3). The besiegers are spoken of not simply as soldiers, but as *mighty men*, or *heroes—valiant men* (cf. Judg. iii. 29; 2 S. xi. 16).

By *his mighty men* may be understood those under the command of the invader, or better, those mustered and led by God Himself, the *Lord* of *v.* 2. Cf. the language of Isaiah, xiii. 3, 5, respecting the overthrow of Babylon, *my mighty ones for mine anger.* And so, *his preparation.* It is *He* who marshals the troops and directs their movements.

The word translated *torches* is found only in this place and is of uncertain meaning. Our translators have followed those who regard the word as of the same origin as that which is expressed by *torches* again in *v.* 4, only with a transposition of letters. More probably it means a fine kind of iron or steel, and the plural may be used to describe the parts of the chariots, or ornamental trappings made of this metal, which, when the light played upon them, flashed like *fire;* lit. *the chariots* (not "shall be" but) are *with fire of steels, i.e.* sparkle and flash with steel. Some think the reference is to chariots armed with scythes, used in the besieging army. But of the use of such chariots there is no proof. There is a special note on the Hebrew word here used in Pusey's Introd. to Nahum, p. 371.

and the fir trees shall be terribly shaken] The verb is in the past tense, and the simple translation is, *and the fir trees are brandished, i.e.* the spears made of that wood. The gesture is that of men eager for conflict. It is a question whether the tree is the *fir* or the *cypress* (see Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *Fir*, also, App. p. li.). In either case the material is used as the name of the weapon, as μελία in Homer, and *abies* in Virgil.

4. The mention of *streets* and *broad ways* makes it probable that the scene is now transferred to the inside of the city, and that the commotion caused by the approach of the enemy is here described. The verbs may all be rendered in the present.

rage] The notion conveyed by the word is that of having the air of madness. The same expression is found in Jer. xlvi. 9. Similarly it is said of Jehu, that he *drove furiously*, lit. *with madness.*

justle one against another] Better, perhaps, *run to and fro*, in hot haste.

they shall seem] More exactly, *their show*,

5 He shall recount his ‖ worthies: they shall stumble in their walk; they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the † defence shall be prepared.

‖ Or, *gallants.*

† Heb. *covering*, or, *coverer.*

6 The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be ‖ dissolved.

‖ Or *molten.*

‖ Or, *that which was established*, or, *there was a stand made.*

7 And ‖ Huzzab shall be ‖ led away captive, she shall be brought up, and

‖ Or, *discovered.*

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marg., *form*, appearance. The pronoun in Hebrew is feminine and is commonly referred to *chariots*, although that word is elsewhere masculine. Some make *broad places* the antecedent, but this seems harsh.

5. *He*] The king of Assyria, roused by imminent danger, *recounts*, or *bethinks him of his worthies*, or *nobles*, as the same word is rendered in iii. 18. But they avail him not, they are not fit for the emergency. *They stumble in their walk*, or *ways* (the word is plural in the Hebrew text), like men panic-stricken and ready to fall.

they...haste to the wall thereof] Better, *her wall:* so *her place* in i. 8. This might be said either of the besiegers or the besieged. The context makes the latter view more probable. The following words, *and the defence is prepared*, have been interpreted of either side. The word translated *defence* makes it likely that the attack is described. What is meant seems to be a moveable tower of wood, which protected the besiegers from missiles, while using the battering ram, and carried soldiers on the upper part, so as to be better able to assail with arrows the defenders of the walls. Such towers, with four or six wheels, are to be seen on Assyrian sculptures. See engraving with description from Layard's 'Nineveh,' in Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *Ram, battering*. They resemble the *vinea* and *testudo* of Roman warfare. From the wall to which the Assyrians have hastened they see that all is ready for a vigorous siege.

6. The prophet speaks of the issue of the attack not as what *shall be*, but as what is already done. He uses the past tense in each clause.

It has been much disputed in what sense the words *the gates of the rivers* are to be taken, whether figuratively or literally. It is harsh to understand *rivers* of the multitudes of the enemy who came in like a flood, or of the numbers of the inhabitants who could be compared to streams. It is easy and natural to take *the gates of the rivers* to mean those situated on the streams or canals, fed from the Tigris, which served as a means of defending a portion of the walls. By diverting these, as was done at Babylon, according to Xenophon ('Cyrop.' VII. 5, 15), the channels would be left dry, and there would be no obstruction to the advance of the enemy. By them *the gates* would be *opened* by force.

the palace shall ‖ be dissolved] When the gates were carried all was lost, not only the outworks were taken. There was feeble or no resistance within. *The palace* itself was easily captured. It was *dissolved* with terror and consternation. The heart of king and princes *melted* when they heard of the successful assault. Some understand the word literally of the overthrow of *the palace* by water. But Diodorus Sic. (II. 27), on the authority of Ctesias, relates only that a portion of *the wall* was thrown down by the swollen river.

7. *And Huzzab*, &c.] The renderings in the margin, as well as the text, are indications of the obscurity of the word used in the original. Could *Huzzab* be regarded as a proper name, as it is by Ewald and others, the meaning of the sentence would be clear. But there is no trace of the name elsewhere, and that the Assyrian queen is referred to, is a view that seems to rest on mere conjecture. See critical Note.

Amongst the moderns the rendering that has most support is *And it is determined*, or *decreed*. The verbs that follow are in the feminine, and when this rendering is adopted it is supposed that Nineveh's inhabitants are here spoken of as a female, and thus an appropriate subject is found. She, Nineveh, the queen of nations *shall be led away captive*, better in the margin *discovered;* lit., **is stripped**, ignominiously uncovered. It is another form of the same verb which has the meaning here assigned by our A. V., cp. iii. 5 and Isai. xlvii. 2, 3; Hos. ii. 3.

she shall be brought up] Such is the literal rendering of the word, only like the preceding one it is in the past tense. It is difficult to determine its exact force. It may be simply, *is removed*, or *taken off* by her captors. It has been interpreted *lifted up* on a chariot, or *carried up*, as to another imperial city, now that Nineveh had fallen.

her maids shall lead] If *Huzzab* is a proper name this is to be taken literally. If Nineveh is personified, *the maids* may be inferior cities that shared the fate of the capital, or its female inhabitants.

shall lead] A participle in Hebrew, lit. are *conducting*, *leading away*. This is the ordinary meaning of the word employed. In a cognate language it signifies *sighing*, *moaning*, and this rendering has been adopted by many moderns as better suited to what follows, *as with the voice of doves*. But our Version is in accordance with the usage of the language.

her maids shall lead *her* as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts.

8 But Nineveh *is* ‖ of old like a pool of water: yet they shall flee away. Stand, stand, *shall they cry;* but none shall ‖ look back.

9 Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold: ‖ for *there is* none end of the store *and* glory out of all the † pleasant furniture.

10 She is empty, and void, and waste: and the [b] heart melteth, and [b] Isai. 13. the knees smite together, and much 7, 8. pain *is* in all loins, and the faces of them all gather blackness.

11 Where *is* the dwelling of the lions, and the feedingplace of the young lions, where the lion, *even* the old lion, walked, *and* the lion's whelp, and none made *them* afraid?

12 The lion did tear in pieces

‖ Or, *from the days that she hath been.* ‖ Or, *cause them to turn.* ‖ Or, *and their infinite store, &c.* † Heb. *vessels of desire.*

The mournful voice of the dove is alluded to in other places, Isai. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11.

tabering] Beating themselves. The same word is rendered in Ps. lxviii. 25, *playing with timbrels.*

upon their breasts] Lit., *upon their hearts*, cf. Luke xviii. 13, and (in the Greek) xxiii. 27.

8. *But Nineveh*, &c.] In Hebrew simply *And.* The city is compared to *a pool* or *reservoir of water* on account of the multitude of her inhabitants, cp. Rev. xvii. 1, 15. But her numbers are of no avail in the day of her capture.

yet they shall flee away] Heb. *and they are fleeing*, or *fugitives.* Her citizens are seeking safety in headlong flight. It is in vain for those who have any spirit or courage to say, *Stand.* There is no rallying. None heeds. *None looks back*, cp. Jer. xlvi. 5.

9. *Take ye the spoil*] It is the command of God to the victors, for He is against Nineveh (*v.* 13).

The latter part of the verse may also be rendered thus: *And there is no end to the store;* there is *glory from all vessels of desire. Store* represents not only the treasures of the city, but the abundance of everything that was stored up. *Glory* is used as in Gen. xxxi. 1; Esther v. 11. There is magnificence from the accumulation of all kinds of costly and beautiful things, cp. Hos. xiii. 15.

10. *She is empty, and void, and waste*] In the Hebrew there are three substantives of similar sound and meaning, and the first two from one root—*būkah ūm'būkah ūm'bullākah;* each having an additional syllable. Something of this force may be retained by rendering, *emptying, and ransacking, and desolation.* The similarity of the Hebrew words might be imitated in English by the words *sack, and sacking, and ransacking.* In the original this clause closely resembles Isai. xxiv. 1. In three words the prophet depicts how completely Nineveh was pillaged and overthrown. Then follows the condition of the people, in words that may be rendered more literally thus, *and a melting heart* (cp. Josh. vii. 5), *and trembling of knees* (cp. Dan. v. 6), *and strong pangs in all loins.* The last expression is an emphatic form of a word which signifies the pains of childbirth, and occurs also in Isai. xxi. 3; Ezek. xxx. 4, 9. They had been bidden before (ii. 1) to *make their loins strong.* The contrast of the two places gives point to the irony.

the faces of them all gather blackness] The phrase employed is found only in one other passage, Joel ii. 6. To this view there are two objections: that the pronoun *their* would seem to be required, as in the phrase, *withdraw their shining* (Joel ii. 10, iii. 15), and then that the verb here used signifies, *collecting, bringing together*, not *contracting* and *withdrawing.* Others, with less probability, *gather redness* as from sudden alarm, and interpreting in the same manner *faces of the flames*, Isai. xiii. 8 (margin). If the primary meaning of the root is *heat* (as is probable), the derivative might be used by an Oriental in the sense of *distress, dismay.*

11. The prophet sees the foremost city in the world, ancient and populous, not only given up to pillage, but overthrown and razed, so that it should be a question where its site was. The lion is the emblem of majesty and strength. Here it expresses also, as the context shews, violence, bloodshed, and rapine. In the dream of Daniel (vii. 4) the first empire is thus symbolized. On the monuments of Nineveh the figure of the lion is everywhere conspicuous.

dwelling] is the same word as occurs next verse in the plural, where it is rightly rendered *dens.* Such is its meaning, or better, perhaps, **lair.**

the old lion] The word thus rendered, it is now agreed, means a **lioness.** Its plural is found in the next verse. Thus we have here, *the lion, the lioness, the young lion* (in Hebrew a single word, *k'fir*) and the *lion's whelp.*

12. This verse is a continuation of the preceding, and might be translated more forcibly thus: *The lion that ravined for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with ravin, and his lairs with rapine!*

enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin.

13 Behold, I *am* against thee, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will burn her chariots in the smoke, and the sword shall devour thy young lions: and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.

Rapine and *ravin* are chosen to express the close resemblance of the two words in Hebrew, which differ only in gender. The second means strictly, what is torn or mangled by wild beasts, see Exod. xxii. 13; Lev. xxii. 8.

The monuments of Nineveh abound in illustrations of the way in which subject nations were plundered.

13. *Behold, I am against thee*] is expressed in Hebrew in two words, with emphatic brevity. The preposition means strictly *towards*. What more terrible to the guilty than the approach of God? It was none else who mustered the armies and led them against the doomed city. The same phrase recurs in ch. iii. 5.

the LORD *of hosts*] Used by Nahum only here and iii. 5. The expression occurs first in the prayer of Hannah in 1 S. i. 11, where see note.

Not *Jehovah of armies*, but of the hosts of heaven and earth—all created things—(Gen. ii. 1) and so, infinite in power.

The *chariots* which had been her pride and strength should be burned and vanish *in smoke*.

The *messengers* were those by whose *voice* the imperial edict had been proclaimed to subject nations, or submission and tribute demanded with insolent taunts and menaces, as in the case of Judah, 2 K. xviii. 17, xix. 9, 23.

CRITICAL NOTE on CHAP. II. 7.

הצב may be taken as the Hophal of נצב, in the sense of *decreed, determined*, and the use of יציב in Daniel (vi. 13) may be compared. Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 1147) regards it as the Hophal of צבב, and detaching the word from the beginning of the verse, connects it with the last word of the preceding verse, translating thus: *palatium dissolvetur et diffluet, i.e.* palatia Nineves aquis Tigridis inundata et dissoluta corruent. All ancient authorities are against this dislocation and rendering. The verb צבב too is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. The LXX. have ἡ ὑπόστασις, which is their word for מצב in 1 S. xiii. 23, xiv. 4. The Vulg. has *miles*. The words in the Targum are מלכתא יתבת צבא, as if the reading were הַצָּב, and this suggested the idea of the queen seated on her *litter*. The Rabbinical view, that Huzzab is the name of the queen, may perhaps be traced to the words in Ps. xlv. 10, נצבה שגל, which are quoted as supporting the etymology.

Other conjectures are that צב is here *lizard*, and is to be understood symbolically (Hitzig), or that it is the name of a fertile province (Smith, 'B. D.' Art. *Huzzab*).

CHAPTER III.

The miserable ruin of Nineveh.

† Heb. *city of bloods.*
[a] Ezek. 24.
[b] Hab. 2. 12.

WOE to the †[a] bloody city! it *is* all full of lies *and* robbery; [b] the prey departeth not;

2 The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the pransing horses, and of the jumping chariots.

3 The horseman lifteth up both

CHAP. III. 1. *the bloody city*] Literally, as in margin, *city of bloods*. So *bloody house*, 2 S. xxi. 1; *bloody man*, 2 S. xvi. 7. The plural of the word is often used in Hebrew to express blood shed by violence, and the guilt so contracted, Gen. iv. 10; Ps. li. 14. Nineveh had shed much blood, therefore the primeval law (Gen. ix. 5, 6) is put in force against her. Rawlinson says ('A. M.' Vol. II. p. 504), that to the last Nineveh was the same, and gives evidence from monuments of "barbarous cruelty," under Asshurbanipal, who "not merely practised cruelties, but handed the record of them down to posterity by representing them in all their horrors upon his palace walls."

robbery] represents a rare noun. It is derived from a verb that means to *rend* as a wild beast does (Ps. vii. 2). This word and *prey* seem to carry on the metaphor of the lions already used (ii. 11—13). In how few words the iniquity of the city is summed up! Bloodshed, fraud, violence. Of Assyrian *fraud* we have an instance in the treatment of Ahaz, 2 Chro. xxviii. 16—21.

the prey departeth not] The sin with which the spoil had been amassed was not forsaken. Hence it bears the name of *prey*. And as

† Heb. *the flame of the sword, and the lightning of the spear.*

† the bright sword and the glittering spear: and *there is* a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and *there is* none end of *their* corpses; they stumble upon their corpses:

4 Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the wellfavoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts.

5 Behold, I *am* against thee, saith the LORD of hosts; and [b] I will dis- [b] Isai. 47. 3. Ezek. 16. 37.

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long as their power remained so long it was used for violence. *The violence that is in their hands* is singled out as the special sin of the Ninevites in the decree of the king and nobles in Jonah iii. 8. (See note there.)

2. This verse should not be connected with *v.* 1 and detached from *vv.* 3 and 4 as in our Version. Verses 2 and 3 contain a vivid picture of the advance of the invading army. It is not probably a fresh assault that is described; but the prophet, describing the scene afresh, speaks as one who is present at the attack, and hears the sounds and sees the sights that accompany it.

The noise] is literally *the voice*. It is not necessary to repeat this word before the last two phrases. The exact rendering is, *The voice of the whip, the voice of the rattling of the wheel, the prancing horse, the bounding chariot*. The *horse* not ridden, but yoked to the *chariot*.

3. The details of the advance are continued. The Hebrew will hardly bear the rendering of the first clause given in our Version.

lifteth up] is a participle in Hebrew, and belongs only to the word that goes before, not connected with what follows. *The charging horseman* is perhaps on the whole the simplest and most suitable rendering. As regards the meaning of the word, there is very great diversity of opinion. There are almost as many interpretations as interpreters. Amongst them may be mentioned *the rearing horse* or *horseman*, *the mounting horseman*, *the plundering horseman*.

The difficulty is not in the word itself, which is quite common, but in its application to the substantive with which it is joined. The literal meaning is *making to go up*, and this has been understood by some, of the cavalry leading or heading the rest of the troops; by others, of a rider making his horse bound, rear, or gallop.

Then follows the mention of the flashing weapons, literally (as in the margin) **and the flame of the sword** (cp. Gen. iii. 24), **and the lightning of the spear**. This last expression is found also in Hab. iii. 11. Cp. Deut. xxxii. 41, where *my glittering sword* is literally *lightning of my sword*.

The rest of the verse describes the overthrow of the Assyrians. Such is the number of the *slain* that the conquerors *stumble* over their *corpses*, which are not only numerous, but piled up in masses. The Hebrew for *great number* is one word, which primarily signifies *weight*.

4. The reason of this signal punishment was the crafty and treacherous dealing of the Assyrians towards other nations. Nineveh is called a *harlot* and charged with *whoredoms*, perhaps as seducing others into idolatry. Rawlinson ('A. M.' Vol. II. p. 531) says: "Attempts at any rate seem to be made to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria. Nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries 'the laws of Asshur,' or 'altars to the Great Gods.'" Or she may be thus described as shewing the nations friendship only to betray, and as employing every art to get them into her power, and make them subservient to her luxury or pride. *Whoredoms* and *witchcrafts* are spoken of together in 2 K. ix. 22. In Isaiah (xxiii. 15, 16, 17, 18) Tyre is addressed as a harlot, securing to herself by every device the advantages of the world's commerce.

that selleth nations] Some understand this literally, of *selling* captives, and compare Joel iii. 3, 6, 7, 8; Amos i. 6, 9. But the figurative language of the context makes it probable that *selling* is to be taken metaphorically; treating nations brought under her power simply as articles of merchandize, abandoning them to misery and ruin with utter indifference.

families] is used for nations or kingdoms as in Amos iii. 1, 2.

5. *Behold, I am against thee*] As above, ii. 13. Though the punishment is inflicted by man, it is not man but *the Lord of hosts* Himself with whom Nineveh has to do.

I will discover thy skirts] Compare the imagery of Isai. xlvii. 2, 3, and Jer. xiii. 22, 26. In the latter the phrases of Nahum recur. Nineveh shall be put to open shame. *The graceful harlot* shall be stripped of all that made her attractive. The long and ample *skirts* shall be *discovered*, *i.e.* removed and uplifted by merciless hands and thrown over that wanton face, and she shall be exposed to the derision of all the *kingdoms* and *nations* that she had deluded and subjugated.

cover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame.

6 And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazingstock.

7 And it shall come to pass, *that* all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee?

8 Art thou better than ‖ † populous No, that was situate among the rivers, *that had* the waters round about it, whose rampart *was* the sea, *and* her wall *was* from the sea?

‖ Or, *nourishing.* † Heb. *No Amon.*

9 Ethiopia and Egypt *were* her strength, and *it was* infinite; Put and Lubim were † thy helpers.

† Heb. *in thy help.*

10 Yet *was* she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they

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6. *And I will cast*, &c.] Like one exposed in a pillory to every indignity, upon whom a rabble flings every filthy missile they can lay hands on.

make thee vile] is one word in Hebrew, and signifies *disgrace, dishonour, make contemptible.* It occurs also in Deut. xxxii. 15; Micah vii. 7; Jer. xiv. 21.

gazingstock] Lit. a *sight*, and so a *spectacle.* Cp. Ezek. xxviii. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 9; Heb. x. 33.

7. *And it shall come to pass*] The prefixing of this phrase adds solemnity to what follows, cp. Isai. lxv. 24; Joel ii. 32.

that look upon thee] Lit. *see* thee, the verb being that in Hebrew from which the word rendered *gazingstock* is derived.

flee from thee] As with loathing and hatred.

bemoan her] The word means properly *shake the head*, as an expression of sorrow. It is rendered *be sorry* in Isai. li. 19, where the phrases used are very like those in this verse.

8. *Art thou better*] Either morally, *i.e.* less guilty, less deserving chastisement; or materially, better off, more prosperous, stronger, more able to resist, cp. Amos vi. 2. The context supports the latter view.

populous No] The marginal rendering is better, **No Amon.** The version in the text follows those who regard *Amon* as a kindred form of *hamon*, a common word for *a multitude.* But *Amon* probably is the name of the chief divinity of the city, the same as Jupiter Ammon. A probable etymology of No is suggested by the LXX. who have here μερὶς Ἀμμών. The connection of the city with the god is well expressed in the Greek name Diospolis. Thebes in Upper Egypt is the city meant here, as also in Jer. xlvi. 25; Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16, and the ruins of Karnak and Luxor still attest its ancient magnificence. (For details see Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *Thebes*, and Stanley's 'S. and P.' Introd. p. xxxviii. foll.)

By *rivers* is meant arms and canals of the Nile, according to the common usage of the word (cp. Isai. xix. 6, 7, 8, where A. V. has *brooks*), as the singular is used for the Nile itself. Here too the *sea* stands for the same river, as in Isai. xviii. 2, xix. 5. In Arabic also it bears the same name.

The word for *rampart* means the outer fortification, the ditch with the *antemurale.* See 2 S. xx. 15.

her wall was from the sea] The great river was as a *wall* to her. "The description of *No-Amon*, as *situate among the rivers, the waters round about it*, remarkably characterizes Thebes, the only town of ancient Egypt which we know to have been built on both sides of the Nile" (Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *No-Amon*).

It is implied that what is here related by the prophet was still fresh in men's memories. Assyria was the only power that could have inflicted such a blow at the time. And it is most probable that we have here the fulfilment of the prophecy uttered by Isaiah respecting the conquest of Egypt by Assyria. See notes on Isai. xx. In the Introd. p. 636, evidence of the capture of Thebes by the Assyrians is given, taken from cuneiform inscriptions.

9. *Ethiopia*] Heb. *Cush.* On this and *Put* or *Phut* see note on Gen. x. 6, where *Mizraim* also, the Hebrew name for *Egypt*, is mentioned. The *Lubim* are probably the same as the *Lehabim* of Gen. x. 13, and from these the Libyans derived their name. They have been considered the same as the Rebu or Lebu mentioned on Egyptian monuments. They seem to have occupied the African coast to the westward of Egypt (Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *Lubim*).

10. *Yet was she*] The words are emphatic. *She also* or *even she*, mighty, prosperous, populous as she was.

her young children also were dashed in pieces] This savage treatment is spoken of in other places, 2 K. viii. 12; Isai. xiii. 16.

By *the top of all the streets* the public places of concourse seem to be meant, where several *streets* met. These acts of barbarity were thus more conspicuous, Isai. li. 20; Lam. ii. 19.

they cast lots for her honourable men] Treat-

cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.

[c] Jer. 25. 17.

11 Thou also shalt be [c] drunken: thou shalt be hid, thou also shalt seek strength because of the enemy.

12 All thy strong holds *shall be like* fig trees with the firstripe figs: if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater.

13 Behold, thy people in the midst of thee *are* women: the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars.

14 Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strong holds: go into clay, and tread the morter, make strong the brickkiln.

15 There shall the fire devour thee; the sword shall cut thee off, it shall eat thee up like the canker-worm: make thyself many as the cankerworm, make thyself many as the locusts.

16 Thou hast multiplied thy mer-

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ing them as slaves, regarding them merely as plunder to be distributed, cp. Joel iii. 3; Obad. *v.* 11.

great men] Or *nobles*, as the same word is rendered in Jonah iii. 7.

bound in chains] The word probably means *manacles* or *handcuffs*, cp. Jer. xl. 4.

11. *Thou also*] This beginning is like that of the preceding verse. *Thou also* that thoughtest thyself safe from disaster and ignominy, must endure the same indignities.

drunken] with the cup of the Lord's wrath, cp. Job xx. 23; Isai. li. 17, 21; Jer. xxv. 15, seqq.

thou shalt be hid] Better as an imperative, **be thou hidden**. It is not a simple verb, but a combination of the substantive verb with a participle. And so the force of the expression is *remain, continue hidden*, become obscure, unknown, blotted out, cp. i. 8, ii. 11, and Obad. *v.* 16. And it is only in recent times that by excavations beneath the mounds that mark the site of Nineveh, the buried city has been brought to light.

thou also] *Thou* once the terror of the world, now in thy distress *shalt seek strength*, better, **a refuge** or **stronghold** (cp. i. 7) *because of* or *against the enemy*.

12. *strong holds*] The word used here and in *v.* 14, signifies *defences, fortifications, fortresses*. It need not be limited here to the fortified walls of Nineveh, but may include all the strong places of the empire. So useless would they prove to protect those who trusted in them, that they would fall as easily into the hands of the enemy as ripe figs drop from a tree that is lightly shaken.

firstripe figs] stands for one word in Hebrew (*biccurim*), so called from its *early* appearance. It is the *hasty fruit* of our A. V. of Isai. xxviii. 4, which passage shews that the early fig was prized as a delicacy, cp. Jer. xxiv. 2; Hos. ix. 10. The prophet's image may illustrate at once the ease with which the enemy would prevail, and the attractiveness of the prey.

13. *thy people...are women*] Similar is the language of Isaiah (xix. 16) of the Egyptians, and of Jeremiah (l. 37, li. 30) of the Chaldæans.

in the midst of thee] Within thy borders, and where strength and courage may be looked for.

the gates of thy land] The strong passes on the frontiers, fortified perhaps with walls and gates, like Thermopylæ, by which the land was defended. The order of the words in Hebrew is very emphatic, *to thine enemies the gates of thy land are set wide open*. They should *be set wide open*. The Hebrew idiom represents the ease and rapidity with which they should be opened, almost as of their own accord. The *bars* were used to close and strengthen the gates of cities (Deut. iii. 5; Neh. iii. 3), and, when the material is not named, may be supposed to be of wood.

14. Nineveh's doom is fixed, yet is she bidden ironically to make every preparation for a long siege. She is to *fortify*, or rather to *repair*, her defences; and to this end bricks were to be prepared. The Assyrians appear to have used such as were merely dried in the sun, as well as those baked in the *brick-kiln*. Both kinds may be referred to.

15. *There*] in the very place fortified with so much care. It is as if the prophet pointed at the doomed city, and by this little word declared the certainty of her overthrow. The city is to perish with fire, her inhabitants by the sword. The ruins attest the agency of fire in their destruction.

like the cankerworm] That is, as the cankerworm devours. Some take it otherwise, as the cankerworm is devoured; but this is less simple. Whether the allusion be supposed to be to the destruction of locusts by fire or other means, it is out of place here. For *cankerworm* see note on Joel i. 4.

make thyself many] This expression, twice used, represents one word in the Heb., which is first in the masculine, then in the feminine. In the former case the people, in the latter the city, may be addressed. Or the

chants above the stars of heaven: the cankerworm [1]spoileth, and fleeth away.

17 Thy crowned *are* as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day, *but* when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they *are*.

18 Thy shepherds slumber, O king

[1] Or, *spreadeth himself.*

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two genders may be used to express universality, cp. Nahum himself (ii. 13) and Isai. iii. 1 in the Hebrew. Just before, it is the devastation of the *locusts* that is referred to, here it is their *multitude*, and the Hebrew word here used (which is the common one for *locust*) has that meaning etymologically. The verb used in Hebrew suggests the idea of might and grievousness besides that of number. The cognate substantive is used by the prophet in *v.* 3 of this chapter.

16. *Thou hast multiplied thy merchants*] Nineveh relied not only on her numbers but her wealth. The words of the prophet imply that she had taken pains to increase her commerce; not only had many merchants, but encouraged them. Usually vast numbers are compared *to the stars of heaven*. Here they are spoken of as exceeding them. "Although the site of Nineveh afforded no special advantages for commerce, and although she owed her greatness rather to her political position as the capital of the empire, yet situated upon a navigable river communicating with the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, she must have soon formed one of the great trading stations between that important inland sea and Syria and the Mediterranean, and must have become a depôt for the merchandise supplied to a great part of Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia" (Smith's 'B. D.' Art. *Nineveh*, Vol. II. p. 559).

the cankerworm spoileth, and fleeth away] The verb translated *spoileth* is more exactly given in the margin, *spreadeth himself*, and is commonly used of bodies of men invading a land for plunder. Some understand the cankerworm to represent the besieging army. It suits the context better to regard it as a symbol of Nineveh. After all the plundering expeditions she had made, she would vanish like the locust. The Hebrew is compressed into three words, and their force might be expressed thus: "the cankerworm has ravaged and has vanished." *Fleeth away* is literally *flieth*, as a winged insect, or bird, and so is equivalent to disappearing, cp. Ps. xc. 10; Job xx. 8.

17. *Thy crowned*] The Hebrew word is unusual in its form, but its etymology is clear, and there is no good reason for disputing the meaning assigned to it by Jewish interpreters, who are followed in our A. V. It describes what is corroborated by Assyrian monuments on which "high officers of state were adorned with diadems, closely resembling the lower band of the royal mitre, separated from the cap itself...Very commonly the head was encircled with a simple fillet or hoop, probably of gold, without any adornment" (Gosse, 'Assyria,' p. 463). In Isaiah (x. 8) the Assyrian asks, "Are not my princes altogether kings?"

captains] is the rendering of a word, apparently not of Hebrew origin, found only in one other place (Jer. li. 27). It is probably an Assyrian name for an officer of high military rank. So we speak of the *Hetman* of the Cossacks.

as the great grasshoppers] It is not the ordinary word for *grasshopper* that is here used, but a rare one, found only in Amos vii. 1, which is supposed to mean a kind of locust. The word is used twice in the original, and this Hebrew idiom may be represented, as in our Version, by the word *great*, literally, *locusts of locusts*, or better, perhaps, by some phrase that indicates numbers, as *locusts upon locusts*, or *troops of locusts*. These creatures are known to settle in clusters, and may thus be said to *camp*, to take their places in something like military order. They are benumbed by cold, and seek shelter from it in *hedges* of vineyards and gardens; not, probably, quickset *hedges*, but walls made of loose stones or earth. For it is a fence of this sort that the term properly denotes. The warm rays of the sun revive the torpid insects, which *flee away*, leaving no trace of their presence. For the evidence of an eye-witness, see Thomson, 'L. and B.' p. 418.

they flee away] is one word in Hebrew, and in the sing. It is also in the passive. Literally rendered it is, *it* (*i.e.* the whole) *is put to flight.*

where they are] is strictly a direct question, *where* are *they?*

18. From *vv.* 10—17 the pronouns are all feminine, because Nineveh is addressed. Here and in the following verse they are masculine, since the prophet speaks to the king of Assyria himself.

The *shepherds* are the chief governors; the *nobles* are the the same as those called *worthies* in ii. 5. By the rendering, *shall dwell* in the dust, it would appear that our translators understood this phrase as well as *slumbering*, of death. This is allowable. But the metaphor may express simply the indifference and inactivity of the leaders. The second clause is literally *thy nobles are at rest*, or *quiet*, as those who feel at home, and secure.

of Assyria: thy [1] nobles shall dwell *in the dust:* thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth *them.*

19 *There is* no [2] healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee: for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?

[1] Or, *valiant ones.*

[2] Heb. *wrinkling.*

thy people, &c.] Those who have none to govern or guide them are frequently spoken of as sheep without a shepherd, cf. Num. xxvii. 17; 1 K. xxii. 17. In the latter passage as in this, people who have no ruler are described as *scattered upon the hills*. The sheep wander over their mountain-pastures untended, unheeded. There is none to *gather* them. Elsewhere the same word expresses the shepherd's duty and care, cp. Isai. xiii. 14; Ezek. xxxiv. 13.

19. *no healing of thy bruise*] *Bruise* is hardly an adequate rendering. The word literally means *fracture*, as of a bone (Lev. xxi. 19, xxiv. 20), and is there used of grievous bodily injury, and so of disaster and ruin generally. The force of the phrase is, Thy ruin is irretrievable. *Healing* is expressed in the margin by *wrinkling*, a signification assigned to the word by Jewish interpreters, but not clearly proved. The verb expresses *dimness* of the eye, or of a lamp; or *dulness* of colour in a spot, or swelling. Such a fading was taken as a sign that a suspicious spot was not leprous (see Lev. xiii. 6, 21, 26, 28, 56, A.V. *dark*). Hence the noun acquired the force of *mitigation, improvement, healing*.

thy wound is grievous] *Wound* represents a word that is used often of plagues sent by God (Lev. xxvi. 21; Deut. xxviii. 59, 61, xxix. 21). The same phrase occurs several times in Jeremiah (x. 19, xiv. 17, xxx. 12), and in connection with the word *bruise*. The language of Micah (i. 9) is very similar.

The *bruit* or tidings of the overthrow of Assyrian rule would everywhere be welcomed with acclamation. Who had not long felt the *wickedness* of the Assyrian dynasty, its extortion, fraud, cruelty, despotism? The only note of joy in Nineveh's dirge is that which expresses the gladness of oppressed nations at her fall.

HABAKKUK.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

§ I. *Name and position of the Prophet* . 650
§ II. *Analysis of the Book* 651
§ III. *Events of Contemporary History* . 653
§ IV. *Probable date of the Prophecy* . . 654
§ V. *General characteristics* 656

§ I. *Name and position of the Prophet.*

NOTHING is known, with any approach to certainty, of this great prophet, beyond what may be probably inferred from incidental notices in the book. The name Habakkuk[1] does not occur elsewhere. It is derived from a verb signifying to enfold, embrace, and properly means embracing or embracement. Like many Hebrew names, it is peculiarly fitted to express the character of the prophet, full of trustful faith, clinging to the promises of God; but whether it was his original name, or assumed by him on his entrance upon the prophetical office[2], is wholly uncertain. The designation in the Inscription, "the prophet" (see note on i. 1), is generally admitted to denote a recognized official position; and from the notice in ch. ii. 2 it would seem that he held that position previously to the delivery of these prophecies. The expressions at the beginning and the end of the third chapter justify the assumption that he was attached to the temple-services, either as a priest (Ewald), or more probably as a member of the Levitical choir[3]. The tomb assigned to the prophet by tradition was shewn in the time of Eusebius, and of Jerome, between Keila and Gabatha, see Reland, 'Pal.' p. 772. The legendary accounts[4] found in 'Ps.-Epiphanius, de vitis prophetarum,' tom. III. p. 417, ed. Migne, in Ps.-Dorotheus of Tyre, Eusebius, and Isidorus, and in

[1] The reduplicated form in a proper name is peculiar; it denotes reiteration and earnestness. The LXX. and the Apocrypha, Bel and the Dragon, have 'Αμβακούμ, which indicates another but anomalous form, Chabbakuk, but the final μ is a corruption; whether intentional or not is doubtful. The meaning "wrestling," assigned to the word by Abarbanel and Jerome, is not supported by the usage of the Hebrew. See Delitzsch 'de Habacuci P. vita,' &c., § I. A different etymology, from בקק, *bakak*, is proposed by Hitzig, but universally rejected, as contrary to the laws of language.

[2] Dr Pusey thinks this probable.

[3] The objection raised by Kleinert, that the same reasoning would apply to Hezekiah, see Isai. xxxviii. 20, is of little weight, since the king's position was altogether exceptional. It is not likely that any private individual would have used the musical terms in ch. iii. 1, 3, 13, 19, or given the direction at the close. According to the tradition in the Inscription of Bel and the Dragon, ap. LXX., Habakkuk was the son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi. This is the earliest notice of the prophet's descent.

[4] These accounts are given most fully by Delitzsch, 'de Hab. vita,' &c.; who has a special excursus on 'Pseudo-Dorotheus' and 'Ps.-Epiphanius.' Habakkuk is asserted by some to have been of the tribe of Simeon, a native of a city of Judah, Bethzocher, *i. e.* Beth-Zacharia, called Beth-Dikrin or Dikria in the Talmud (see Reland, 'Pal.' p. 660; Neubauer, 'La Géographie du Talmud,' notices this as Cephar Dikrin: but in this, as in many other passages of his book, he would have done well to consult Reland). Habakkuk is said to have died some two years after the return of the Jews from exile. The Seder Olam, however, of the eighth century, and other Rabbinical works still later, make him contemporary with Manasseh. This view is adopted by Syncellus, and by some modern critics, *e.g.* Harduin, Witsius, Buddeus, and with some hesitation by Dr Pusey. See § 4.

Rabbinical writers, rest on no authority: they are drawn partly from the apocryphal 'Bel and the Dragon,' *vv.* 33—39, in which Ambakuk, A. V. Habacuc, *i.e.* Habakkuk, is represented as bringing food to Daniel in the lions' den; partly from floating traditions, scarcely worth noticing, save as shewing the deep impression made upon the popular mind by our prophet, and as indicating a general belief that he was a contemporary of Daniel, and could not therefore have delivered his prophecy many years before the death of Jehoiakim.

The position of this book in the Canon was probably determined by the sequence of historical events. Nahum had predicted the fall of Nineveh, and total overthrow of the Assyrian empire, which had been, up to his time, the chief instrument of Divine chastisements, whereby the ten tribes had been carried away captive, and the kingdom of Judah reduced to a state of vassalage. That "yoke" was then broken, the bonds "burst in sunder" (Nah. i. 13), and the princes and people of Jerusalem, indulging in dreams of security, relapsed into old habits of violence and injustice. Habakkuk[1] was then commissioned to announce the near approach of heavier woes than any which had hitherto been inflicted. He describes the rise, the rapid advance, the rapacity, and ferocity of the Chaldæans, and recognizes in them the ordained instruments of "judgment" and "correction." Ere yet the full tide of conquest had arisen, before the countries west of the Euphrates were subdued, as it would seem at a point of time midway between the establishment of the Chaldæan empire and the invasion of Jerusalem, Habakkuk predicts with equal clearness and accuracy the immediate and the ultimate destinies of both.

The date, however, which is thus assigned to the prophecy has been, and is still, seriously contested. The following analysis will shew the internal connection of the several portions of the book. Taken in combination with the view of contemporary events in the succeeding section, it may supply data for a satisfactory determination of the question.

[1] The Rabbinical tradition that Habakkuk was a disciple of Nahum may rest, as Delitzsch l. c. supposes, on the place assigned to them in the Canon: but it has probably another and a better ground in the mutual bearings of their prophecies.

§ II. *Analysis.*

The whole book is divided into two distinct parts. The first two chapters contain, so to speak, a colloquy, in which the prophet's misgivings are expressed, and answered. The third chapter contains a hymn, composed immediately after, and in direct connection with this colloquy, and intended for public recitation in the temple.

The first chapter has three paragraphs of unequal length. In the first (2—4) the prophet expostulates with the Lord for not answering his vehement outcry. He describes a state of affairs in which iniquity, evil-doing, and specially rapine and violence prevail, litigations are frequent, law wholly inert, the innocent circumvented, and judgment wrested and perverted.

In the second paragraph (5—11) God speaks. The minds of the people are directed to events already in progress among the heathen, but with an intimation that the work of the Lord will find no credence. A heavy judgment is impending. The Chaldæans are raised up, who after a rapid course of conquest are described as about to fall into deep guilt, abandoning themselves to the worst form of idolatry, the worship of selfish force.

The prophet's answer follows (i. 12—17). With a brief expression of confidence, "we shall not die," founded on the unchangeableness and holiness of his God, he at once recognizes the justice of the infliction; still he cannot reconcile God's attributes with the triumphs of the treacherous and wicked over those less guilty than themselves; the ravages of the Chaldees are then described in terms which imply that they had already absorbed vast regions, and developed their characteristic features of rapacity, insatiable ambition, and reckless disregard of human suffering.

Ch. ii. 1. The prophet feels the need of a pause; he would fain reconsider the whole position, and wait in solitary meditation for a further answer from

God. The answer comes (2 ff.); its importance is strongly marked; it is to be publicly recorded. In one short saying the two general aspects of the prophet's inquiry are dealt with; the pride and injustice of the invader are recognized, and the just man is assured of life, *i.e.* preservation from evil, and salvation, on the condition that he hold stedfastly the principle of faith. Being faithful he will live. This is the true and complete answer. The prophet had true faith from the outset, faith in the essential goodness and justice of God; but that faith had been rudely tried, if not shaken, by the course of events, which he well knew were under the guidance and control of God; what he needs—it is his only need—is stedfastness, unwavering trust.

Then follows a series of predictions tending to confirm that trust; for they denounce retributive judgment upon the oppressor, in five woes uttered by the victims of his rapacity. In the first woe (6—8) restitution is assured; all that has been wrongfully seized will be wrenched from him, the spoiler will be despoiled and the blood avenged. In the second (9—11) a curse is denounced against the lofty capital, its fortresses and palaces. In the third (12—14) the destruction of its enormous works is foretold; a judgment to be universally recognized as a manifestation of the glory of the Lord. The fourth (15—17) denounces full retribution for the maddening lust of conquest, specially for crimes committed in the threatened invasion of Palestine. The fifth (18, 19) points to the forms of idolatry prevalent in Babylon. The whole series winds up (*v.* 20) with an exhortation to silence—awestruck recognition of the majesty of the Lord manifested in His sanctuary.

Ch. iii. With these thoughts and feelings the prophet now enters the temple; the people have been prepared by the written announcement; the Levitical choir under its precentor is called upon to give fitting utterance to the hymn of prayer and adoration, in which the feelings excited by past, present, and future manifestations of goodness and righteousness find vivid and adequate expression.

First comes the earnest prayer (*v.* 2) uttered in terror, but in faith, that the work of God may be revived in the interval between the announcement and final execution of judgment, a prayer accompanied with the assurance that when judgment is executed, it will be tempered with mercy.

The second part gives the answer to the prayer, and confirms the assurance. In prophetic vision (*vv.* 3—15) the past work of God is *revived*, reproduced in living action. As of old God manifested Himself, so will He go forth again with even more terrific and stupendous display of majesty and glory: the immediate effect being the infliction of retributive judgment upon the heathen, but the final and true object being the salvation of His people.

> "Thou dost tread the earth in fury,
> In wrath Thou dost thresh heathens;
> Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people,
> For salvation with Thine anointed."
> *vv.* 12, 13.

This portion concludes with special details shewing the character and the cause of the judgment which would at a future time be executed upon the Chaldæans.

The effect of the revelation upon the spirit of the prophet is extreme consternation (*v.* 16); but he perceives distinctly its true purport and bearings, and is prepared to rest with the calm, stedfast faith previously (ch. ii. 4) set forth as the condition of life, when the invasion, now clearly foreseen as imminent, takes place, bringing with it utter desolation. That faith is finally developed in perfect joy and certain hope, *vv.* 18, 19.

The unity of the composition is all but universally admitted, whether (as most critics hold) the second and third chapters were written at the same time, or (as some[1] with less probability conjecture) an interval elapsed between the colloquy and the hymn; the internal connection of thoughts, the mutual bearings of each and every part, and the identity of style leave indeed no room for reasonable doubt.

[1] Rosenmüller and Maurer suppose that the invasion of the Chaldæans took place in an interval between the first and following chapters. Hitzig would assign the concluding hymn to the time of that invasion.

§ III. *Events of Contemporary History.*

The Chaldæans of the prophet's time first obtained possession of Babylon, and laid the foundations of an empire shortly to extend over Western Asia, in the year 625 B.C.[1]. It was the reward of an infamous treason. The last king of Nineveh, Saracus, or, as he is styled in Assyrian inscriptions, Assur-idil-ili, shortly after his accession was threatened with invasion by the Medians under Cyaxares; many of the chief provinces were then in a state of open revolt, and all things menaced the speedy dissolution of the empire. Saracus entrusted an army to Nabopolassar[2], with orders to proceed to Babylon, of which he was probably made Viceroy, and to defend it against the enemy. This chief, however, at once resolved to make himself independent, and entered into negotiation with the Median king, claiming the hand of his daughter Amutria or Amyites for his son Nebuchadnezzar, and undertaking to furnish a large contingent of troops for the conquest of Nineveh. Amidst much divergence in details these facts stand out clearly. Nineveh fell after a prolonged siege before the conjoint armies of Medes and Babylonians, and either before, or immediately after, its fall Nabopolassar obtained, in addition to Babylonia, dominion over a considerable portion of the Assyrian empire, including the claim to suzerainty over Syria and Palestine.

From 625 to 608 Nabopolassar seems to have been exclusively occupied with Babylonian affairs. He established his power firmly over the regions to the east of the Euphrates: but does not appear to have undertaken any expedition in the direction of Palestine. During those years he made immense additions to the buildings of Babylon, especially to its fortifications. The great wall, which in height and width far exceeded those of other capitals (see note on ch. ii. 9), is expressly said by Nebuchadnezzar[3] to have been partly erected by his father; and the vast works, having the defence of Babylon for their chief object, which Herodotus attributes to Nitocris, probably the Egyptian wife of Nabopolassar, were completed under his government.

Great changes, however, took place towards the close of that period. Psammetichus, the powerful but unwarlike king of Egypt, was succeeded by Pharaoh-Necho, who at once led his armies into Palestine, defeated and slew Josiah[4], B.C. 609, and advanced without encountering

[1] The ancient authorities for the statements in this paragraph are given by Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' Vol. III. An interesting account of the previous relations between Babylon and Nineveh has been given by F. Lenormant in the second volume of 'Les premières civilisations.'

[2] Nabopolassar is supposed by Rawlinson to have been an Assyrian. He was doubtless a man of high rank in the Assyrian service; but judging by his son's name, borne some 500 years previously by an independent king of Babylon, and by the popularity which he and his son certainly enjoyed in Babylonia, it would seem more probable that he belonged by nation and descent to the Chaldæans, a people of Anaryan origin, who appear to have been the first occupants of Babylonia, and to have laid the foundations of its civil polity and religious system; see F. Lenormant, 'La Magie chez les Chaldéens,' p. 269 ff. The cuneiform system of writing is now generally admitted to have been invented by this race. The striking resemblance between the prophet's description of the Chaldæans and the accounts of the Scythians whom Herodotus represents as the invaders of Western Asia about this time, points to a common origin, and there appears now to be little doubt that the hordes of Scythians and the Chaldæans belonged to the widely extended races, which under various names preceded the Semites and Aryans in the occupation of Europe, and indeed by far the largest portion of the world. M. F. Lenormant considers that the Chaldæans, or Accadians, were nearly allied to the Finns and Tartars; see a curiously interesting note in 'La Magie,' p. 271—273. It is also asserted, on what seems to be good evidence, "that the bulk of the population of Media was Turanian, the aristocracy alone, along with a few ruling tribes, belonging to the Aryan conquerors." See Mr Sayce's Essay in the 'Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,' Vol. III. part ii., p. 467. Their language, as known from the inscriptions of Behistan, "bears a close relation, both grammatically and lexically, to the Finnic division of the Ugrian branch." Id. p. 468. See also M. Lenormant, l.c. p. 192 ff. The other chief authorities on this subject are Westergaard, De Saulcy, Norris, Oppert, and Mordtmann.

[3] In the Standard Inscription, see Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' Vol. III. p. 524—526. Compare the note on Dan. iv. 28.

[4] It is assumed that Josiah opposed Necho in fulfilment of his covenanted duty as a tributary or vassal to the Assyrian king (thus Rawlinson and Pusey): but there are serious objections to this view. After the decease of Assurbanipal in 626 the suzerainty over Palestine, if claimed by the Assyrians, then in a state of rapid decay, must have been merely nominal, and does not seem to have been recognized by the Jews; nor is there any indication of an attempt on the part of Nabopolassar to vindicate whatever claims

serious opposition as far as Carchemish, or Circesium, on the Euphrates.

During more than three years he retained the supremacy in Asia west of the Euphrates: but Nabopolassar then raised to the throne as co-regent his son Nebuchadnezzar, who advanced rapidly with a vast army, which had been trained in incessant warfare against Nineveh, and completely defeated the Egyptians in the battle of Carchemish, B.C. 606. Marching onwards to Palestine, he at once received the submission of Jehoiakim, the creature of Pharaoh, who, however, after a reluctant vassalage of three years, rebelled against him. This revolt was punished first by incursions of predatory troops, and finally by Nebuchadnezzar himself, who put the king to death, with unusual cruelty casting out his unburied corpse, "drawn out, and cast beyond the gates of Jerusalem." See Jer. xxii. 19 and xxxvi. 30. After an interval of three months his son Jeconiah was deposed, the temple was plundered, and a large number of nobles, warriors, and artizans, together with the deposed king, were carried away captive to Babylon, B.C. 600. Twelve years later (588) the total destruction of the temple and city was accomplished.

To complete the portraiture of the period in question, it must be borne in mind that during the reign of Josiah a religious reformation was in progress, the improvement beginning after the death of Amon, but reaching its climax in the year 622 B.C., seventeen years after the young king's accession. The following thirteen years were peaceful and orderly. It is expressly stated by Jeremiah that justice was duly administered; "Did not thy father...do judgment and justice, and then it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him." Jer. xxii. 15, 16.

The reign of Jehoiakim on the contrary was wholly unrighteous: "he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his fathers had done," 2 K. xxiii. 37; and he is specially charged with the commission of such crimes as those which are denounced by Habakkuk, ch. i. 2—4. Jeremiah accuses him of "building his house by unrighteousness," "using his neighbour's service without wages," of ostentation and extravagancy, summing up all in the words "thine eyes and thine heart are but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it;" see Jer. xxii.

might have been transferred to him by the Median conqueror. Josiah followed a sound policy, though one demanding greater forces than he could command, when he opposed the Egyptians, but he acted to all appearance in perfect independence.

§ IV. *Probable Date of the Prophecy.*

If we determined the date of the prophecy by its coincidence with the internal condition of Judæa, we should naturally be led to fix upon the reign of Jehoiakim[1]. The arguments against an earlier date appear to be conclusive. It is of course quite possible that during the minority of Josiah there was a struggle between the parties of order and of disorder, and that crimes were perpetrated which would justify the prophet's denunciation in *v.* 2; but there are no indications that those crimes, whatever their character may have been, were tolerated, much less encouraged, by the government, that law was utterly inert, or that justice was perverted, and made the instrument or abettor of wrong, as is stated in ch. i. 3, 4. On the other hand, the state of religion, before the reformation in the seventeenth year of that reign, would certainly have called forth vehement expostulations from Habakkuk, had he been a contemporary prophet; such as we find in the prophecies of Jeremiah which belong to that period. But it is evident that the temple-services were regular and complete when Habakkuk wrote the third chapter, nor from the beginning to the end of his book does he utter a single complaint against the people or the nobles with reference to the non-observance of religious rites, or to the worship of false gods. The latter part of Josiah's reign[2], as we have already seen, was remarkable for the orderly and effec-

[1] Thus De Wette, Ewald, Umbreit, Hitzig, Bleek, and Kleinert in Lange's 'Bibelwerk.'

[2] Bishop Wordsworth writes, "Habakkuk prophesied in the reign of Josiah, probably near its close."

tive administration of justice, presenting a striking contrast to the description of Habakkuk in *vv.* 3, 4.

Turning to the relations of Judæa with foreign nations and specially with the Chaldæans, we may admit that after the establishment of Nabopolassar in Josiah's fifteenth year, the public acts of that prince, and the mutual attitude of the Chaldæans and of the Jews were to a considerable extent in harmony with the description of Habakkuk. The dynasty was founded on treachery (cp. ch. i. 13); its first warlike efforts were directed against the prince who had been betrayed, and its power extended rapidly, doubtless with the usual concomitants of rapine and bloodshed. The habits of the Babylonians corresponded very closely with the portraiture in Habakkuk: luxury, ostentation, excessive profligacy, and specially drunkenness, were universally prevalent, and their idolatry, always a prominent feature, appears to have attained its culminating height under the Chaldæan princes, who spent immense sums upon the restoration of the temples, and vindicated their affinity with the ancient possessors of the country by special acts of zeal, and the introduction of new objects of worship. Again, enormous works for the defence and embellishment of Babylon, such as are dwelt upon by Habakkuk, ii. 9, 12, were undertaken soon after the accession of Nabopolassar, and completed by his son. Still it is evident that all these points come out most distinctly towards the close of the interval between the accession of Nabopolassar and the battle of Carchemish. The date of the fall of Nineveh cannot be exactly determined; the advance of the Medes may have been immediate, but the siege lasted a considerable time, and probably some five or six years elapsed between the invasion of the territory and the capture of the city. The prophecy can scarcely have been uttered before the entire overthrow of Assyria, an event which, if it were impending, must have occupied the prophet's mind, but to which no allusion is made, save perhaps in ch. i. 13, which refers not to the present, but to the past. After that event the Chaldæan empire rapidly attained its full extent, and under the energetic guidance of Nebuchadnezzar, who was associated with his father towards the close of his reign, the characteristics most prominent in Habakkuk's descriptions must have been fully developed. On the other hand, the prediction could not have been uttered, or, if uttered, been received with incredulity, after the great battle of Carchemish; at that time none could question the probability of an immediate invasion of Judæa, which was under the dominion of a creature of the Egyptian king. We are thus restricted within the limit of a few years, from about 620 to 606: and again, inasmuch as the internal state of Judæa under Josiah's just and vigorous government makes it wholly improbable that the denunciations of ch. i. 2—4 were then uttered, we are further restricted to the first three years of Jehoiakim: not however earlier than the second year, since the prophet speaks (*v.* 2) strongly of the continuance of wrong-doing. These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the prophecies of ch. i. and ii. belong to the second or third year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* 608 or 607 B.C.

To this view, however, objections are taken by divines of high authority[1]. They consider that it affects the predictive character of the prophet's announcement. But although after the battle of Carchemish some portion of the prophecy applied to events conceivably within the range of political foresight[2], a faculty which rationalists do not hesitate to attribute to the Seers of Israel, the most important predictions went very far beyond any probable consequences. The very latest date assumed by modern critics would leave untouched the whole series of prophecies referring to the chastisement of the Chaldæans, then in the full flush of victory, conquering, and as the contemporary prophets invariably

[1] Thus Jahn, Hävernick, Keil, Dr Pusey, who hold that Habakkuk prophesied either in the early part of Josiah's reign or, as Rabbinical traditions assert, under Manasseh, referring to 2 K. xxi. 10 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10; but, in addition to objections already stated, it is improbable that ch. iii was composed for the temple-service before the reformation under Josiah, or at any time during the reign of Manasseh.

[2] Yet the utter fallacy of political vaticinations under most favourable circumstances has been fully and repeatedly illustrated by the events of European history. See Dr Arnold's 'Lectures on History,' II. 139; quoted by Dr Pusey, p. 403.

declared, to conquer, with no indications of internal weakness save those which the prophet discerned in their arrogance and crimes. Delivered at any time before the battle every portion, which assumes to be predictive, has that character unimpaired. The prophet declares that the people will not believe what he predicts touching the Chaldæan invasion, though it be distinctly announced; a statement, if corroboration be needed, fully borne out by their conduct as related by Jeremiah, ch. xxvi., when he foretold the destruction of the temple and city, and was threatened with death by "the priests and the prophets and all the people," *v.* 8; and again when he declared that the work of destruction would be executed by the king of Babylon, ch. xxxvi. 29. The incredulity of the people and the king was indeed not unnatural, so long as the whole of Asia west of the Euphrates was under the actual supremacy of the powerful Egyptian king, the aggressor, and, as the courtiers of Jehoiakim would of course hold, the probable victor in a decisive battle[1]. So far there is no reason to deny that Habakkuk was one of those prophets to whom, as Jeremiah tells us, the people refused to hearken.

The other chief note of time, "in your days," ch. i. 5 (see note), is vague; it may be purposely vague, like most denunciations of punishment, with a view to keeping up a state of wholesome apprehension. It is, however, an expression scarcely compatible with the date which Dr Pusey, p. 399, thinks probable, viz. the beginning of Josiah's reign, or the latter part of his predecessor's; for more than thirty years would in that case have elapsed before the first advance of Nebuchadnezzar, and some forty years before the heavy chastisement (certainly contemplated by the prophet) which was inflicted by that king upon the city and people, when Jehoiakim was slain. On the supposition here advocated there would be an interval of four or five years before the land was partially ravaged by troops in the employ of Nebuchadnezzar, to which the prophet may allude in ch. iii. 16, 17; an interval of fourteen or fifteen before Jerusalem was plundered; and of some twenty-six years before the consummation of vengeance in the total destruction of city and temple.

The expression "in the midst of the years," ch. iii. 2, refers to the far wider range of prophecy, ch. ii. 5—17, which begins with the chastisement of Judæa, and closes with the utter destruction of the Chaldæan empire.

We conclude, therefore, that Habakkuk bears witness to the moral and political corruption of Judæa after the death of Josiah, and that within three years from that date he foretold events, which were accomplished partially five or six years afterwards, and completely within thirty years: the remaining and more extensive portion of the book pointing onwards to the fall of Babylon B.C. 538[2]. It is important to bear in mind that no critic questions the delivery by Habakkuk of the predictions declaring the fall of Babylon, which are even clearer and more definite than those which relate to Jerusalem (see especially the notes on ii. 7, 15, 16, and iii. 4); and that the latest date which is now maintained by critics leaves the whole field of prediction untouched, so far as regards the punishments ultimately inflicted upon Judæa.

§ V. *General Characteristics.*

Whether Habakkuk refers directly to the Messianic hopes, which from earliest times were present to devout Israelites, and were fully developed under the teaching of the great Prophet, to whom Habakkuk stands in nearest relation both spiritual and intellectual, may be made matter of question (see, however, notes on ch. ii. 14, iii. 13); but the concluding portion of the great hymn in which his spirit rises above the sphere of national and contemporary events, and realizes the extent and character of future manifestations of the Godhead, is full of anticipations which are scarcely intelligible, except on the supposition that they rested on Messianic promises; see note on ch. iii. 19. Possibly the character of Jehoia-

[1] Speaking of the invasion of Judæa by the Chaldæans, Dr Pusey, p. 40, says that in Jehoiakim's time it was already certain; but this does not apply to any time previous to the battle of Carchemish.

[2] For an account of the events preceding the fall of Babylon, see introductory note, Dan. v.

kim, the actual occupant of David's throne, may have precluded a more direct reference to the future glory of the kingdom. But whether or not the prophet set forth that hope, he has the peculiar glory of announcing the principle, in which all great thinkers have ever recognized the characteristic feature of Christian doctrine. Habakkuk is emphatically the Prophet of Faith. The central word of this book, ch. ii. 4, was adopted by St Paul as the central word of his own doctrinal system. Faith, the condition and proof of righteousness, is to the prophet, as to the apostle, the pledge and source of life. It is presented throughout in all its aspects: in its trials, its perplexities, in its absolute dependence on the Divine Word, in its calm clear survey of the dark involved movements of outward events, and in its final triumph, and full development in the blessedness of joyous hope.

Modern critics have dwelt fully upon the singular gifts of the prophet. For a wide commanding view of the world's history, for a clear perception of the causes which determine the advance, decline, and ruin of nations, for what they regard as a special power of the religious instinct most fully developed in the seers of Israel, they unanimously admit that he holds a foremost place among those prophets, who, if at a wide interval, yet come nearest in spirit to Isaiah. In his style they recognize a condensed force, a simplicity, and a purity, which, were his age determined solely on that ground, would have pointed to an earlier period than that which must be assigned to him. In his imagery all readers are struck by a majesty, a vividness, a sublimity unsurpassed even by the greatest of his predecessors; and a genius which, while it appropriates with lively appreciation the conceptions of early seers [1], gives them a new turn, endues them with new splendour, and brings them into harmonious combination with the new thoughts which spring up in a singularly creative spirit. The believer, well pleased to accept ungrudging recognition of the prophet's natural genius, finds other and far higher grounds for admiration and reverence in the chosen vessel of divine communications, in a spirit capable of receiving and fully apprehending the fundamental principle of life in Christ.

[1] The references to the Psalms of David, especially Ps. xviii., and of Asaph l., lxxiii.—lxxxiii., are very numerous, as might be expected, considering the special connection of both with the temple-services. The great lyric poems in Deuteronomy and Judges are equally present to Habakkuk's mind.

HABAKKUK.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Unto Habakkuk, complaining of the iniquity of the land,* 5 *is shewed the fearful vengeance by the Chaldeans.* 12 *He complaineth that vengeance should be executed by them who are far worse.*

THE burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see.

2 O LORD, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! *even* cry out unto thee *of* violence, and thou wilt not save!

3 Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause *me* to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence *are* before

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CHAP. I. 1. *The burden*] This word corresponds very nearly in use and meaning to "vision" and "word," but is used more specially of prophecies referring to heavy judgments (Jerome); for a full explanation of the word, see the note on Isai. xiii. 1.

Habakkuk] On the name, see Introduction, § i.

the prophet] A title not elsewhere applied in the inscriptions, excepting to Haggai and Zechariah. It is an official designation, implying a public ministry. From the inscription to ch. iii. it appears that Habakkuk was attached to the temple-service, either as priest or Levite, see Introduction, § i.; one instance among many shewing the groundlessness of the modern assumption of jealousy or enmity between priests and prophets.

did see] The Hebrew word is used specially of prophetic vision.

2—4. The complaint of Habakkuk: a vehement remonstrance, bringing out the real character of the prophet, and giving a lively portraiture of the prevalent corruption of the people. The prophet feels his nearness to God, and his expostulations give expression to that indignation at the triumph of wrong, which is inseparable from the love of right. They involve a certain conviction that righteousness must have the upper hand when God manifests Himself.

Commentators differ as to the people against whom the denunciations are directed. The ancients generally (*e.g.* Aben Ezra, the Targum, Jerome) hold that from the beginning the prophet has the Chaldæans before his mind, and they are followed by Rosenmüller and Ewald. But while some expressions might refer to foreign invaders (see note on *v.* 3), all of them are properly, and some exclusively, applicable to internal evils: a state of general corruption and the predominance of wickedness in Jerusalem have long disturbed the prophet's spirit. The four words used by Habakkuk occur in Ps. lv. 9, 10 in reference to domestic evils, and the whole description accords most remarkably with Jeremiah's account of the state of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, see ch. xxii. 15—17 and Introduction, § iii. Thus Jäger, Hitzig, Delitzsch.

2. *shall I cry*] Or, **do I cry, and thou hearest not.** The cry had gone up already, not once, but repeatedly; but as yet it had elicited no response, cp. Ps. xiii. 1, lxxxix. 46. This outburst gives expression to the prophet's feelings after a long period of concentrated thought and painful anxiety. The Hebrew word for "cry" is specially used of crying for help.

cry out] A still stronger word, shout, scream, as in utter misery. The word "of" before "violence" may be omitted; "violence" is an exclamation wrung forth from his soul, "I cry out, violence!" thus Job xix. 7, same words, and Jer. xx. 8, "I cried out, violence and spoil!" The Heb. word for "violence" is specially applied to unjust aggressions or assaults. It is used to denote the sin which brought on the deluge, Gen. vi. 11, 13: cp. Micah vi. 12. The LXX. have ἀδικούμενος, and Vulg. vim patiens, as though the prophet, like Jeremiah and Job, had been exposed to persecution; but the wrong-doing prevalent in the city was evidently before his mind: cp. Ps. lv. 9, 10.

and thou wilt not save] Or, "and thou savest not." Cp. Ps. xviii. 41. In reference to this complaint see the answer in ch. iii. 13 and 18.

3. *shew me*] Causest or allowest me to see, *i.e.* permittest evil to be publicly committed. In the next clause, "cause me to behold" should rather be rendered "beholdest." Dr Pusey observes that the Hebrew word occurs sixty-seven times in the sense "look on."

me: and there are *that* raise up strife and contention.

4 Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth: [a] Job 21. 7. Jer. 12. 1. for the [a] wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore [1] wrong judgment proceedeth.

[1] Or, *wrested.*

5 ¶ [b] Behold ye among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvellously: for *I* will work a work in [b] Acts 13. 41.

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iniquity...grievance] The words are commonly used in combination, as in Ps. vii. 14, where A.V. has "mischief" for "grievance;" and Ps. lv. 10, rendered by A.V. "mischief and sorrow;" they are nearly, but not quite, synonymous, the former denoting vanity, worthlessness; the latter, trouble, wrong-doing, mischief.

spoiling] Open robbery: the word might be used of foreign invaders, as in Hos. vii. 13, but it is applied to "oppression of the poor," Ps. xii. 5, and here probably indicates such crimes of the nobles as are noted in Prov. i. 10, 19, where see note. The characteristics of the old heathen party, which never lost its hold, always opposed to reform, and in antagonism to good kings, maintaining its position as the war party under Hezekiah and his successors, were specially grasping covetousness, excessive luxury, arrogance (ὕβρις), oppression of the poor, and open ungodliness.

and there are that raise up, &c.] Or, **and there is strife, and contention is raised.** The Hebrew for "raised" is used specially of quarrels caused by wrong-doing. The abuse of law by usurious and covetous nobles is a constant theme of complaint with the psalmists and prophets. "Strife" is combined with "violence" in Ps. lv. 9, with reference to the same class of evil-doers. This verse ought to have been taken as conclusive against the assumption that foreign invaders are spoken of.

4. *Therefore*] This refers to the direct complaint that the Lord does not interfere. Evil-doers take it as a proof that He does not regard and will not punish (cp. Job xxiv.; Ps. lxxiii.; Eccles. viii. 13), and the supporters of the law are disheartened; hence *the law is slacked*, literally, is benumbed, so to speak, or paralysed. "Slacked" is correct, but hardly strong enough. The law, without the living breath of the Lawgiver, without His felt presence, is inert, powerless, a mere dead letter.

doth never go forth] This rendering is correct. "Never" implies a total cessation of justice. The Hebrew word so rendered occurs very frequently and (with the doubtful exception of Isai. xxv. 8, where see note) always refers to duration of time. Ewald and some others take it to mean "with permanent effect;" but the charge that justice is always withheld is much stronger, and more to the point.

doth compass about] Shuts him in, so that he cannot find any way to procure redress. He cannot go forth to find justice; justice never comes forth to find him. The word "compass" implies with hostile intent, cp. Ps. xxii. 12.

wrong judgment proceedeth] Or, **judgment goeth forth perverted**; when it goes forth at all, it is not in its own character, but twisted, wrested (as in marg.) from its true course, made the instrument and minister of wrong.

Thus the culminating point in Habakkuk's complaint is the triumph of injustice in the guise of law. So long as the tribunal of justice stands firm, the national character is not fatally affected by the acts of evil-doers; but when it sides with the oppressor, all hope of reformation from within is lost, and judgment must come from without. This statement applies to the time of Jehoiakim, not to that of Josiah; see Jer. xxii. 16, 17 and Introduction, § iv.

5—11. The answer of the Lord.

5. *Behold ye among the heathen*] God Himself speaks in answer to the prophet's complaint; but He addresses Himself immediately to the people whose sins had given occasion to it. They are called upon to look away from their own land, and to note what is already taking place among the Gentiles, preparatory to the judgment soon about to fall on themselves.

wonder marvellously] Lit. be astounded, astounded. The word is doubled, a common Hebrew idiom, denoting the excess and the continuance of their astonishment at events so strange and unparalleled, cf. Isai. xxix. 9. St Paul, whose special references to Habakkuk are frequent, quotes this passage from the LXX. See Note below.

I will work a work] The A.V. is supported by the generality of commentators and versions in supplying the word *I*. Hitzig renders the clause, *for a work is working*, or proceeding, ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται, 2 Thess. ii. 7. The work of the Lord goes on eternally, but comes out and is manifested at critical periods. Hence in ch. iii. 2, the prophet's prayer, "revive Thy work."

in your days] This answers the question "how long?" If not immediately, yet certainly within the lifetime of the hearers: in Ezek. xii. 25 (a passage closely connected with this and probably referring to it) it means within a very few years. The whole tone of this passage implies that, when the prophecy was given, the Chaldæans had begun, and even

your days, *which* ye will not believe, though it be told *you*.

6 For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, *that* bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the † breadth of the land, to possess the dwellingplaces *that are* not theirs.

† Heb. *breadths.*

7 They *are* terrible and dreadful: ‖ their judgment and their dignity shall proceed of themselves.

‖ Or, *from them shall proceed the judgment of these, and the captivity of these.*

8 Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more † fierce than the ᶜ evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread them-

† Heb. *sharp.* ᶜ Zeph. 3. 3.

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carried on for some time, their course of rapid conquest; but that as yet the Jews had no apprehension that they would be attacked. They would not believe this when it was announced to them. So Jeremiah complains, v. 12, xx. 7, 8; see especially ch. xxv. 4. Hence the peculiar fitness of the application by St Paul to the Jews, who rejected their Saviour, and would not believe the warnings of their own destruction.

6. *For, lo, I raise up*] The *I* is emphatic, I, whom ye regarded as neglectful of justice, am come now raising up an avenger.

the Chaldeans] See notes on Gen. xi. 28; Job i. 17. It is questioned whether the Chaldæans, who, under Nabopolassar and his successor, conquered Western Asia, were of Semitic origin or not. By modern Assyriologists the name is now held to denote the old Turanian or Scythian population of Mesopotamia, the word Cas-dim, according to Oppert, meaning "two streams." M. Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 270, says, "dans les documens cuneiformes, Kaldi est un tribu de la grande nation d'Accad." However this may be, it is clear that the Chaldæans here spoken of came forward as conquerors, and took possession of countries to which they had no legal claim.

that bitter and hasty nation] Bitter, *i.e.* cruel, fierce; in Arabic the word properly denotes bitterness, but is commonly used for "warlike." The pitiless character of the Chaldæans is noted by Jeremiah, l. 42. *Hasty:* Hebrew commentators generally refer this to the rash, impetuous, headlong enterprises of the Chaldæans, the sense attached to the word by Isaiah, xxxii. 4; but it denotes rather warlike energy, vehemence in the attack and pursuit of enemies, qualities equally prized by Greeks (πόδας ὠκύς) and Hebrews; see Ps. xviii. 33, 37.

which shall march] Rather, **which marcheth.** The prophet speaks of the actual progress of the Chaldæans.

the breadth of the land] This has been supposed to refer specially to Palestine, the occupation by the Chaldees being a judgment on the nation (cf. Isai. viii. 8); but it evidently indicates the vast extent of the Chaldæan conquests, see ch. ii. 5, so that for "land" we should read "**earth;**" thus Gog and Magog are described as going up "on the breadth of the earth," Rev. xx. 9. Of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar it is expressly said, "and thy dominion is to the end of the earth," Dan. iv. 22.

dwellingplaces] This expression might seem to point to the land of Israel, and to a retributive judgment upon the oppressors, who had "cast the women of God's people out of their pleasant homes," Micah ii. 9. But the occupation of lands, to which the invaders had no claim but conquest, is a general characteristic of these Chaldæans, and is referred to both as an indication of the special purpose for which they were raised up, and, apparently, of the inherent unsoundness of their dominion, cp. ii. 6.

7. *their judgment*, &c.] This rendering is quite correct, taking "judgment" in the sense of law. The Chaldee will be a law unto himself, will determine what to do or to leave undone, with reference to no authority or control but his own will; self-asserting and irresponsible judgment will be the fit instrument of punishment on the authors of wrong judgment, *v.* 4. His dignity, literally elevation (certainly not "captivity," as in marg.: the word is used of the majesty of God, Job xiii. 11), will be wholly attributed to his own energy. Such is his position in his own eyes, see Dan. iv. 30, and in the eye of the world. The expression implies a self-determined movement of the Chaldees, and a disregard of all principles of international law, human or divine. The character is fully developed in Antichrist, see Dan. xi. 36 and 2 Thess. ii. 4.

8. *Their horses*] Cavalry was especially formidable to the Hebrews, and was a principal feature of the invading armies of the Chaldæans, see Nahum iii. 2. This passage was probably in the mind of Jeremiah when he penned the two passages, Jer. iv. 13 and v. 6.

swifter than the leopards] "Agile, swift, and when irritated the most terrible and cruel of beasts," Tristram, 'N. H. B.' p. 111 ff. The word "panther," adopted by Dr Pusey, is a synonym of the leopard. See notes on Jer. v. 6 and Hos. xiii. 7.

more fierce than the evening wolves] The word rendered "fierce" means properly sharp, cutting, as *e.g.* a sword. It applies rather to the extreme fierceness than to the speed of the brute, whose ravenous and treacherous habits are frequently noted in Scripture, especially its prowling in the evening; see Tris-

selves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle *that* hasteth to eat.

9 They shall come all for violence: ‖† their faces shall sup up *as* the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity as the sand.

10 And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them: they shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap dust, and take it.

11 Then shall *his* mind change, and he shall pass over, and offend, *imputing* this his power unto his god.

‖ Or, *the supping up of their faces, &c.* or, *their faces shall look toward the east.*

† Heb. *the opposition of their faces toward the east.*

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tram, 'N. H. B.' p. 152 ff., and compare Gen. xlix. 27; Jer. v. 6; Zeph. iii. 3. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers dreaded the wolf as the worst foe of man, see *e.g.* 'Codex Exon.' p. 328, ed. Thorpe. The ferocity of the war-horse sharing his master's passion is specially noted in Job xxxix. 19—25.

shall spread themselves] sweeping over the country in all directions, like Cossacks or Uhlans, for plunder and conquest, Sym. 'Hieron effundentur. In Nahum iii. 18 the word is rendered "scattered."

shall come from far] According to ancient prophecy, see Deut. xxviii. 49, 50, where the same Hebrew word is used. The wide range of Chaldæan excursions for plunder was an ancient characteristic of the people; see note on Job i. 17. It accords with their Turanian origin.

as the eagle] The comparison of the Chaldæan to the eagle (or griffon vulture, see Tristram, 'N. H. B.' p. 172) is repeated by Jeremiah, xlviii. 40, xlix. 22; Lam. iv. 19, by Ezekiel, xvii. 3, and by Daniel, vii. 4. In all these passages reference is probably made to Deut. xxviii. 49.

hasteth to eat] Not to fight, for none withstands the assault, but to plunder; thus the eagle, "where the slain *are*, there is she," Job xxxix. 30; see also ix. 26, and compare Matt. xxiv. 28.

9. *They shall come all for violence*] That violence will avenge the "violence" of the Hebrew oppressors: it is the answer to Habakkuk's outcry, violence! It is the single object of the invaders.

their faces shall sup up as the east wind] Rather, "the setting (or common direction) of their faces is onward." This rendering is now generally adopted. See Note below. The A.V., which follows the Hebrew tradition, Aben Ezra, Rashi, is defended by Dr Pusey and yields a forcible sense, lit. the swallowing of their faces is as the east wind, "as the east wind burns up and consumes all green things, so at sight of these all shall be wasted."

as the sand] As the wind drives the sand before it in confused heaps, so the invaders drive the hordes of captives. Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures abound in representations of prisoners thus dragged in troops from their homes.

10. *they shall scoff at the kings*] The ignominious treatment of conquered princes is frequently referred to as characteristic of the Babylonian conquerors; it is specially declared by Ezekiel to be the punishment reserved for the evil-doers, the princes of Judah, see on ch. xxii. 4—6, "those that be near, and those that be far from thee, shall mock thee" (same word יתקלסו).

heap dust] Instead of the word "mound," generally used of the old oriental process in sieges, the prophet has "dust," to denote the rapidity and ease with which the strongholds of the Assyrians were captured; strikingly illustrated by the simile in Nahum, ch. iii. 12.

11. *Then shall his mind change*, &c.] Another rendering is probable, "Then he sweeps on, *as* a wind, and passes over, and is guilty." The word for "wind" may mean "spirit," "mind," but the pronoun "his" would probably be required, if that were the meaning here. The words "sweep on" and "pass over" have also both a physical and spiritual sense: applied to the wind they denote its rapid and irresistible movement; applied to the mind, as they are combined in Isai. xxiv. 5, they describe transgression of God's law. The word rendered "offend," rather, **be guilty**, favours the latter interpretation. See Note below. Compare a similar statement concerning Ephraim, Hos. xiii. 1.

imputing this his power unto his god] Rather, **he, whose might is his god**: a far stronger statement, implying, not that the Babylonian attributed his conquests to his tutelary deity (which however was true as a general rule, and specially of Nebuchadnezzar), but that at last he regards his own prowess as the effectual cause of his victories; see Nebuchadnezzar's own words, Dan. iv. 30, and compare Isai. xiv. 14; Ezek. xxviii. 2; Dan. xi. 37, 38; and 2 Thess. ii. 4.

The description of the Chaldæans thus closes with a distinct intimation of the cause of their final destruction; the principle of ungodliness developed by a series of aggressions, finding its full expression in self-worship, can have but one issue—ruin never long delayed. This result, however, is not yet declared; the prophet has to work it out in his own mind, and so be prepared for the final announcement.

12 ¶ *Art* thou not from everlasting, O LORD my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die. O LORD, thou hast ordained them for judgment; and, O [†] mighty God, thou hast [†] established them for correction.

13 *Thou art* of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on [‡] iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, *and* holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth *the man that is* more righteous than he?

14 And makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the [‡] creeping things, *that have* no ruler over them?

[†] Heb. *rock.*
[†] Heb. *founded.*
[‡] Or, *grievance.*
[‡] Or, *moving.*

12—17. The answer of Habakkuk.

12. *Art thou not...Holy One*] The construction is probably, Art Thou not from old mine Holy One, O Lord my God? The first words of the prophet attest the firmness and the grounds of his trust. "The Lord my God (*i.e.* the God of the prophet, speaking as the representative of faithful Israelites,) is mine Holy One." This appellation is repeatedly used by Isaiah (as Dr Pusey points out, twelve times in the earlier, fourteen times in the later chapters, elsewhere occurring rarely, in three Psalms and in Jer. l. 29 and li. 5); as the Holy One of Israel Jehovah is the source and pledge of holiness to His chosen people, and that from old (lit. from before), *i.e.* from the first calling of Israel, or rather from their election in the Divine foreknowledge; therefore, God being unchangeable, it is impossible that we (Habakkuk and the faithful) can perish. Thus the Psalmists Asaph, Ps. lxxiii. and Etham, Ps. lxxvi., and Jeremiah (xii. 1), in similar conflict of spirit introduce earnest expostulations with a recognition of God's goodness and righteousness; and, though beset by terrible misgivings, wind up their complaints with a declaration of perfect trust.

we shall not die] This rendering follows the received text, and is undoubtedly correct. It is, however, one in which a different rendering, "Thou diest not," is given in the so-called 'Tikkune Sopherim,' *i.e.* corrections of the scribes.

O LORD...for judgment] Thus Habakkuk recognizes the true object of the infliction, the Chaldæans are placed in such a position for judgment, as a punishment for the perversion of justice, see *v.* 3; and they are established for "correction," or rather for "conviction" (LXX. τοῦ ἐλέγχειν), in order to bring home their guilt to the offenders; the proper work of law, which had so utterly failed, see *v.* 4.

O mighty God] Lit. *rock*, as in marg. The sense is as the A.V. presents it, for "who is a rock but our God?" Ps. xviii. 31. The appellation was too familiar to the Israelites to be mistaken; it occurs five times in the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31; once in the song of Hannah, 1 S. ii. 2; and once in Isai. xxx. 29; but is specially used in the Davidic Psalms, xviii., xix., xxviii., lxii.; and in other Psalms which refer to David. Four of the old Versions, LXX., Vulg., Aq., Sym., refer the word to the Chaldæans as describing their strength.

13. The expression of trust is followed by an earnest expostulation; how can the purity and holiness of God be reconciled with the toleration of greater evil in the agent of wrath, than that which He had punished in His people?

evil...iniquity] The first word is general, the second the same which in *v.* 3 is rendered "grievance," and combined with the same verb, "look on."

deal treacherously] The word used by Isaiah (xxxiii. 1) in special reference to the Babylonians as breakers of convenants. Here it has peculiar force, since the dynasty of the Chaldæans was founded on the treachery of Nabopolassar, who employed in attacking Nineveh the forces entrusted to him by the Assyrian king for its defence, receiving as a reward from the Median king the throne of Babylon, and after the fall of Nineveh the suzerainty over Susiana, Syria, and Palestine. See Introd. § iii. and Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' III. p. 482 ff.

the wicked] A word used only of men utterly depraved and godless; here it denotes the Chaldæan *swallowing up*, completely absorbing nations, who, whatever their sins might be, were less guilty than himself; specially the Hebrews, of whom a portion were truly righteous. Ezekiel, who had probably this passage before him (see ch. xxx. 12, and cp. Isai. xix. 4), applied it to the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar.

14. *as the fishes*] without reason, order, government, or protectors, the easy unresisting prey of the fisherman. The words "who have no ruler," unlike sheep who are guided and protected, would seem to intimate the total absence of leaders against the Chaldæans, who appear indeed to have encountered no serious resistance in the occupation of the districts beyond the Euphrates; see especially Nahum iii. 13, 17, 18.

creeping things] The word generally denotes insects or vermin; here, as in Ps. civ. 25, it is applied to shoals of small fish; a striking emblem of Asiatics in a state of dis-

15 They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their ‖drag: therefore they rejoice and are glad.

‖ Or, *flue net.*

16 Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion *is* fat, and their meat ‖† plenteous.

‖ Or, *dainty.* † Heb. *fat.*

17 Shall they therefore empty their net, and not spare continually to slay the nations?

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organization, without leaders, or any principle of coherence but fear of the enemy.

15. *They take up all of them*] Or, **He brings them up all together with an angle**, a single cast suffices, the whole race is drawn up.

they catch them in their net] Or, he draws them into his net. *Net* and *drag* differ in meaning; the former is the net cast out on the water, the common fishing-net; the latter (LXX. σαγήνη) the larger net spread at evening, part resting on the ground, part floating with corks on the surface of the water.

16. *unto their net*] The net is here a metaphor for the warlike might or instruments of warfare. The Chaldæans worshipped the Babylonian gods (see notes on Daniel), but the ultimate and real object of their adoration, that in which they trusted, was their own power, conceived as incarnate in the person of their king, and probably represented in the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar. The expression however refers probably to well-known and very ancient forms of idolatry prevalent among the Scythians, who were probably of the same race as the Chaldæans (see Introd. § iii. note 2); they worshipped the sword as a symbol or image of Mars, see Herod. IV. 62 and the note in Rawlinson's edition; this custom is ascribed to the Scythians by Lucian, Mela, Sabinus, Clem. Alex. and others: to the Alans and Huns by Ammianus Marcellinus. In the time of Attila one of these ancient Scythian weapons, discovered by chance, was made an object of worship, and long afterwards Genghis Khan repeated the observance.

17. *Shall they therefore empty their net*] *i.e.* enjoy the rapine already seized and then advance on a fresh course of rapine and unsparing bloodshed.

and not spare] is equivalent to "without sparing."

NOTES ON CHAP. I. 5, 9, 11.

5. The variations of the LXX. from the Hebrew are considerable, and by no means satisfactorily accounted for by Dr Pococke, quoted by Bishop Wordsworth. For "among the heathen" the LXX. have *οἱ καταφρονηταί*, "despisers," which Dr Pococke assumes may represent the Hebrew בגוים, from a root בנא, or בנה, corresponding to the Arabic بَغَى; but this is an impossible derivation, since the Arabic غ is invariably represented, and specially in this very root, by ע. The translators evidently had another reading, most probably בוגדים, since they render בגד by *καταφρονεῖν* in Prov. xiii. 16; Hos. vi. 7, and in this book, ch. ii. 5, translate בגר, *καταφρονητής*, and in Zeph. iii. 5, בגדות, *ἄνδρες καταφρονηταί*. Some propose בוזים, since בוז and בזה are rendered by the same word in Prov. xiii. 13, xviii. 3, xix. 16. Again for the second word "astounded" the LXX. have *ἀφανίσθητε*, which may be intended to represent another variant, התמו, as it stands for words somewhat similar in meaning; see 'Tromm. Con.' s.v. St Paul uses the words as he finds them, and as his audience would recognize them; they were perfectly suitable to his purpose, and needed no correction for practical or doctrinal application.

9. מגמה is an ἁ. λ. It is rendered "swallowing" by most of the Hebrew commentators, Aben Ezra, Rashi, Kimchi, and is referred to the root נגם, equivalent to נגא, applied to the horse who "swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage," Job xxxix. 24. But the radical meaning would rather seem to be "gathering," collecting; nor is the expression without emphasis, as Dr Pusey considers; it is a forcible description of the uniform, unbroken advance of an army, all faces turned in one direction, marching every one on his way, never breaking their ranks (see Joel ii. 6, 7). קדימה occurs elsewhere only in Ezekiel, but in that book several times in the undoubted sense "eastwards:" here there is no harshness in assigning to it the true radical meaning of קדם, "before," and rendering it "forwards" or "onward." Bishop Wordsworth accepts the interpretation of Ewald, *nach Sturm*. Sym. has *ἄνεμος καύσων*: Jerome, ventus urens. This old rendering has much in its favour, and may be supported by the reference to "sand" in the next verse.

11. ¶ In the foot-note the interpretation given and well-defended by Delitzsch is adopted, as on the whole most satisfactory. Still, if, as the Masoretic punctuation indicates, חלף, יעבר, and אשם belong to the same clause,

it is natural to take them all as describing the character of the Chaldæans; the two former words are combined in that way by Isaiah, xxiv. 5, describing transgression; אשם completes the portraiture, and corresponds nearly to the third clause in Isaiah, הפרו ברית עולם. Dr Pusey, however, observes, רוח can hardly be i. q. רוחו, taking it therefore, as Delitzsch does, to mean wind. Reinke says the suffix is not required, since the preceding clauses refer only to the Chaldæan; but parallel cases of omission are not adduced. Kleinert (in Lange's 'Bibelwerk') follows J. C. Michaelis, and alters the construction, referring אשם to the next clause, reum se faciet, cujus vis sua fuit pro Deo.

CHAPTER II.

1 Unto Habakkuk, waiting for an answer, is shewed that he must wait by faith. 5 The judgment upon the Chaldean for unsatiableness, 9 for covetousness, 12 for cruelty, 15 for drunkenness, 18 and for idolatry.

[a] Isai. 21. 8. [†] Heb. *fenced place.*

I WILL [a] stand upon my watch, and set me upon the [†] tower, and will watch to see what he will say [‡] unto me, and what I shall answer [‡‡] when I am reproved.

[‡] Or, *in me.* [‡‡] Or, *when I am argued with.*

2 And the LORD answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make *it* plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.

[†] Heb. *upon my reproof,* or, *arguing.*

3 For the vision *is* yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry,

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CHAP. II. There is now a pause. The prophet has expostulated freely, boldly; he now assumes an attitude of expectancy, waiting for the last word of the Lord.

1. *I will stand upon my watch*] Or, **watch-tower**, post of observation. The prophet in spirit retires for a time to a lonely tower, a place of private meditation, whence, like Isaiah, xxi. 6, 8, he may look over the far distance, and undisturbed by men he may hear the voice of God. It is plain that the representation is figurative.

tower] Or, *fortress;* as in the marg. "fenced place." The term is chosen probably to express the seclusion and elevation of a spirit shutting out all earthly thoughts, wholly communing with God.

and will watch] Or, **look out.** One designation of a prophet (*zopheh*), Isai. lii. 8 (see also Hos. ix. 8), is taken from the Hebrew word here used; the word for watch-tower in Isai. xxi. 6 and 8 is also derived from it. It implies an attentive, intelligent outlook.

when I am reproved] Lit. **concerning my plea.** Habakkuk refers not to a reproof addressed to himself, but to the charge, or plea, which he had urged in controversy, so to speak, with God. The expression is legal; in a suit the plaintiff is the reprover (*hochikh*), and his plea is the reproof (*tochakhtah*), the word here used. The prophet has to consider what answer he has to give himself and others, touching the words which seemed to impute injustice or inconsistency to God; see ch. i. 13. The Targum has "and what answers will be given to my entreaty."

2. *Write the vision*] The revelation of God's will, to which Habakkuk seems specially to refer, as the central point of his book, in the inscription, ch. i. 1.

make it plain] Lit. engrave, or inscribe; but the word is always used in the sense adopted by the A. V. and the old Versions; Vulg. explana.

tables] Rather, **the tablets**, such as were used for inscriptions set up in public places, or those which the prophet as such was wont to use. The same word, but in the singular, and in parallelism with "book," occurs in a similar communication to Isaiah, see ch. xxx. 8. This is to be taken literally, since the object was to arrest the attention of the people.

that he may run that readeth it] *i.e.* that every one may read it fluently (Ges. 'ut lector currat, sine negotio legat'); or, may seize its import at once in whatever haste he may be. LXX. ὅπως διώκῃ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων αὐτά.

3. *yet for an appointed time*] For a time which, though determined, is not immediately at hand.

at the end] Thus Dan. xi. 27, "for yet the end shall be at the time appointed," and *v.* 35, "*it is* yet for a time appointed;" or, as in ch. viii. 19, "yet for the days," and *v.* 26, "for many days."

it shall speak] The word "transpire" comes nearer to the Hebrew, which means literally efflabit, Vulg. apparebit. The meaning "speak" is given by Rabbins, but is not justified by Biblical usage; the radical sense of breathing is always preserved. Here it denotes either a breathing out when the end comes, or, "a living movement, a hasting or panting towards the end" (so Dr Pusey). "The prophecy is here personified, as it goes on vigorously, and struggles, as it were, with a certain vehemence, yearning for its accomplishment and fulfilment" (Reinke).

and not lie] Rather, "deceive;" will not frustrate the expectation which it raises.

though it tarry] Our A. V. uses "tarry" twice, but the Hebrew has two distinct words;

[b] Hebr. 10. 37.
[c] John 3. 36. Rom. 1. 17. Gal. 3. 11. Hebr. 10. 38.
[1] Or, *How much more.*

wait for it; because it will [b] surely come, it will not tarry.

4 Behold, his soul *which* is lifted up is not upright in him: but the [c] just shall live by his faith.

5 ¶ [1] Yea also, because he transgresseth by wine, *he is* a proud man, neither keepeth at home, who enlargeth his desire as hell, and *is* as death, and cannot be satisfied, but gathereth unto him all nations, and heapeth unto him all people:

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the former, used in this clause, denotes a delay which causes perplexity, the latter, closing the verse, implies a postponement to a time too late for rectification. Render therefore, **though it linger wait for it, for it will assuredly come to pass, it will not be too late**, or behind time; the time may be distant, but it will be the right time. The same word is rendered "slack" in Deut. vii. 10, "He will not be slack to him that hateth Him," cp. 2 Pet. iii. 9. In other passages, *e.g.* Isai. xlvi. 13; Ps. xl. 17, the A.V. has generally "tarry," which scarcely expresses the meaning.

4. The purport of the Divine communication is summed up in this verse.

Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him] Such is the character of the Chaldæan, intimated previously in ch. i. 11. The connection of thought seems to be, "True, his soul is haughty, puffed up, blown out by arrogance and the pride of success, and is not upright in him; true, he deals treacherously, recognizes neither justice nor law; yet the just will be saved from the destruction about to fall on Judah."

Uprightness in Hebrew means specially straightforwardness, "The way of the just is uprightness: Thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just," Isai. xxvi. 7, where see note.

The rendering of the A.V. is quite defensible, but it seems preferable to omit *which*; the character of the Chaldæan is described directly, first as proud, and then as unrighteous.

but the just shall live by his faith] This text, most important as supplying the keynote to St Paul's doctrinal teaching, has a distinct meaning specially applicable to the prophecy. The complaint was that the righteous man is devoured by the wicked without any intervention on the part of God, i. 13; the answer is that the wicked man is puffed up, and unrighteous, an object therefore of abhorrence to God, Who "hateth" the proud, and overthrows the unrighteous; but that the righteous will live, be preserved from the destruction which Habakkuk anticipated, on one condition, that he retain his trust in God. The word rendered "faith" has the fundamental sense of stedfastness, hence trustworthiness, faithfulness in the discharge of all duties, specially of promises; as a personal quality, truth in deed and word, and in man's relation to God firm belief and reliance on the Divine promise, the special sense in this passage; whatever may betide others who "will not believe," ch. i. 5, the righteous who believes and trusts will live. That the word is properly rendered "faith," taken in the true, full sense of trustful faith, is clear from the usage of the verb in the palmary text, "and he believed (Heb. *heemin;* the word here is *amunah* from the same root) in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness," Gen. xv. 6. That such reliance or faith is meant in our passage is evident; it is demanded in the preceding clause, "wait for it." In the mind of Habakkuk righteousness was inseparable from such faith in the Lord. For the whole passage compare Isai. xxvi. 2—4. See Note below.

The LXX. has ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται: St Paul, who adopts the other words, omits μου, but does not restore αὐτοῦ. See notes on the passages quoted in the marg. The Vulg. has, "justus autem in fide sua vivet." The construction, "just by his faith," is contrary to Hebrew grammar.

5. *Yea also, because*] From the general proposition the prophet proceeds to describe the character of the Chaldæans, regarded as the type of God's enemies. The construction of the first words is somewhat difficult. They may be rendered, "And also, since wine is a deceiver!" *i.e.* how much more will that arrogance be inflamed under the excitement of wine! Drunkenness, a special sin of the Babylonians, noted by Q. Curtius and others, was the immediate cause of the destruction of the Chaldæan dynasty, enabling Cyrus to penetrate the city while the king and citizens were revelling.

a proud man, neither keepeth at home] The pride, excited and inflamed by wine, issues in wild projects; the man is restless, cannot abide at home, be satisfied with what he possesses. This is probably the meaning (so Aben Ezra, Gesen., Maurer, Hitzig). But some Rabbins and modern commentators explain it of the privation of home; as though the restlessness, which drives him from home, would involve his ruin; but the reference to i. 6 is clear, and limits the interpretation, which thus suits the context, all this verse describing the guilt, not as yet the punishment, of the invader.

as hell] Regnum insatiabile Ditis. See Prov. xxvii. 20, xxx. 16.

as death] Thus "death" is personified,

6 Shall not all these take up a parable against him, and a taunting proverb against him, and say, † Woe to him that increaseth *that which is* not his! how long? and to him that ladeth himself with thick clay!

† Or, *Ho, he.*

7 Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee, and awake that shall vex thee, and thou shalt be for booties unto them?

8 Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all the remnant of the people shall spoil thee; because of men's † blood, and *for* the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.

† Heb. *bloods.*

9 ¶ Woe to him that [d] † coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the † power of evil!

[d] Jer. 22. 13.
† Or, *gaineth an evil gain.*
† Heb. *palm of the hand.*

10 Thou hast consulted shame to

Ps. xlix. 14; and Job xviii. 13, 14; xxvii. 15, where see notes.

but gathereth, &c.] This clause refers to i. 13—15.

6. *Shall not all these*] The extension of empire by violence and treachery does but increase the number of deadly enemies; all have suffered, all will join in execration. Full expression is given to these feelings in a series of woes, five clauses or stanzas of a lyrical parable.

a taunting proverb] The Hebrew has here two words in apposition; the former (*melitsah*) occurs Prov. i. 6, where the A.V. has "the interpretation," but in the marg. "an eloquent speech," the meaning being probably, as there given in the note, "an enigmatic saying;" but the derivation is not certain; if from the Hebrew *luts* it may mean, as it is here rendered, a taunting song. The latter word means, as it is rendered in Ps. xlix. 4, "a dark saying" (in Num. xii. 8, "dark speech"), dark, that is, because it refers to a judgment, of which there were as yet no signs discernible to human sense.

FIRST WOE, to end of *v.* 8.

that increaseth, &c.] Each woe points to some specific crime, and denounces its appropriate punishment. This first refers to the point noted in ch. i. 6, 9, and 15.

ladeth himself with thick clay] Or, **with a heavy pledge.** *I.e.* contracts a heavy burden of debt. The acquisitions of the Chaldæans, whether annexed territories or spoils amassed by rapine, are represented as so many pledges extorted from the conquered and reclaimable by them; the greater the amount the heavier the debt and the retribution. Nebuchadnezzar's own words in the Standard Inscription are, "I have amassed silver, gold, metals, precious stones of all kinds and of all values, a collection of objects of great price, immense treasures." See Note at end of Chapter.

7. *that shall bite thee*] The expression properly applies to serpents as instruments of God's wrath; "I will send serpents, cockatrices, among you,...and they shall bite you," Jer. viii. 17; but it is also used specially of creditors exacting usurious interest for a heavy debt,—a meaning here suggested by, and supporting, the expression "heavy pledge" in the preceding verse. Ewald renders it simply "creditors." The word *suddenly* points to the rise of the Medo-Persian power, the exactors of the debt; a rise not less sudden, rapid and unexpected than that of the Chaldæans.

that shall vex thee] Or, "torment thee," lit. shake thee violently, or terrify thee. Thus debtors were handed over to tormentors (βασανισταί), see notes on Matt. xviii. 34.

booties] The plural, an unusual form in Hebrew, as in English, denotes the vast amount and variety of the spoils to be wrung from the oppressor.

8. *all the remnant of the people*] Or, **peoples.** The agents in the overthrow of the Babylonian empire were Media, Persia, with confederate tribes, all of whom had been attacked and spoiled by Nebuchadnezzar, but existed as a powerful remnant ready when "awakened" to exact revenge. Cf. Jer. l. 10, 11, &c.

men's blood] The crimes which called specially for vengeance were bloodshed (blood, or bloods in the plural, = murder), referring to ch. i. 6, 8, and "violence" (i. 9) "of the land," unjust invasions, combined with cruel treatment of the city, *i.e.* Jerusalem, and of the people of Judæa, cp. Joel iii. 19. The prophet has before him the future crimes of the Chaldæans and their punishment, the latter certainly far beyond the reach of human foresight; see Introd. § iv.

SECOND WOE, *vv.* 9—11.

9. *coveteth an evil covetousness*] Or, **gaineth an evil gain for his house.** The vast spoils, spoken of in the first woe, far from being a real gain, were the direct cause of the ruin of Babylon, bringing God's curse on it, and alluring its enemies.

to his house] This may mean his home or his family, probably the former, since throughout this woe the prophet has distinctly before his mind the fortresses and the palace (described in the Standard Inscription of

thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned *against* thy soul.

‖ Or, *piece*, or, *fastening*. ‖ Or, *witness against it*.

11 For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the ‖ beam out of the timber shall ‖ answer it.

12 ¶ Woe to him that buildeth a town with [e] ‖ blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity!

[e] Ezek. 24. 9. Nahum 3.

13 Behold, *is it* not of the LORD of hosts that the people shall labour in the very fire, and the people shall weary themselves ‖ for very vanity?

‖ Heb. *bloods*.

‖ Or, *in vain?*

Nebuchadnezzar, see note on Dan. iv. 28); he sees the palace already affected by the curse which sacrilegious and unjust spoils bring with them: see the fine imagery of Zechariah, ch. v., and compare this woe with the denunciations against Jehoiakim in Jer. xxii. 13.

set his nest] The Chaldæan is thus again, as in ch. i. 8, compared to an eagle setting his nest on an inaccessible height, "that he may be beyond the reach of evil," from which also he may observe his distant prey, and dash down upon it. For the simile applied to Nebuchadnezzar, see Ezekiel, ch. xvii., and for a description of the eagle, probably present to Habakkuk's mind, see Job xxxix. 27—29. Since Babylonia is a plain, the setting on high must refer to the great height of the fortifications, which were partly built, partly restored by Nabopolassar, and completed by Nebuchadnezzar. Herodotus describes the outer and inner walls of Babylon as of immense width and height, 200 cubits by 50; see lib. I. § 178. Rawlinson, in his note on that passage, does not accept the account as literally correct; but he adduces many passages, to which this, and Jer. li. 53, may be added, which seem substantially to confirm it. The building of this great work is expressly ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar by Abydenus; but in the Standard Inscription this king only claims to have completed it. See Rawl. 'Anc. Mon.' III. pp. 497 and 524.

that he may be delivered from the power of evil] The main object of the vast works of Nabopolassar, ascribed by Herodotus, I. §§ 185, 186, to Nitocris, was defence. Thus also Nebuchadnezzar says in the Standard Inscription, "Thus I completely made strong the defences of Babylon. May it last for ever!" And again, "Inside the brick fortification another fortification of long stones, of the size of great mountains, I made. Like *Shedim* I raised up its head. For the defence of the people I constructed it."

10. *shame to thy house by*, &c.] The result being the utter and shameful ruin of the family under Belshazzar.

and hast sinned] Or, **and sinning against thy own soul**, committing a sin which will be visited on thyself, bringing with it immediate guilt, and a certainty of future punishment. The buildings, like those of Egypt under Rameses II., were the work of innumerable captives carried off ruthlessly in wars of aggression.

11. *For the stone shall cry out*, &c.] "The stone out of the wall will cry out (same word in ch. i. 2, second clause), and the beam (properly the tie-beam) out of the timber (the upper part of the palace) will answer it." Each part of the building, bearing witness to the crimes of the founder, will cry out for vengeance; thus echoing the prophet's outcry, ch. i. 2. The figure, not uncommon in classic writers, is adopted, though with a modified application, by our Lord, Luke xix. 40; it has a peculiar fitness in reference to a building founded on bloodshed and compacted by fraud, see *v.* 12. Blood shed by violence cries out for vengeance, Gen. iv. 10.

THIRD WOE, *vv.* 12—14.

12. *with blood*] Lit. bloods, *i.e.* bloodshed. The prophet sees the city in process of extension, bands of captives, Jews and Gentiles, bleeding and dying under the blows of their drivers, and he realizes the fraudful dealings by which the treasures expended in the erection of enormous fortifications had been amassed. There may be a reference to acts not specially recorded, the leading characteristics of the Chaldæans, as portrayed elsewhere, being violence, cruelty, and lust of conquest; but, as Dr Pusey observes, Daniel's exhortation, "redeem thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor," Dan. iv. 27 (where see note), implies that oppressiveness had been one of the chief sins of Nebuchadnezzar. The words may have been used here not without allusion to similar guilt in Jehoiakim, see Jer. xxii. 13 and 17.

13. *shall labour in the very fire*] Or, **shall labour for the fire**, lit. to suffice the fire. The Lord hath willed it that His enemies shall labour, erecting cities and fortresses only to be burned. The works under Nebuchadnezzar were, as we have seen, mainly executed by captive labourers; but the natives must have taken a large share in them, and probably have been wearied to exhaustion.

for very vanity?] For the fulfilment see the prophetic description of Jeremiah, ch. li. 58, who refers distinctly to this verse. "The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burned with fire, and the *people shall labour in vain*, and *the folk in the fire*, and they shall be weary." The construction "for fire" and "for vanity" is peculiar in Hebrew, leaving

14 For the earth shall be filled
[1] with the [f] knowledge of the glory
of the LORD, as the waters cover the
sea.

15 ¶ Woe unto him that giveth
his neighbour drink, that puttest thy
bottle to *him*, and makest *him* drunken
also, that thou mayest look on their
nakedness!

16 Thou art filled [1] with shame
for glory: [g] drink thou also, and let
thy foreskin be uncovered: the cup
of the LORD'S right hand shall be
turned unto thee, and shameful spew-
ing *shall be* on thy glory.

17 For the violence of Lebanon
shall cover thee, and the spoil of
beasts, *which* made them afraid, be-

[1] Or, *by knowing the glory of the* LORD.
[f] Isai. 11. 9.

[1] Or, *more with shame than with glory.*
[g] Jer. 25. 26.

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no room for doubt as to the appropriation of Habakkuk's words by Jeremiah.

14. *For the earth shall be filled*, &c.] Such will be the final result of God's judgments; one by one the empires which maintain idolatry and crime will disappear, and a period will then follow, when the glory, *i.e.* the majesty and dominion of Jehovah, will be universally recognized. The prophecy is therefore Messianic: it takes up the Divine word of Num. xiv. 21, and the prediction of Isaiah, xi. 9. The knowledge spoken of in all these passages appears to be specially the recognition of God's righteousness in exterminating evil-doers, but with distinct reference to the outpouring of the Spirit.

All ancient conquerors aimed at universal dominion: they were right in regarding it as the only condition of security against danger; but the means by which they sought to attain it involved their own ruin. The only universal empire that can endure is spiritual; the reign of righteousness, gradually, and in the end fully, manifested; first the principle in God's word, then the efficacy in the increase of true religion, finally the perfect manifestation at the second advent.

FOURTH WOE, *vv.* 15—17.

15. *giveth his neighbour drink*] The expression is figurative, but suggested by the habits of the Babylonians, see *v.* 5. The Chaldæan is compared to a man giving intoxicating, poisonous drink to his neighbour with the express purpose of bringing him to shame. The word rendered "bottle" probably means poison, *i.e.* inflammatory drink, "which biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." The besotted drunkard wallowing on the ground is a striking image of an outwitted and conquered enemy; and the uncovering of nakedness is a term specially used in reference to shameful defeat; thus Isaiah, xlvii. 3, and Nahum, iii. 5. The application of this and the following verse to the mystical Babylon is given in Revelation, xviii. 14.

16. *with shame for glory*] The Chaldæan's great object in conquest was glory, but in place of it he would have shame: the two words in Hebrew present a striking antithesis, "weight" and "lightness." There may be a reference to the grandeur of Babylon; Nebuchadnezzar says of Babylon, "The city which is the delight of mine eyes, which I have glorified." (Standard Inscription.)

the cup of the LORD'S right hand] See Ps. lxxv. 8; Jer. xxv. 15 foll.

shameful spewing] The Hebrew word, a reduplicated form, denotes rather great shame, utter disgrace. Jerome followed his Rabbinical teacher, and took it as a compound word, vomitus ignominia, hence the rendering of the A. V. Cp. Jer. xxv. 27. Both Keil and Dr Pusey consider that a word was chosen which might suggest both meanings; but this is scarcely admissible; see critical Note on *v.* 6, last word. The retaliation was complete. Babylon was captured in a drunken festival.

17. *the violence of Lebanon*] This may be taken figuratively, Lebanon as the symbol of Palestine, its noblest and most conspicuous feature, cf. Jer. xxii. 6, 23: but if not directly referring to, the figure was probably suggested by, the ravages which, as the prophet foresaw, would be committed by the soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar, who, as the king states in the Standard Inscription, cut down vast quantities of cedar for his buildings. This had been done previously by the Assyrians, see Isai. xxxvii. 24. The reference to the Chaldæans is illustrated by Isaiah, speaking of the Babylonian monarch's destruction; "Yea, the fir trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon." See also Ezek. xvii. 3, 4. The devastation of Lebanon was also foretold by Jeremiah, ch. xxii. 23.

the spoil of beasts, which made them afraid] The rendering is doubtful, probably it should be, *the slaughter of beasts shall terrify thee* (see Note at end of Chapter). The meaning appears to be that the Chaldæan will be terrified by the vision of the beasts which he has slaughtered. The "beasts" may signify the inhabitants of Lebanon or Palestine, see Jer. xxii. 20—22: but the prophet doubtless saw in the mad lust of hunting, characteristic of Babylonian kings from Nimrod downwards, an emblem of their savage dealings with all living creatures. Jerome explains it as certainly meaning "multitudinem populorum quæ multiplicata est in Jerusalem."

THE FIFTH WOE, *v.* 18 to end of chap.

The guilt of the Chaldæans, their infatuation

cause of men's blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.

18 ¶ What profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image, and a [h] teacher of lies, that [i] the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make dumb idols?

19 Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! Behold, it *is* laid over with gold and silver, and *there is* no breath at all in the midst of it.

20 But [k] the LORD *is* in his holy temple: [l] let all the earth keep silence before him.

[h] Jer. 10. 8, 14. Zech. 10. 2.
[i] Heb. *the fashioner of his fashion.*
[k] Psal. 11. 4.
[l] Heb. *be silent all the earth before him.*

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and impending destruction, are mainly attributable to gross idolatry, especially to the most absurd, yet not least seductive, of all forms of idol-worship—that addressed to images by the makers thereof; see note on Isai. ii. 8.

18. *the molten image, and a teacher of lies*] Or, **even a teacher of lies.** The molten image is represented here, and more distinctly in the next verse ("it shall teach"), as itself teaching falsehood. It represented a false object of worship, whether a Babylonian deity, or the king as the personification of the national power; it was the supposed utterer of oracles, cp. Zech. x. 2, "the idols have spoken vanity;" and it was regarded itself as a real divinity (hence sculptors were called by Greeks *θεοποιοί*), being in truth nothingness, see 1 Cor. x. 19, 20.

dumb idols] The word here rendered "idols" applies specially to little images employed in divination, or consulted as oracular. It is of course always used contemptuously as contrasted with God (*elilim*, not *elohim*). In the note on Isai. ii. 8 it is explained "unrealities," "things of nought;" thus Dr Pusey and most commentators. Fürst gives a different etymology, but a similar meaning.

19. *Woe unto him*] This exclamation might rather have been expected at the heading of the fifth woe, and the displacement is not easily accounted for. The conjecture that it was an oversight of an early copyist is obvious, but not to be received in the absence of external authority. Several words, however, in the preceding verse seem to refer to words in this, which are clear and require no explanation.

to the wood] The "inutile lignum" made a god. Cp. Jer. ii. 27, x. 8; Hos. iv. 12.

to the dumb stone] In the preceding verse "dumb idols;" in this verse the materials, in the preceding the results, are described.

Arise, it shall teach!] "It" or "he" is emphasized in the Hebrew, "he, even he, shall teach." Hence the expression already explained in the preceding verse, "a teacher of lies."

laid over] The Hebrew means, literally, "held fast," a meaning which would be suitable in this passage, images being sometimes fastened to the pedestals with gold or silver chains: but the rendering in the text is generally accepted by ancient and modern commentators, and suits the next clause.

with gold and silver] The lavish use of precious metals in the temples of the Babylonians is specially noticed in the Standard Inscription; see also note on the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. 1.

20. *But the* LORD] The living God, He Who is, is present where He is worshipped, on earth as in heaven; and whereas the idol is dumb, the whole earth is bidden to be silent before God. Cp. Zeph. i. 7.

This verse does not form part of the last woe, but is an exclamation of the prophet, shewing the impression made upon a devout mind by the revelation: he turns to the sanctuary for the final and full solution of all doubts, like Asaph in the same state of perplexity, Ps. lxxiii. 17.

NOTES on CHAP. II. 4, 6, 17.

4. The LXX., followed by the apostle, Heb. x. 38, had evidently a different, but certainly an incorrect, reading, *ἐὰν ὑποστείληται*, which Bp Wordsworth, after Pococke, endeavours to reconcile with the Masoretic text, taking it to mean withdrawal "from the proper level of humility," a sense which would be satisfactory were it supported by linguistic usage; but *ὑποστέλλομαι* in the LXX. means "to draw back from fear," Deut. i. 17; or, "have regard for" (a meaning not applicable here), and the LXX. probably used it in the former and common sense. Reinke suggests עלפה for עפלה, which scarcely removes the difficulty. The LXX. have also נפשו for נפשו, taking ישרה in the sense *εὐδοκεῖ*. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the order of the clauses is reversed, the quotation, evidently from memory, serving rather to illustrate than to confirm the argument of the writer. Dr Pusey observes, very truly and forcibly so far as the substantial import is concerned, "the prophet's words describe the proud man who stands aloof from God, in himself; St

Paul, as he is in the eye of God." The passage however shews how freely the inspired writers of the N. T. dealt with the letter of the O. T.

6. The word עכטים, an *d.* λ., is probably derived from עכט, to borrow; in Hiph., to lend on a pledge; both forms occur in Deut. xv. 6; hence the reduplicated form, "a heavy pledge." So nearly all modern commentators. The ancients generally took it as a word compounded of עב and טיט, rendered by the Syr. "a cloud of mud," by the Rabbins and Jerome, "densum lutum," abundance of clay. Dr Pusey suggests that both meanings may be included; but the modern rendering is satisfactory, and the double meaning scarcely admissible. Bp Wordsworth sees in "thick clay" an allusion to the clay walls of Babylon; but the expression "ladeth himself" does not suit this view.

17. The difficulty in this verse arises from the anomalous form יחיתן. The Rabbins take it as an irregular Hiphel, 3rd, pl. fem. from חתת, but Ewald condemns the reading altogether as corrupt and senseless. The LXX. certainly had a different reading, יחתך, with the suffix ך for ן, and render it *πτοήσει σε*. The Targum has תתברנך, conteret te. That the suffix was ך, thee, is scarcely doubtful. A learned friend, however, suggests that there is no need of any change of reading. The accents seem to suggest that the verb must be taken as a relative clause. "For the violence which thou hast inflicted in Lebanon (shall cover thee)."

CHAPTER III.

1 Habakkuk in his prayer trembleth at God's majesty. 17 The confidence of his faith.

A PRAYER of Habakkuk the prophet ‖upon Shigionoth.

‖ Or, *according to variable songs*, or, *tunes, called in Hebrew, Shigionoth.*

2 O LORD, I have heard †thy speech, *and* was afraid: O LORD, ‖revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy.

† Heb. *thy report*, or, *thy hearing.*
‖ Or, *preserve alive.*

CHAP. III. 1. *A prayer of Habakkuk... Shigionoth*] Prayer is taken in its widest sense, beginning with devout supplication, and including grateful commemoration of past, and announcement of future, mercies. On the word (tephillah) see note on Ps. xvii. 1.

Shigionoth] The plural form of the word shiggaion, which occurs once only, in the inscription of the seventh Psalm, a psalm like this hymn "remarkable for vivacity, rapid and vigorous transitions, and vivid imagery." The meaning and etymology are somewhat doubtful, but critics now generally agree that it denotes a lyrical poem composed under strong mental excitement, the dithyrambic of the Greek. Here we have deep intense feeling passing rapidly through all the phases of spiritual emotion; imagery unsurpassed for vividness and splendour; nature in dismay and amazement raised into the sphere of life, sentient, sympathizing or awe-struck at the manifestation of Divine power and wrath; clear realization of past and future judgment, the whole crowned by an expression of perfect unshaken trust.

The structure of the poem is peculiar: the predominance of the number three is remarked by Delitzsch and Dr Pusey; probably depending upon some unknown metrical law regulating the composition of this species of poetry.

Ewald, regarding this as a poem intended for public recitation in the temple, an anthem so to speak, assumes that the first (*v.* 2) and third parts (16—19) were said or sung by the prophet; the second or principal part by the people, or rather the choir of Levites. This brings out the distinctness of the several parts, and shews a hearty appreciation of the beauty and grandeur of the poem by a very competent critic; but it is open to serious objection. The changes take place in the prophet's own spirit, who speaks more than once in the first person in the midst of the part which is assigned by Ewald to the people.

2. *thy speech*] Lit., as in marg., "thy hearing," what Thou hast made me hear, Thy announcement or declaration, *i.e.* that which has been made in the preceding chapters.

was afraid] Or, I feared; the effect of the announcement was fear, not terror or dismay, but childlike fear, the fear of a believer, which is the beginning of wisdom; here it finds expression at once in prayer. In *v.* 16 stronger emotions are excited by the fulfilment of predicted judgments.

revive thy work] A good and true rendering; the work of the Lord endures, goes on without ceasing, at all times, but it comes forth, so to speak, in living act at certain great crises; it is then manifested and vividly apprehended. Here the prophet prays that the old work of deliverance, repeated at each great critical epoch in the history of Israel, may be distinctly present, as a living reality, to the minds of the people. Cp. Ps. xc. 16, 17.

in the midst of the years] The prophet fears that the length of time, which appeared to be intimated in ch. ii. 3, would be too much for the faith of the people. His first cry (ch. i. 2) had been "how long?" The period of expectation extending over many years now fills him with fear; he prays therefore that in the midst of those years God would quicken His

3 God came from [1] Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.

[1] Or, *the south.*

4 And *his* brightness was as the light; he had [1] horns *coming* out of his hand: and there *was* the hiding of his power.

[1] Or, *bright beams out of his side.*

5 Before him went the pestilence,

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work, make it known, bring it vividly present to the minds of His people. The prayer is applicable to the Church, ever militant and ever waiting, at all periods preceding the final advent of Christ: hence the emphatic repetition, shewing the prophet's deep sense of the need of such interpositions as may keep faith alive.

make known] Or, **thou wilt make known.** This explains the preceding word, "revive;" what is needed, and is here promised, is immediate light. The answer to the prayer follows at once; past judgments are set forth as pledges and precursors of the future vindication of God's righteousness.

in wrath] This refers, not to the Chaldæans, but to the Israelites, whose evil deeds (i. 2—4) deserved, and were about to receive, punishment. The prayer is one offered repeatedly by psalmists and prophets, "not in Thine anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing."

remember] Or, **thou wilt remember.** This form expresses the stedfast faith of the prophet even better than the supplicatory form. So LXX., Vulg.

SECOND PART.

Habakkuk sees in prophetic vision the coming of God for judgment and for deliverance (see *vv.* 12, 13); thus receiving an answer to both prayers, that for enlightenment, and that for mercy.

3. *God came...Paran*] Or, **God cometh.** The Hebrew is rendered thus by most interpreters ancient and modern. The prophet speaks of an impending manifestation; he adopts the imagery of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 2, of Deborah, Judg. v. 4, 5, and of David, Ps. lxviii. 7; but whereas in those passages the past is described, here the future is predicted. Dr Pusey observes, that Habakkuk omits the name Sinai, the emblem of law, thus pointing to another lawgiver; but the characteristic feature here is judgment. Here God is named Eloah, the high and all mighty, Lord of the universe; "the holy one" as God of faithful Israel: see note on ch. i. 12.

Teman and Paran] Teman or Edom (Seir in the songs of Moses and Deborah) and Paran are the two centres of manifestation in Deut. xxxiii. 2: Seir alone in Judg. v. 4. Both are properly names of two highlands, Teman being the southern, Paran the eastern district of Edom, separated by the deep depression of Al Arabah.

Selah] This and *v.* 9 are the only passages in which the word occurs out of the book of Psalms; its use here shews that the hymn was intended for recitation in the temple; it denotes a musical pause; but see Introduction to the Book of Psalms, Vol. IV. p. 170.

His glory covered...praise] Or, **covereth.** For "heaven and earth are full of His glory." "Glory" in the first clause undoubtedly refers to the full manifestation of the Divine attributes in the spiritual sphere, His eternal abode. "Praise" is taken by some critics to mean majesty or glory, but it is more natural, and accords better with the prophet's object, to understand it as referring to the praise offered, whether spontaneously or reluctantly, by the whole race of men, who witness the manifestation. The praise is the response of creation to the work of its Creator and Judge. Cp. Ps. xxii. 3.

4. *as the light*] *i.e.* as light in its source or essence; the brightness is the effulgence of the light in which God dwells (φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον). The Son, in and by Whom the Father is manifested, is the brightness (ἀπαύγασμα) of His glory. Ewald and some others take the light (as in Job xxxvii. 21) to mean the sun; but the prophet would scarcely compare the brightness of God to a creature. God is light; His manifestation is ever "above the brightness of the sun," Acts xxvi. 13, which in *v.* 11 is described as waning before Him. The visible sun is regarded truly as the receptacle of light, a fit and glorious figure, but an inadequate presentation, of the light itself, "simple, unalloyed, unshadowed, eternal" (Dean Church, 'Essay on Dante,' p. 101). The Hindoo felt this; speaking of the manifestation of the Deity, the author of the 'Bhagavat Gita,' Lect. XII. 12, says, "If in heaven a light should flash out suddenly from a thousand suns, that would be like the splendour of the mighty one."

horns coming out of his hand] Lit. two horns; the word is used, as in Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30 (where see note), absolutely for rays or flashes of light. Thus the first rays of the sun are compared by Arabic poets to the horns of the gazelle. Here the meaning seems to be "double flashes of light, forked lightnings are His, going forth from His hand." The rendering "out of his side," *i.e.* on either side, is questionable, and presents a less forcible image than that of the hand wielding and directing the thunderbolt. The word "horns" was probably chosen with reference to passages in which it is a symbol of force, as shewing the destination of the flashes, viz. to destroy God's enemies.

the hiding of his power] The light itself,

and [1]burning coals went forth at his feet.

6 He stood, and measured the earth: he beheld, and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways *are* everlasting.

7 I saw the tents of [1]Cushan [2]in affliction: *and* the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.

8 Was the LORD displeased against

[1] Or, *burning diseases.*

[1] Or, *Ethiopia.*
[2] Or, *under affliction, or, vanity.*

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which partially manifests, does in reality but hide the indwelling, invisible Godhead; one of the sublimest representations of the inconceivable glory; compare "He made darkness His secret place," in Ps. xviii. 11, a psalm constantly in the prophet's mind, who, however, introduces a new and singularly grand thought, that of darkness from "excess of light." Cp. Dante, 'Parad.' v. "Come 'l sol che si cela egli stessi per troppa luce."

5. *Before him went*] Or, "goeth;" the prophet describes an impending judgment. The fire of justice, which cleanses and restores the universe, is a pestilence bringing destruction to the foes of light, thus preparing the way for His mercy.

burning coals] Or, **burning heat** (thus Deut. xxxii. 24), *i.e.* deadly disease, fever, strokes as of lightning inflicting sudden death. "Our God is a consuming fire." The sudden destruction of Sennacherib's army must have been present to the prophet's mind, but only as the exemplification of a general law. In this passage pestilence and fever are, so to speak, personified; the Babylonians of that time regarded both as the chief of malignant spirits, in accordance with the old Accadian system: see Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 34.

6. *He stood, and measured*] This denotes the pause which precedes the bursting of the storm. As a chief stands surveying and measuring the forces of his enemy, so the Lord, as "a man of war" (Exod. xv.), observes, measures out accurately and completely the earth, which He is about to visit in judgment. This image is even more awful than that presented by the LXX., ἐσαλεύθη, "the earth shook;" it accords better with the following clause, in which the look of Him, Who measured out all quarters of the earth for judgment, is followed by the terrible shock.

drove asunder] Rather, "convulsed," made them start in sudden terror, panic-struck at the first outburst of wrath. In Job xxxvii. 1 the word is rendered, "is moved out of his place;" the movement is sudden and violent.

the everlasting mountains] Symbols of all that is most stable and enduring, the sure foundations of the earth.

were scattered] Or, **rent asunder**, shattered as by an earthquake.

did bow] Or, **did sink**, fell in, were laid low: cp. Isai. ii. 17 and xl. 4.

his ways are everlasting] *i.e.* as God now goeth forth overthrowing all that opposes itself to Him, strong and durable as it may seem to be, so have been His ways, or goings (same word as in Ps. lxviii. 24), throughout all ages, with special reference, as Herder observes, to the mountains Sinai, Seir, Paran, Bashan: so went He forth from Egypt, so through the wilderness. Hitzig takes the clause as in apposition to the preceding, mountains being the old ways of God, the foundation of His work; but this interpretation weakens the sense.

7. *I saw the tents of Cushan*, &c.] This, with other passages, proves that the prophet is himself the speaker; see note on *v.* 1. Turning from the contemplation of the Avenger, he notes the effect of former judgments. Cushan is generally held to be a poetic form for Cush, *i.e.* a Cushite people; Cush, indeed, is elsewhere invariably used throughout the Old Testament, and therefore Dr Pusey agrees with the old commentators in applying this passage to Cushan Rishathaim, Judg. iii. 8, "the first whose ambition God overruled to chasten His people." To this there is the strong objection, that the name of a person would thus be introduced, contrary to usage, and in parallelism to Midian, the name of a nation. Ewald holds that it is the name of some tribe near Midian, and suggests that it may be identified with Jokshan, Gen. xxv. 2 f.

in affliction] Or, "iniquity." There seems to be a reference to ch. i. 3, where the same word is rendered "iniquity." The prophet there complains that God let him see iniquity; here in vision he sees the people, in whose country judgment began, under the influence of iniquity. Still the rendering "affliction" is supported by good authorities, affliction or trouble being closely connected with iniquity as a sure and direct result, and this meaning suits the parallelism. The prophet sees the old enemies of Israel in utter misery.

the curtains] *i.e.* hangings of the tents.

did tremble] Rather, "tremble." The prophet sees the old judgment about to be repeated; the nomad tribes in terror of such extermination as befell the Midianites, Judg. viii. 10, referred to by psalmist, Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 11, 12, and prophet, Isai. ix. 4, as typical of the utter destruction awaiting the oppressors of Israel.

8. *Was the* LORD, &c.] Cp. Ps. cxiv. 5, 6. As if startled by the vision, the prophet turns to inquire what was the cause of the tremendous visitation which fell on "rivers," the Nile and the Jordan, and on "the sea," *i.e.* the Red Sea:

the rivers? *was* thine anger against the rivers? *was* thy wrath against the sea, that thou didst ride upon thine horses *and* ‖ thy chariots of salvation?

‖ Or, *thy chariots were salvation?*

9 Thy bow was made quite naked, *according* to the oaths of the tribes, *even thy* word. Selah. ‖ Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers.

‖ Or, *Thou didst cleave the rivers of the earth.*

10 The mountains saw thee, *and* they trembled: the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice, *and* lifted up his hands on high.

11 The sun *and* moon [a] stood still in their habitation: ‖ at the light of thine [b] arrows they went, *and* at the shining of thy glittering spear.

[a] Josh. 10. 12.

‖ Or, *thine arrows walked in the light, &c.*

[b] Josh. 10. 11.

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the answer is that the true ultimate object of all interpositions, in which God arrays His hosts for vengeance, is the salvation of His elect. Herder observes, "The striking form of this question shews the alarm of the seer, and gives a lofty movement to the ode. Such interruptions of the narrative are found in Ps. cxiv. 5, 6, and elsewhere; they give a peculiarly noble and elevated turn to Oriental poetry."

and thy chariots of salvation] Rather, **thy chariots are salvation.** A most striking clause; the chariotry of God are His angelic hosts, "even thousands of angels," Ps. lxviii. 17, see also 2 K. vi. 17; but the term applies to all creatures who execute His purposes, *e.g.* to Elijah and Elisha, 2 K. ii. 12, and xiii. 14. The word "salvation" (not "victory" as many render it, contrary to Hebrew usage) gives, suddenly and unexpectedly, the key to all the mystery of judgment, see *v.* 13.

9. *Thy bow was* (rather, *is*) *made quite naked*] As the horsemen and chariots come near, the bow is drawn forth from the sheath, which as in Egyptian representations was suspended on the side of the war-car.

according to the oaths of the tribes, even thy word] An obscure and contested expression. Our Version follows Jerome, who explains it to mean "the oaths which Thou spakest to the tribes," a rendering accepted, as on the whole presenting least difficulty, by Rosenmüller, and by Dr Pusey, who observes, "the oath, the word or promise of God, to His people, was *that they should be saved from their enemies and from the hand of all that hate them.*" Among other renderings the least improbable seems to be "chastisements sworn according to promise:" but see Note below.

Selah] The pause, denoted by Selah, marks a sentence of peculiar solemnity. It introduces a new series of images, representing the convulsions of nature at the coming of the Judge.

Thou didst cleave, &c.] Didst break up the earth, as at the deluge, Gen. vii. 11; thus bringing on the countries under judgment "an overflowing scourge," Isai. xxviii. 15. The words describe physically an earthquake, but are to be understood of judgments to be inflicted by the destined instruments of Divine vengeance.

10. *The mountains saw thee, and they trembled*] Rather, **tremble.** The crash or downfall of the mountains is here referred to its cause: "the mountains" (here as elsewhere personified, a preparation for the still bolder personifications in the following clauses) shake with terror at the very sight of the Avenger. The trembling (a strong word, applied to the throes of travail) rends the mountains, and a torrent of waters rushes forth.

the deep uttered his voice] "The deep" here, as in Gen. xlix. 25, and Deut. xxxiii. 13, means the great deep (*i.e.* the waters under the earth), which finds a voice or utterance in the roar of the outbursting torrent, and comes forth, as it were, a suppliant with uplifted hands, imploring mercy of God. Compare the imagery in Ps. lxxvii. 16 ff.; a psalm to which frequent reference is made in this book.

11. *The sun and moon*, &c.] Or, "Sun, moon stood each in his dwelling;" withdrew and hid himself in terror at the Divine Presence. A magnificent figure, and, like all true poetry, true to nature—a vivid portraiture of the thick darkness of the mid-tempest. It is as though the sun, and, as the storm rages on without ceasing, the moon, withdrew into the tabernacle of enshrouding cloud. Compare the imagery of the 18th Psalm, 7—14, specially the 11th verse: "He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies." Some commentators, ancient and modern, see in this passage a direct reference to Josh. x. 12 ff.; nor can it be doubted that a passage of such transcendant grandeur was present to the spirit of our prophet; but the image which he sets before us is different. There sun and moon stand still to give light to the avengers: here both stand in awe and terror, overpowered by the terrific splendour of God's light.

at the light of thine arrows they went] "They went" is generally referred to arrows, "as" or "which" being supplied; but it seems better to take the sun and moon as the subjects (so A.V., Syr., Targ.); "they went," turned away in terror and hid themselves at the flashing of God's arrows, **at the splendour of the lightning of His spear.**

12 Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

13 Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, *even* for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked, † by discovering the foundation unto the neck. Selah.

† Heb. *making naked.*

14 Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his villages: they † came out as a whirlwind to scatter me: their rejoicing *was* as to devour the poor secretly.

† Heb. *were tempestuous.*

15 Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses, *through* the ‖ heap of great waters.

‖ Or, *mud.*

16 When I heard, my belly trem-

"Glittering" here, in Deut. l. c., and in Nahum iii. 3, falls short of the Hebrew "lightning."

12. *Thou didst march*] Rather, **Thou dost tread the earth.** Habakkuk has the present and future before his mind, and in this and the following verses he states fully and plainly the immediate and final objects of God's judgments.

didst thresh] Or, **dost.** Cp. Isai. xxi. 10. Scrivener, in his most valuable edition of the English Bible, refers to Jer. l. 11; but the reading and sense there are doubtful, see critical Note, Vol. v. p. 562.

13. *Thou wentest forth*] Here the prophet reverts to the past, as a pledge and assurance of the future; "the word here used is specially applied to the going forth of Jehovah to war on behalf of His people, Judg. v. 4; Isai. xlii. 13," Reinke.

with thine anointed] Some commentators take this as an appellation of Israel, called "a royal priesthood;" but the term "anointed" is not distinctly applied to Israel in any passage; not in Ps. xxviii. 8, to which Rosenmüller refers. Here it may possibly denote the Davidic king, not as an individual, but as head of the Theocracy, and as a type of the One Anointed; but more probably it points directly to the expected Messiah, and secondarily only to His representative on the throne of David. The Messianic hope was too vivid in the age of Habakkuk to have been absent from his spirit dwelling on the theme of salvation. The expression "*with*" is specially applicable to the work accomplished in and by the Anointed Son. The construction is open to question, and the generality of modern commentators make the "thine anointed" the object of the verbal noun "salvation," the phrase being then equivalent to, "for the salvation of thine anointed." But the A.V. is probably correct. In the Hebrew there is a variation of grammatical structure between the two clauses "for the salvation of thy people" and "for salvation *with* thine anointed," and this latter rendering is in accordance with Hebrew usage; see Gen. iv. 1 and note on Hosea vii. 5.

thou woundedst the head] Cp. Ps. lxviii. 21, cx. 6. "The head out of the house of the wicked" refers, probably, to the Babylonian king, see ch. ii. 9, &c.; not without allusion to the permament head of ungodly powers, and to the primeval sentence, Gen. iii. 15. This is in harmony with the rendering of the preceding clause. Some, however, take it in combination with the following clause, and explain it as the summit or roof; the blow falls on the roof, and the house is laid bare from the foundation to the neck, *i.e.* the upper part of the wall adjoining the crushed roof. The substantial meaning is not affected, since the whole house represents the family or dominion, and the summit its head.

14. *the head of his villages*] Rather, **the chief of his warriors**; the rendering "villages" cannot stand; the Vulg. bellatorum, "of warriors," gives a good sense, and has a probable etymology. Thus Targ., Rashi, Kimchi, Reinke; modern commentators take it to mean either troops or chieftains. The expression "with his staves," *i.e.* with his own weapons, implies that the captains of the Babylonians were beaten by troops from nations which had previously been subject to their king. Thus the Medo-Persian army defeated Nabopolassar II., and afterwards captured Babylon.

they came out as a whirlwind] *I.e.* the chieftains whom God smote. The Hebrew word graphically describes the stormy onslaught of the Chaldæan invaders, see i. 6—9. Cp. Zech. vii. 14.

to scatter me] Habakkuk speaks as a representative of his people, and as a servant of God. The word "scatter" points back to *v.* 6, where the retributive judgment is described.

their rejoicing, &c.] Like robbers exulting in the success of an attack by night upon the house of one unable to defend himself.

the poor] A formal designation of the innocent and defenceless. Compare Ps. x. 8—11; this psalm has other points of strong resemblance to Habakkuk.

15. *Thou didst walk through the sea*] This clause, which winds up the lyrical episode, refers to the crowning triumph over Egypt, as illustrating the advance of God's avenging forces. It will be remembered that the destruction of Babylon was effected by the

bled; my lips quivered at the voice: rottenness entered into my bones, and I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble: when he cometh up unto the people, he will ‖ invade them with his troops.

‖ Or, *cut them in pieces.*

17 ¶ Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither *shall* fruit *be* in the vines; the labour of the olive shall † fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and *there shall be* no herd in the stalls:

† Heb. *lie.*

18 Yet I will rejoice in the LORD, I will joy in the God of my salvation.

19 The LORD God *is* my strength,

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entrance of the enemy through the bed of the Euphrates; but what the prophet sees is the general or ideal course of God's judgment.

with thine horses] Or, omitting "with," thine horses, in apposition to "Thou;" Thou, Thy horses, the horses which Thou hast directed. For the construction compare Ps. xvii. 13.

the heap of great waters] Referring evidently to Exod. xv. 8, "the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap;" see also Ps. lxxviii. 13, where, however, a different word is used. The word here employed is applied to heaps of frogs in Exod. viii. 10 (14, A.V.). The marginal rendering is not correct.

great waters] Cp. Ps. lxxvii. 19.

16. *When I heard*, &c.] The prophet thus refers to the words with which he began the hymn, but in stronger terms. The contemplation of the Divine judgments, and the vivid realization of a Theophany, has here, and elsewhere (cp. Dan. x. 8; Job xlii. 5, 6), as its immediate effect, an overpowering feeling of awe, dismay, terror. The man feels how near he must be to the destruction due to all sinners, and inflicted on the reprobate.

trembled] The fear, which the announcement of God's purposes had already produced, see *v.* 2, is developed into terror. The word "trembling" describes a violent perturbation; it is the same which in *v.* 2 (where see note) is rendered "wrath." The whole system undergoes a terrific shock; the belly (regarded by the Hebrew as the principal seat of physical emotion) is torn by spasms, cp. Jer. iv. 19; the lips quiver, a word elsewhere used of the "ringing" of the ears in terror, see 1 S. iii. 11; Jer. xix. 3; the bones, seat of intensest pain (see note on Ps. vi. 2), are smitten with decay, sudden as by a stroke of lightning; the whole man is convulsed by terror.

I trembled in myself] Lit. under myself, shaken in all my limbs.

that I might rest] Yet this sudden and complete prostration, subduing all movements of the will, serves to prepare the prophet for rest, a still, passive state of acquiescence or patient waiting (see ch. ii. 3) in the day of trouble, when the enemy, commissioned by God to chastise His people, "cometh up;" see Ps. xciv. 13, "that thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity." Bp Wordsworth adopts the construction proposed, but not adopted, by Keil, "I who shall rest;" but the other seems preferable; it yields a still stronger sense, and it is supported by most commentators.

invade them with his troops] One word only in the Hebrew, used specially of incursions by hostile troops, see Gen. xlix. 19. The allusion is evidently to the bands of Chaldæans, Syrians, &c., sent against Jehoiakim after his rebellion, see 2 K. xxiv. 2.

17. *Although the fig tree*, &c.] This verse describes the utter desolation which will usher in, or follow, that day of trouble. Many commentators have "for" instead of "although," thus making this verse a part of the clause preceding it; but the rendering "although" appears more suitable, pointing to the "yet I" in the following verse. The prophet sees in spirit the advance of the Chaldæans into Palestine; fruit-trees cut down, corn-fields trampled upon, flocks and herds carried off by the spoilers, a complete devastation; but his soul recovers at once from the shock; it rests; and reverting to the keynote of Divine emotions, the prophet bursts out in an exclamation unsurpassed for beauty and power, though not without parallels in every age of faith.

the fig tree, &c.] The fig, vine, and olive, are everywhere spoken of as the noblest products of Palestine.

the labour of the olive] Or, the "produce;" the Hebrew word is specially used of bearing fruit. Cp. Exod. xxiii. 16.

shall fail] Lit. *deceive* or *frustrate*, sc. the hope of the possessor, cp. Isai. lviii. 11; Hos. ix. 2.

fields] Properly "cornfields." The whole of this verse corresponds very remarkably with two predictions of Jeremiah: one in ch. xiv. 2—6, where he describes a terrible famine, occurring probably in the early part of Jehoiakim's reign; the other in ch. v. 17, where he speaks of the ravages of the Chaldæans, "They shall eat up thy harvest, and thy bread: they shall eat up thy flocks and thy herds; they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees."

18. *Yet I will rejoice*] A great word, with many an echo in the N. T., as, "Rejoice in the

[c] 2 Sam. 22. 34. Psal. 18. 33. and he will make my feet like [c]hinds' *feet*, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places. To the chief singer on my [†] stringed instruments. [†] Heb. *neginoth.*

Lord alway, and again I say, Rejoice." The two words chosen by Habakkuk imply exultation and strong emotion, the outcome of the faith which gives life and fulness of joy.

of my salvation] A word expressing most fully the ground of the prophet's rejoicing; it refers specially to *vv.* 8, 13; and shews also how thoroughly Habakkuk realized the promise of ii. 4.

19. *my strength*, &c.] The words in this concluding verse are evidently chosen as recalling the 18th Psalm, the great Davidic hymn of triumph; "my strength or might" expresses the purport of the first verse; in that psalm the word itself occurs in *v.* 32.

he will make my feet like hinds' feet] See marg. ref.

he will make me to walk upon mine high places] Ps. xviii. 33, "He setteth me upon my high places," cp. Deut. xxxiii. 29. The reference to the 18th Psalm has a peculiar fitness, since the hopes of the prophet were specially founded upon the promises of God, which assured "great deliverance and mercy to His anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore," Ps. xviii. 50.

my stringed instruments] The word "my" strongly confirms the inference drawn from other notices, that Habakkuk was a member of the Levitical choir.

NOTE on CHAP. III. 9.

The meaning of each word is contested; the old Versions are hopelessly at variance. שבעות might mean (1) "sevens" (Ewald after Herder renders it "*siebenfache*"), or (2) "weeks;" but the more common meaning is (3) "oaths." The choice lies between 1 and 3. מטות may mean tribes, or staves, specially in the sense of chastisements; for instances see Ges.'Th.' s.v. אמר, a poetic word, undoubtedly means "word" in the sense of promise, command, or decree. Hence the combinations (1) "sevens of chastisements are the decree," *i.e.* a sevenfold or complete series of blows is ordained; (2) "oaths of tribes such is the promise;" a construction which, if grammatically defensible, is harsh, and scarcely intelligible; (3) "oaths of chastisements," or "chastisements sworn *according* to promise or decree," a rendering which has the advantage of keeping the very probable reference to Deut. xxxii. 40—42, and is well adapted to the context. After all, the ablest critics admit that no very satisfactory explanation of the text, as it stands, is given.

ZEPHANIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

i. *The Prophet, his name and descent* . 677
ii. *His date.* 677
iii. *His subject and style* 678

i. THE name is not peculiar to the prophet. It is borne also by three other persons mentioned in the Old Testament. Its meaning is *one whom Jehovah hides* or *guards* (cf. Ps. xxvii. 5), not *the Watchman of Jehovah*, as Jerome and others have explained it.

It is customary with the Hebrew Prophets to mention only the name of their fathers. It is remarkable, therefore, that Zephaniah carries back his pedigree for four generations, calling himself *the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah.* In the Hebrew the name of the last ancestor is the same as that of the Jewish king *Hezekiah.* Although he is not here styled king, and no son of his named *Amariah* is mentioned elsewhere, it has been thought probable by many that the prophet was of royal descent. This fact might account for his tracing his descent from *Hezekiah* and stopping there.

Of his history we know nothing beyond what may be gathered from his brief prophecy, which is addressed to Judah and Jerusalem (i. 1, 4, iii. 1).

ii. He tells us that this was delivered *in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah.* This king reigned from 642 to 610. Have we any means of determining to which part of his reign the prophecy is to be assigned? to the earlier or the later portion? Two epochs in the reign of Josiah are especially mentioned; the twelfth year in which he *began to purge the land* of idolatry (2 Chro. xxxiv. 3), and the eighteenth in which the *book of the law* was found during the repair of the temple, and he began a great Reformation (2 Chro. xxxiv. 8—xxxv. 19). Some place the delivery of the prophecy in the former, others in the latter period. The advocates of either view appeal to certain words employed by the prophet.

1. In i. 8, *the king's children* or *sons* are mentioned as those that should be punished. If the phrase is taken to mean *the sons of the king* then reigning, a very late date must be assigned to the prophecy, as Josiah mounted the throne when he was only eight years old. But there is no solid reason for thus explaining the words. They may well be understood of any princes of the royal line.

2. *The remnant of Baal* (i. 4). These words have been taken as implying that Baal and his worshippers had already received some heavy blow, and were almost exterminated, that only a small *remnant* remained. On the other hand, it has been urged with much force, that such a view is hardly consistent with the context, in which the worship of Baal is spoken of as still flourishing. Besides this, it greatly weakens the prophet's words. After a magnificent exordium, he would merely say that what remained of Baal worship, after an almost total extinction, should disappear. Does it not suit better the majesty of the prophet's language, to suppose that he means, that so complete should be the overthrow of this form of idolatry, that not even a

remnant should survive, as he adds that the very *name of the Chemarim* should perish?

Another indication of time is supplied by the prediction of Nineveh's destruction (ii. 13). As, however, it is not yet determined whether this event is to be placed, with Clinton (*Fasti Hellen*, I. 269) B.C. 606, or, with others, twenty years earlier, it does not help us to fix exactly the age of the prophecy. On the whole, it would appear to be probable that the prophecy was delivered between the twelfth and eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah. For a review of the events of contemporary history see Introd. to Habakkuk, § iii.

It has also been thought by some in recent times that the occasion of the prophecy was the great invasion of the Scythians, who overran Asia towards the close of the seventh century before our era. Herodotus, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of this inroad (I. 103 foll.), asserts the Scythians were masters of Upper Asia (IV. 1) for 28 years, and that having reached Palestine, they were induced to abstain from invading Egypt by rich gifts from Psammetichus. There is, however, nothing in Zephaniah that can be shewn to refer to them. The prophet does not name or describe those who were to be used by God as the instruments for accomplishing His will. This, however, is not surprising, as Habakkuk had already mentioned the Chaldæans by name, as those who were to chastise the people of Israel. Those, too, who find the Scythians here, maintain that they are the invaders of Palestine foretold by Jeremiah, but there is nothing in his language which makes it necessary to forsake the commonly accepted view that he describes the Chaldæans. (See Introd. to Jeremiah, p. 314).

Besides, it must be remembered that the exact date of the Scythian invasion has not been agreed upon by chronologists, and that the writers of the Old Testament say nothing about the subject. Josephus is equally silent; and from the statement of Herodotus it appears that the Scythians passed along the sea coast, and committed no ravages on their way.

But in truth, to seek for the occasion of the prophecy in any great commotion of that age is quite unnecessary. Such an inquiry is hardly consistent with a true conception of the prophet's office. He was not one who carefully observed the events of his day, and *guessed* what was likely to happen. He claimed to be specially *taught of God* to reprove the people for their sins, and to warn them of the dangers that threatened them. And an adequate occasion for the words of Zephaniah is found in the idolatry and depravity of the nation, which he rebukes. (i. 4, 5, 6, ii. 1, iii. 1—4).

iii. In "the goodly fellowship of the prophets," Zephaniah is conspicuous for the comprehensiveness of his words. He does not confine himself to the destiny of his own people. When he mentions other nations, he seems to single out from west and east, south and north (ii. 4—15), such as would serve as examples of his great subject—the universal government of God as Judge of all. His far-reaching gaze takes in the judgments and mercies of God as extending over all the earth (i. 1—3, ii. 11, iii. 8, 9). He has indeed no prediction of the Messiah himself, but he foresees the time when all nations shall unite in the worship of the true God (iii. 9).

Hence his short book has been well described by Bucer as "a compendium of all prophecy." And this peculiarity agrees well with the frequent use he makes of the earlier Scriptures. In his own language, if not in a translation, his familiarity with the words of Deuteronomy and Isaiah is constantly seen, as is pointed out in the Notes. A good single example of his manner is supplied by i. 7, where he evidently had in his mind Hab. ii. 20, Joel i. 15, Isai. xxxiv. 6, xiii. 3, 6. And in doing this, he is no mere imitator or copyist. He simply shews that he is not isolated, that he is one of a series of Divine messengers, and that he links his message on to theirs. And in the same manner Jeremiah and Ezekiel incorporate his expressions with their own[1].

[1] For examples see notes on i. 3, 18, iii. 2, 3, 4, 5.

ZEPHANIAH.

CHAPTER I.

God's severe judgment against Judah for divers sins.

THE word of the LORD which came unto Zephaniah the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah, in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah.

2 †I will utterly consume all *things* from off † the land, saith the LORD.

3 I will consume man and beast; I will consume the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the ‖ stumblingblocks with the wicked; and I will cut off man from off the land, saith the LORD.

4 I will also stretch out mine hand

† Heb. *By taking away I will make an end.*

† Heb. *the face of the land.*

‖ Or, *idols.*

CHAP. I. 1. *The word of the* LORD *which came*] This phrase, which is used as a preface by other prophets also (Jer. i. 2; Ezek. i. 3; Hos. i. 1; Joel i. 1; Jonah i. 1; Micah i. 1; Hagg. i. 1; Zech. i. 1), declares at the outset that what is to follow, though uttered by man, has God for its author. *Came* is literally *was*. The same form is retained in the N. T. of John the Baptist (Luke iii. 2).

2. *I will utterly consume*] It is thus that we endeavour to give the force of the common Hebrew idiom, in which the thought is twice expressed, the verb being twice used. Commonly it is the same verb that is repeated. Here, as in other instances, two cognate verbs are employed. The marginal rendering is therefore very accurate, *By taking away I will make an end*. This peculiar phrase of Zephaniah is found also in Jeremiah (viii. 13), who seems to have adopted it from the earlier prophet. The *all* of *v.* 2 is explained in detail in *v.* 3.

2, 3. *from off the land*] Better, **from off the face of the earth**. These verses appear to contain a solemn warning of universal judgments; for (1) there is nothing to restrict them to Judah, and (2) the word translated *land* may be understood, as it frequently is, of the whole earth. And the prophet's language is so like that of Gen. vi. 7, that it confirms the rendering, cp. Isai. xxvi. 21; Micah i. 2—4). Each of God's judgments is a foreshadowing of that one which is final.

man and beast...fowls...fishes] Cp. Hos. iv. 3. The lower creatures suffer with man (Rom. viii. 20—22).

the stumblingblocks with the wicked] Other renderings of these words have been proposed. But this is the simplest and best. The word for *stumbingblock* is rare, but the meaning is probably the same as that of the commoner form. What is meant may be *idols* (as in margin), which are often spoken of indirectly in words expressive of abhorrence or contempt. Similarly we have in Ezekiel (xiv. 3), *the stumblingblock of iniquity*. There is a threat like that in the text in Lev. xxvi. 30. This was what was actually done by Josiah, who *strewed* the fragments of the idols *upon the graves of them that had sacrificed unto them* (2 Chro. xxxiv. 4). Or the word may be taken as *πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα*, *all things that offend*, in Matt. xiii. 41.

The verse ends with *I will cut off man from off the face of the earth*. Other creatures suffer with *man*, but *man* is the object of the Divine anger. With him therefore the prophet begins and ends the verse. Only it is to be remarked that in his own language he gives special prominence to *man* at the end. Compare Gen. vi. 7, vii. 21 in Heb. And further, twice in these two verses he uses the phrase *saith the Lord*, lit. *the utterance* or *oracle of the Lord*, so frequent in the prophetic writings, to attest the certainty of what is foretold.

4. *I will also*, &c.] Lit. it is, *And I will stretch*. Here the prophecy descends to particulars. *Judah* and *Jerusalem* are to be visited. *Judgment* is to *begin at the house of God* (1 Pet. iv. 17). God is said to *stretch out His hand* in the execution of His heavier judgments, as in Exod. xv. 12, and the use of the phrase might recall its iteration in Isaiah (v. 25, ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4). Where could idolatrous worship be more offensive than in Jerusalem, which the Lord had chosen to put His name there? *From this place* every vestige of Baal is to be cut off. Such appears to be the meaning of the expression, *the remnant of Baal*. Many have understood it otherwise, of the remains of the worship that still lurked among the people, after diligent search had been made and many had been punished. But this view seems hardly consistent with the

upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, *and* the name of the Chemarims with the priests;

5 And them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops; and them that worship *and* that swear [1] by the LORD, and that swear by Malcham;

6 And them that are turned back from the LORD; and *those* that have not sought the LORD, nor inquired for him.

7 Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord GOD: for the day of the LORD *is* at hand: for the LORD hath prepared a sacrifice, he hath [†] bid his guests.

8 And it shall come to pass in the day of the LORD's sacrifice, that I will [†] punish the princes, and the

[1] Or, *to the* LORD.

[†] Heb. *sanctified*, or, *prepared*.

[†] Heb. *visit upon*.

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dignity of the prophecy, or with the context, in which the worship of Baal is spoken of as performed openly, with a regular priesthood. As *the remnant of Baal* is to be cut off, so the very *name of the Chemarims with the priests*. Our translators have retained the original word *Chemarims*, which occurs also in Hos. x. 5, and 2 K. xxiii. 5. In this last place, which records the fulfilment of this prediction, the A. V. has *idolatrous priests*; in the margin *Chemarim*. This word is employed in Syriac to denote any *priests*. In the Hebrew text and the Targum it denotes only *priests of idols*. Its etymology is uncertain.

the priests] are probably those of Aaron's family, who either secretly or openly *had other gods before* the Lord, cf. Ezek. viii. 7, foll. In iii. 4 *the priests* are charged with polluting the sanctuary and violating the law.

5, 6. From the *priests* the prophet passes to the people; and the very form of his language, which cannot be preserved in a translation, indicates that he divided them into three classes, (1) open idolaters; (2) those who professed to worship God, and really served idols; (3) such as in other ways had cast off the fear of God.

The word rendered *worship* is literally bowing down to the ground, here as an act of adoration.

them that worship...that swear...that are turned back] are each participles in the original. So it is habits, not single acts, that are spoken of. Moses had warned the people against the worship of the *host of heaven* (Deut. iv. 19). But in the early days of Josiah this worship had not only been adopted by individuals, and had priests to perform its rites: it had invaded the very temple itself (see 2 K. xxiii. 4).

the housetops] may have been chosen as affording a clearer view of the heavenly bodies.

them that worship and that swear]. The insertion of the conjunction here obscures the force of the language. It is somewhat abrupt and disjointed, as if the prophet paused, not saying "the worshippers of the Lord," but adding a description of such as *halted between two opinions* (1 K. xviii. 21, 2 K. xvii. 41), professing to serve God, and really serving the idol of their choice.

swear by the LORD] should be as in marg. **swear to the Lord**, swear fealty to Him, and at the same time *swear by*, solemnly appeal to as their true God, **their King**, the idol god who was in truth their Sovereign. So the prophet Amos (*v.* 26) speaks of **your King** (A.V. *your Moloch*). Here Baal seems to be meant.

The sixth verse describes ungodly men, who had cast off the restraints of Jehovah's worship, whose lives said clearly, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways*.

As in *vv.* 4—6 impiety is threatened, so here in *vv.* 7—13 the prophet announces the punishment that awaits the nobles (*vv.* 8, 9), the traders (*v.* 11), and the rich who lived at their ease (*vv.* 12, 13), for their respective offences—violence, covetousness, indifference.

7. *Hold thy peace*] It is one word in Hebrew. *Hush! Be still.* The people are bidden to await, full of awe, the approach of the Great Judge. The same phrase is used by Habakkuk (ii. 20) and Zechariah (ii. 13). And it is probable that Zephaniah adopted it from Habakkuk. See Dr Pusey's Introd. to Hab. p. 399, note.

the day of the LORD] is any day in which He executes His judgments signally on the ungodly, cf. Joel i. 15; Isai. xiii. 6; Obad. 15.

The *sacrifice* is the guilty Jewish people. God himself *prepares* it, and it may well be called a *sacrifice*, because the punishment is merited, cf. Isai. xxxiv. 6.

his guests] Lit. *His bidden* or *invited ones*. The illustration is drawn from those sacrifices in which the offerer invited his friends to share the flesh of the victim, see 1 S. ix. 12, 13. These guests, the Chaldæan invaders, *He hath bid*, or better, **sanctified**, as marg., or **consecrated**, for it is a holy war in which they are engaged. They are set apart as the ministers and instruments of God's wrath, cp. Isai. xiii. 3.

8. *punish*] The Hebrew is literally rendered in the marg. *visit upon*. The simple verb is expressive alike of mercy and judgment, but

king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel.

9 In the same day also will I punish all those that leap on the threshold, which fill their masters' houses with violence and deceit.

10 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD, *that there shall be* the noise of a cry from the fish gate, and an howling from the second, and a great crashing from the hills.

11 Howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh, for all the merchant people are

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when combined with the prep. that is used here it is restricted to the latter.

the princes] stand first in dignity and influence, and are therefore foremost in punishment.

the king's children] Or, **sons**. It is difficult to determine who are meant by these words. No king is here named, and therefore the phrase need not be restricted to the sons of Josiah. And no valid argument can be derived from them respecting the date of the prophecy (see Introd. § ii.). Probably princes of the royal house are meant; possibly the sons of the last king, Zedekiah, cp. 2 K. xxv. 7.

such as are clothed with strange apparel] will include all those who preferred the **foreign** dress and style to that of their own nation (Num. xv. 38), the princes and those who imitated them. They dressed in the Egyptian or Babylonian fashions, according to their sympathies, and thus shewed how lightly they regarded their own national privileges as a people specially set apart by God for high ends. There is no evidence that the adoption of **foreign apparel** was directly connected with idolatry, as some have thought.

9. *also*] In the Hebrew it is simply *and*. So *the same day* is **that day**, as in the next verse. The clause, *all those that leap on the threshold*, contains a phrase that does not occur in any other place, and hence its meaning has been much disputed. There seems to be no allusion to Dagon's threshold (see 1 S. v. 5). The context refers to civil disorders, to rapine and oppression, and those here threatened seem to be the unscrupulous retainers of the rich and powerful, who violently invaded the dwellings of such as could not resist, and carried off from them by force what would enrich **their master's house**, the lord or chief whom they unscrupulously served. The ill-gotten goods are spoken of as *violence and deceit*, as being acquired by these means, and thus involving their possessor in guilt. So the prophet Amos (iii. 10) speaks of those *who store up violence and robbery in their palaces*. Compare the language of Jeremiah (v. 27) charging the Jews with rapacity.

10. *saith the* LORD] As in *v.* 2. Here and in the three following verses the prophet speaks as if Jerusalem were already taken by the enemy, and as if he saw and heard what was passing within the city in every part. He mentions several of its quarters.

the fish gate] is mentioned elsewhere, 2 Chro. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39; but these passages do not determine its position. It appears to have been situated towards the north or north-east. It may have derived its name from the fish sold there, which coming from Joppa, or the Sea of Galilee, might conveniently enter on that side.

The next quarter is called *the second*, a term, as it stands, hardly intelligible to the English reader. It designates the lower part of the city, and corresponds with Acra according to Robinson. It is improperly rendered *college* in 2 K. xxii. 14 (where see note); 2 Chro. xxxiv. 22. It is found also in Neh. xi. 9, where A. V. has "second over the city." The rendering, perhaps, should be "over the second city."

the hills] are probably Zion, Moriah, strong and high places within the walls, from which a *crashing* is heard as the buildings on them are assaulted and demolished.

11. *ye inhabitants of Maktesh*] Rather, **ye inhabitants of the Mortar**, for even if it is a proper name here it retains its meaning. It may be gathered from the context that by this name is designated some part of Jerusalem occupied by merchants and traders. It is difficult to determine which part is meant. According to the Targum, the valley of Kidron is intended; but the opinion of Jerome is more probable, who understands by the word the valley of Siloam in the lower city. A portion of this is named by Josephus φάραγξ τυροποιῶν, and is called in modern books *Tyropœon*. Probably it is the same quarter as that occupied by the bazaars of the merchants at the time of the siege of Titus (Smith's 'B. D.' *Jerusalem*, Vol. I. p. 1012 *b*). Its form agrees with the name *mortar* used by the prophet. Some have thought that the term was chosen as expressive of the noises in the bazaar; others that it intimates the end of its inmates, crushing and destruction. It can hardly be a name for the whole city, connected as it is specially with trade; nor can *maktesh* be taken, with some, as a substitute for *mikdash* (*a sanctuary*) as Jerusalem never bears that name.

merchant people] Rather, **people of Canaan**. Those whose soul was engrossed in

cut down; all they that bear silver are cut off.

12 And it shall come to pass at that time, *that* I will search Jerusalem with candles, and punish the men that are [†] settled on their lees: that say in their heart, The LORD will not do good, neither will he do evil.

13 Therefore their goods shall become a booty, and their houses a desolation: they shall also build houses, but [a] not inhabit *them;* and they shall plant vineyards, but not drink the wine thereof.

14 The great day of the LORD *is* near, *it is* near, and hasteth greatly, *even* the voice of the day of the LORD: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly.

15 That day *is* a day of [b] wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness,

16 A day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers.

17 And I will bring distress upon men, that they shall walk like blind

† Heb. *curded*, or, *thickened*.

[a] Deut. 28. 30, 39. Amos 5. 11.

[b] Jer. 30. 7. Joel 2. 11. Amos 5. 18.

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buying and selling and getting money, had forfeited the honoured name of Israel, and deserved to be called by the name of the original inhabitants, whom they closely resembled, cp. Hos. xii. 8; Zech. xiv. 21; Isai. i. 10; Ezek. xvi. 3.

cut down] is a totally different word from that rendered *cut off;* it means, *be destroyed, perish.*

bear silver] Better, *laden with silver, i.e.* possessed of great wealth, ill-gotten, perhaps, and so in the issue a burden.

12, 13. The enemy that has entered by the northern gate and made his way to the southern side, will not only overthrow all who stand in his way, and the traders in *the Mortar*, he will enter the houses of the rich who live at ease, and will ransack them. He will search every nook and corner as *with candles* (cp. Luke xv. 8). The moral condition of these Jewish Epicureans, that called for this severe punishment, is expressed by the prophet in a forcible figure, *they are settled on their lees*, more literally in the marg. *curded* or *thickened*. The language is very like that of Jeremiah respecting Moab, *he hath settled on his lees, and hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel* (xlviii. 11), but it is stronger. The wine had not only remained undisturbed, acquiring strength and flavour, it had become *thick*. This expresses the apathy, the spiritual insensibility of the rich. They, like Dives in the parable, are not charged with any gross sins, but they had become blind to all tokens of God's moral government. Therefore the possessions in which they put their trust would be torn from them. Nothing short of this would rouse them. It seems to be implied that they would go on building and planting to the last (cp. Amos v. 11; Luke xvii. 26—30). They would bring on themselves the very curse foretold by Moses, Deut. xxviii. 30, 39, as the contrary blessings are promised in Isai. lxv. 22.

14—18. In these verses the prophet describes in detail the terrors of *the day of the Lord*, already mentioned (*v.* 7). It *is near*, it *hastens* on, it has a *voice* that all must hear. Not only the timid and the weak are terrified, the mighty man is panic-struck (cp. Amos ii. 14). The prophet uses the participle. He seems to hear his despairing cry for help. *Bitterly he* **shrieketh** or **crieth out** *there.* It is needless to say where.

15. Striking as the prophet's description must be in any translation, there are peculiarities that cannot be retained: *trouble and distress* represent words of similar sound; *wasteness and desolation*, derivatives from the same root. In the case of one who seems to be fond of using the language of earlier sacred writers, it is worthy of notice that the first pair of words is found in Job xv. 24; the second, twice in the same book, chs. xxx. 3; xxxviii. 27. *Darkness and gloominess* occur together in Joel ii. 2. *Clouds and thick darkness* (the latter expression is one word in Heb.) are used together by Moses (Deut. iv. 11) in describing the giving of the Covenant. They are very appropriate in a description of the penalty of its violation.

The first words of the Vulgate version of this verse form the first line of the great mediæval hymn, *Dies iræ, dies illa.*

16. *A day of the trumpet and alarm*] Or, *battle shout.*

the high towers] properly, *corners* or *corner towers*, are those that were built at intervals in the city-walls, so situated as to give the besieged every advantage over their assailants: cf. 2 Chro. xxv. 15, and Tacitus's account of the walls of Jerusalem, 'Hist.' v. 11. 5.

17. *I will bring distress*] is in Heb. one word, and is the same as is rendered *besiege* in Deut. xxviii. 52, where the sufferings of the Jews when besieged are predicted. As it was God who mustered the host of the in-

men, because they have sinned against the LORD: and their blood shall be poured out as dust, and their flesh as the dung.

c Prov. 11. 4 Ezek. 7. 19. 18 c Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the LORD's wrath; but d chap. 3. 8. the whole land shall be d devoured by the fire of his jealousy: for he shall make even a speedy riddance of all them that dwell in the land.

CHAPTER II.

1 *An exhortation to repentance.* 4 *The judgment of the Philistines,* 8 *of Moab and Ammon,* 12 *of Ethiopia and Assyria.*

GATHER yourselves together, yea, gather together, O nation ‖ not desired; ‖ Or, *not desirous.*

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vader, who had summoned them (*v.* 7), so it was none other than He who laid siege to the guilty city and *distressed* its citizens. In their helplessness and bewilderment the people are compared to *blind men*, and here too there seems to be another allusion to the same chapter of Deut. *v.* 29.

as dust] Being treated as what is refuse and worthless. The word rendered *poured out* is applied to solids as well as liquids. Thus the second clause is equivalent to *their flesh* shall be heaped *as the dung*. The Hebrew for *flesh* occurs only in one other place, but the ancient Versions agree in giving it this meaning. In Arabic the common word for flesh is very similar, as Tanchum points out.

18. The *silver* and the *gold* amassed with so much care and toil, would not be accepted as ransom by an enemy who spared none. Ezekiel when describing at large the ruin of Israel (vii. 19) uses the words of Zephaniah in this place. But the mercilessness of the enemy was the expression of the *Lord's wrath*. This was its crowning terror. It was the *fire of His jealousy* that consumed—*jealousy*, kindled by repeated outrages offered to His love. Israel by idolatry and other breaches of covenant was like a faithless wife, punished because loved. The sword of the Chaldæan was but His instrument. It was He who really wielded it. The language used is like that in Deut. iv. 24, xxxii. 21, 22.

even a speedy riddance] The force of the two Hebrew words used is, *a destruction and that awfully sudden.* The former is translated *consumption* in two places of Isaiah (x. 23, xxviii. 22), which may have been in the prophet's mind. In several places in Jeremiah (*e.g.* iv. 27) it is *a full end*. In Nahum (i. 8, 9) *an utter end*. The latter word is a participle used as a substantive. The verb of the same form occurs in Ps. civ. 29. A cognate form is found in Lev. xxvi. 16 (A.V. *terror*), Isai. lxv. 23. The particle represented by *even* occurs just before this word, and its force is "only, simply, nothing but."

the land] is that of Israel. The chapter began with threatenings that embraced the whole earth (see on *vv.* 2, 3). From *v.* 4 to end they are limited to Judah.

CHAP. II. 1. This chapter contains an exhortation to repentance, which is enforced by instances of the overthrow of other nations. This is the second division of the book, and extends as far as iii. 8.

Gather yourselves together, yea, gather together] Our translators, following the example of the ancient Versions, seem to have understood this literally, and to have interpreted the phrase of some religious assembly, such as is enjoined in Joel ii. 16. This, however, is out of place here. The verb employed by the prophet is used of *gathering* stubble (Exod. v. 7, 12), or wood (Num. xv. 32, 33; 1 K. xvii. 10, 12). In this verse it is used in a reflexive form, and if understood metaphorically yields a very appropriate sense. The people are bidden to *gather themselves*, *i.e.* to search into their hearts, to consider their ways, to reflect; no longer to suffer their minds to be distracted and diverted by inferior objects. Our phrase, *to recollect one's self*, has the same meaning, but has lost much of its force. It is found in German, *sammelt euch*. To heighten the force of the command the word is repeated, according to a well-known Hebrew idiom, *yea, gather together* all that by strictest search ye can find of evil in yourselves. Many other translations have been proposed by modern scholars, such as *turn pale, bow down, recover yourselves*, which, however ingenious, are open to the objection that they are supported rather by the usage of the same or cognate words in kindred languages, than by the determinate sense in which alone it is found in the Old Testament. And the same remark applies to the translation of the following clause.

O nation not desired] The Hebrew word here used is found in places where its meaning is quite clear (Gen. xxxi. 30; Ps. lxxxiv. 2), in our A.V. represented by *longing*. It is true that according to the meaning of the same word in Chaldee the passage might be rendered *a shameless nation*. But it should be remarked that the Chaldee paraphrast does not give it this turn, and that he, together with the LXX. and Syriac, has rendered the word in a way that agrees with its meaning in Hebrew. Our translators have wavered between the active (marg. *not desirous*) and pas-

2 Before the decree bring forth, *before* the day pass as the chaff, before the fierce anger of the LORD come upon you, before the day of the LORD's anger come upon you.

3 Seek ye the LORD, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgment; seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the LORD's anger.

4 ¶ For Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon day, and Ekron shall be rooted up.

5 Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea coast, the nation of the Chere-

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sive rendering. The former is supported by the usage of the same part of the verb in the above places. The Jews are addressed as a *nation without longings*. They were satisfied with themselves and with their condition. They were like the Prodigal Son, that had no *longing* for his father's house, until he *came to himself* (cp. Hos. xii. 8; Rev. iii. 17—19). And the prophet would awaken such *longing* for higher and better things, when he bids them to search their hearts. He addresses them not by the honourable term of *people*, but by the wider name of *nation*.

2. *Before the decree bring forth*] The decree of God is spoken of as the mother of the event (cp. Prov. xxvii. 1). The next clause, before *the day pass as the chaff*, might be taken parenthetically, without supplying any word, *as chaff the day passeth* (or more literally, as there is no article, *a day*). The words themselves have been taken to mean, that the day of grace, the intervening time granted for repentance, will quickly pass away, or that the *day* (that *day* spoken of in the context, *the day of the Lord*) *will come on, arrive* as rapidly *as chaff* flies. The absence of the article makes the first explanation more probable.

the fierce anger] is, literally, *the burning of the anger*. The phrase occurs in Num. xxv. 4; xxxii. 14. It is no ordinary *day*. Its arrival, its events, its issue, are all by a *decree* of the Lord, Who after much long-suffering will manifest His wrath against the impenitent.

3. In the midst of the guilty nation there were those who would listen to the warning voice. *The meek of the land*, not the poor or the afflicted, but those who were humble towards God, considerate and forbearing towards man. They are further described as having *wrought his judgment*, not simply obediently to the law in general, but doing what was right in each case. Yet though they have a single eye, they are imperfect. Hence the threefold injunction, *Seek the Lord, seek righteousness, seek meekness*, to strive after higher and higher attainments in that very virtue of which they already possess enough to deserve to be called *meek*.

it may be, &c.] It is not to be doubted that it would be well with the righteous and meek in that day, but they are warned here in the words of Hooker (Serm. I.) that "to their own safety, their own sedulity is required." To be *hidden* by God is to enjoy His protection and favour, Ps. xxvii. 5.

4—15. In these verses the prophet adds fresh motives for repentance. He unfolds the punishment that was hanging over the enemies of Israel on the west (4—7), on the east (8—11), on the south (12), and on the north (13—15). If the calamities inflicted upon Israel by their enemies did not bring them back to God, what must their end be (cp. Amos i. ii.)? If the heathen were punished for their transgressions, what did the people of God deserve (iii. 6, 7)?

4. *For*] The particle intimates the connection of thought just stated. The overthrow of Philistia is predicted also by Jeremiah (xlvii.) and Ezekiel (xxv.). Like Amos and Zechariah, Zephaniah mentions only four cities of the Philistines, omitting Gath, perhaps because it was no longer a place of importance, or because the number four suited the parallelism. He begins with the largest city, *Gaza*, and then advances northwards.

Gaza shall be forsaken] The phrase implies that it would *continue forsaken*. The modern city, while retaining the name of the ancient one, is on a different site. Of the old city scarcely a trace remained in the days of Jerome. There is a paronomasia in the original that cannot be expressed in English. It is as if we said, *Bandon shall be abandoned*; and there is another instance in the case of Ekron, which is thus represented by Jerome, "Accaron, quæ interpretatur *eradicatio*, hoc sustinebit, quod in suo vocabulo sonat, id est, *eradicabitur*." It is now a very mean village, with hardly a remnant of antiquity.

Ashkelon] has been in ruins since it was destroyed by the Saracens in 1191.

Ashdod] was destroyed by Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Macc. x. 84), was restored by the Romans, but is now an insignificant village retaining the old name *Eshdud*.

at the noon day] may mean signally, in broad daylight, as we say, or by a sudden and unexpected attack. The latter view is confirmed by Jer. vi. 4, 5, xv. 8. Cp. 2 S. iv. 5.

5. It is not only the cities that are to suffer. There is a *woe* coming on all the inhabitants

thites! the word of the LORD *is* against you; O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant.

6 And the sea coast shall be dwellings *and* cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks.

7 And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah; they shall feed thereupon: in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening: [1] for the LORD their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity.

8 ¶ I have heard the reproach of Moab, and the revilings of the children of Ammon, whereby they have reproached my people, and magnified *themselves* against their border.

9 Therefore *as* I live, saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, *even* the breeding of nettles, and saltpits, and a perpetual desolation: the

[1] Or, *when, &c.*

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of that strip of coast occupied by the Philistines. For the Cherethites see 1 S. xxx.

Canaan] comprehended the Philistines, see Josh. xiii. 3; Num. xiii. 29. The Philistines were called by the name of Canaan, and would share its fate, and their land too should pass into the possession of Israel.

6. The meaning of this verse is quite clear, that the land should be so deserted by its former inhabitants that shepherds would be able to pasture and fold their flocks wherever they liked. One word, however, is of doubtful meaning, that rendered *cottages*. It may be derived from a verb applied to the *digging* of wells (Gen. xxvi. 25), and may then be understood of such *wells* as shepherds would sink who felt that the land was secure, or trenches dug for the greater safety of sheepfolds. Such a meaning is simpler than that given by some of *digging* underground dwellings as shelter from the heat. It would, perhaps, be better translated by *wells* or *diggings*. It is found only in this place. Others again translate *feasts*, according to the meaning of a very similar word found in 2 K. vi. 23. But the phrase *feasts of shepherds*, for places where flocks feed, is certainly harsh. The word itself (*Cheroth*) may have been chosen from its having the same letters as the name of the nation to be dispossessed, *Cherethites*.

7. The word rendered *coast* here and in the two preceding verses means strictly a *cord* or *line*, hence a *tract*, *district*, or *portion allotted by measure*, and so a *possession* (cp. Deut. xxxii. 9; Ps. xvi. 6). The first words might be translated, *And it shall be a lot* or *possession for the remnant. The remnant of Judah* constituted the hope of the nation. These should one day have peaceful possession of the land of their ancient foes, cp. Obad. *v.* 12. They are spoken of as the Lord's flock. *They shall feed.* They shall *lie down*—the word properly belongs to animals—*in the evening*; amid the deepening shadows they should know no fear, even in *the houses of Ashkelon*; and this was certain, because *their God* would *visit them* in mercy, after *visiting* them in judgment.

turn away their captivity] The phrase occurs first in Deut. xxx. 3 (see note there). On the whole prophecy cp. Isai. xiv. 29—32; Jer. xlvii.; Ezek. xxv. 15—17.

8—10. The parallel prophecies against Moab are Num. xxiv. 17; Isai. xv., xvi.; Amos ii. 1—3; Jer. xlviii.; against Ammon, Amos i. 13—15; Jer. xlix.; Ezek. xxv. 1—7. Moab and Ammon had the same origin. They had the same hostility to the people of God. They would suffer the same punishment.

The *revilings* and *reproaches* were in deed as well as word. Instances of this we find in 2 K. xxiv. 2, and Amos i. 13, to which place Zephaniah seems to allude by the use of the word *border*. The *border* of Israel was assigned by God Himself (Deut. xxxii. 8). To seek to remove that was to fight against Him. Israel was in a special sense His people (*v.* 8, 10), and *pride*, the sin with which Moab is charged by Isaiah, was their master sin still, cp. Jer. xlviii. 29. And it was God Who heard their revilings. It is He Who says, *I have heard* (as appears from *v.* 9), and Who goes on to declare how He will punish. To add to the solemnity of the prediction, He *confirms it with an oath*. His love for His people is shewn in the title *the God of Israel*, His power in that of *the Lord of hosts*. The latter phrase occurs first in 1 S. i. 3 (see note there).

The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah was a type of utter destruction, Deut. xxix. 23; Isai. i. 9, xiii. 19. The Moabites and Ammonites were descended from him who had been rescued by God's mercy, and lived near the scene that should constantly have reminded them alike of God's *severity and goodness*; but the warning was unheeded.

breeding of nettles] should probably be **possession** *of nettles*, a place where nothing but *nettles* would grow. The precise meaning of the word rendered *nettle* has not been deter-

residue of my people shall spoil them, and the remnant of my people shall possess them.

10 This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached and magnified *themselves* against the people of the LORD of hosts.

11 The LORD *will be* terrible unto them: for he will † famish all the gods of the earth; and *men* shall worship him, every one from his place, *even* all the isles of the heathen.

† Heb. *make lean.*

12 ¶ Ye Ethiopians also, ye *shall be* slain by my sword.

13 And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, *and* dry like a wilderness.

14 And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the ‖ [a] cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the ‖ upper lintels of it; *their* voice shall sing in the windows; desolation *shall*

‖ Or, *pelican.* [a] Isai. 34. 11.

‖ Or, *knops*, or, *chapiters.*

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mined. For information consult Smith's 'B. D.' sub v. Tristram ('N. H. B.' p. 475) is "inclined to believe that it designates the Prickly Acanthus, a very common and troublesome weed...abundant among ruins." The phrase is like that of Isaiah (xiv. 23) respecting Babylon, *a possession for the bittern*, but it is a different word. That used by Zephaniah occurs here only.

As in the case of the ruins of the Philistines (*v.* 7), so also in this *the remnant* of Israel would be the gainers. The second time that the word *people* occurs, it might be rendered *nation* as in ii. 1. These predictions seem still to await their complete fulfilment, when Israel is restored to favour, when their captivity is reversed (*v.* 7), cp. Isai. xvi. 12—14.

11. *unto them*] Rather, **over them**, *i.e.* the guilty nations. He is *terrible* as a Judge descending from heaven to sit in judgment *upon them*. The primary fulfilment of the prophet's words was brought about by the invasions of Chaldæans, Persians, Moabites, and Romans. The Moabites and Ammonites had ceased to be nations in the time of Origen. And here the prophet's glance takes in the whole earth. He sees the extinction of idolatry; he sees all bowing down to the Eternal. The fate of Moab and Ammon is typical. All idolaters must disappear. When the Almighty shewed His power in Egypt, He said, *Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment* (Exod. xii. 12). He proved to the Egyptians that their idols had no power to protect them. So here, *he will famish all the gods of the earth*. The prophet speaks in the past tense, for it is as if already done, because God wills it. The gods of the heathen will be *famished* when their votaries offer no more sacrifices (cp. Aristoph. 'Aves' 1470 seq.).

And when the heathen cease to worship idols, they will worship the Lord. And their worship shall be acceptable not only in Jerusalem but in every place in which it shall be offered (cp. Mal. i. 11).

the isles of the heathen] is the same as *the isles of the Gentiles* (Gen. x. 5, see note there), and embraces the remotest regions.

12. In Heb. there is here an abrupt change of persons. Lit. the words are, *O ye Cushites also, slain by my sword* are *they*. For the *Ethiopians* (in Hebrew, *Cushites*) see Gen. x. 6. Zephaniah takes up the prophecies of Isaiah (xviii., xx.) and foretells the slaughter of the Ethiopians by the Chaldæans, who were really the *sword of God*, as executing His will. The Ethiopians are mentioned as allies of the Egyptians in Jer. xlvi. 2; Ezek. xxx. 5, 9, and destined to share their overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar.

13. From the south the prophet suddenly turns to the north, and paints the desolation of the imperial city which had carried Israel captive, still flourishing and powerful, and shewing no symptoms of decay.

And he will stretch out, &c.] The form of the three verbs used in this verse is to be noticed. It is what is commonly called jussive, and is here expressive of a wish, *May he stretch ...and destroy...and make.*

God would *stretch out His hand* against Assyria, as against Judah (see on i. 4).

dry like a wilderness] The same two words occur together in Isai. xxxv. 1; A. V. *the wilderness and the solitary place*. The spot is wasted by man, and then ceases to be inhabited or cultivated.

14. In the absence of man the site is taken possession of by *flocks*, here, not sheep or oxen, but herds of wild beasts (cp. Isai. xiii. 20—22), as is intimated in the phrase that immediately follows, *all the beasts of the nations*, literally, *all the beasts of nation*, which may mean, such as herd together. So *nation* is used of locusts in Joel (i. 6), who calls them also a *people* (ii. 2), cp. Prov. xxx. 25, 26. The form of the word for *beast* is ancient, the same as that found in the place in which it first occurs (Gen. i. 24). It always means wild animals.

the cormorant and the bittern] Or, **the pelican** (marg.) *and the hedgehog*, which are mentioned together in Isai. xxxiv. 11, where a similar scene of desolation is described. In Ps. cii. 6, we have *the pelican of the wilderness*. There would be no lack of water for

‖ Or, *when he hath uncovered.* be in the thresholds: ‖ for he shall uncover the cedar work.

15 This *is* the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, [b] I *am*, and *there is* none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss, *and* wag his hand.

[b] Isai. 47. 8.

CHAPTER III.

1 *A sharp reproof of Jerusalem for divers sins.*
8 *An exhortation to wait for the restoration of Israel,* 14 *and to rejoice for their salvation by God.*

WOE to ‖ † her that is filthy and polluted, to the oppressing city!

‖ Or, *gluttonous.* † Heb. *craw.*

2 She obeyed not the voice; she received not ‖ correction; she trusted not in the LORD; she drew not near to her God.

‖ Or, *instruction.*

3 [a] Her princes within her *are* roaring lions; her judges *are* evening wolves; they gnaw not the bones till the morrow.

[a] Ezek. 22. 27. Micah 3. 11.

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this bird near Nineveh. *The bittern*, which loves solitude, is spoken of in the same verse with *pools of water* in Isaiah (xiv. 23). Some aquatic bird, such as *the bittern*, seems to suit this place, as well as the others, better than *hedgehog*, which rendering, however, has the support of the old Versions, and modern philologists. *Bittern* is preferred by Tristram ('N. H. B.' p. 244), and by a naturalist in Smith's 'B. D.' Vol. III. p. xxxi. See too the same writer's Art. *Pelican*, Vol. II. p. 767.

lodge] Lit. *pass the night.*

upper lintels] The marginal rendering is better, *knops* or *chapiters, i.e. capitals*, here probably to be understood as lying among the ruins.

their voice] should be **a voice**. Some think the reference is to the note of some bird, as an owl frequenting ruins; but it may simply mean the sound of the wind as it moans or whistles about the ruined *windows*. *Desolation on the threshold*, reigning where before men were ever passing in and out. *Capital, window, threshold*, the building from base to summit is a ruin, and that not the work of time, but of a Divine hand. *For He hath laid bare the cedar work.* The word might indeed be taken impersonally, *one hath laid bare.* But *v.* 13 suggests that we have here Him who *stretched out His hand* against the city. The roofs at least, perhaps the walls and floors, were adorned with cedar, if not made of it (cp. Jer. xxii. 14, 15), and this *cedar work* was *laid bare* when wind and rain were no longer kept out by awnings and doors. (As to the probable structure of Assyrian roofs, see Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' II. p. 585.)

15. The prophet having depicted the ruin of Nineveh, now speaks scornfully of its overthrow and desolation, in contrast with its former pride and arrogance.

This] This untenanted ruin was once **the exulting city**. The epithet is applied by Isaiah to Jerusalem (xxii. 2, xxxii. 13), to Tyre (xxiii. 7). *Dwelling carelessly*, &c. The same words are used by Isaiah (xlvii. 8) of Babylon.

I am, and there is none beside me] The same phrase is found in Isai. xlvii. 8. A similar one is used often in Isaiah by God Himself (cp. xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22). It would seem therefore to be implied that Nineveh deified herself. *Hissing* and *wagging of the hand* express exultation over the fallen, cp. Job xxvii. 23.

CHAP. III. **1.** From 1—7 the prophet sharply rebukes Jerusalem for her grievous sins.

the oppressing city] is not named, yet it can hardly be doubted which is meant.

filthy] should be **rebellious**, *i.e.* against God.

polluted] by sins; *oppressing* the weak and friendless (Jer. xxii. 3). The force of the prophet's words would be better represented by translating them thus:—*Woe, rebellious and polluted! Thou oppressing city!*

2. Her sin was fourfold. (1) Disobedience (cp. Jer. xxii. 21), *she obeyed not.* (2) When *correction* or chastisement followed she was refractory. (3) She *trusted* in Egypt or Assyria rather than in Him. (4) *She drew not near to her God.* While shewing outward homage, did not *draw near* to Him in heart, as to One Who was *hers* by covenant (cp. Isai. lviii. 2). The first half of the verse is found in Jer. vii. 28.

3. If the city were such as the prophet represents, the guilt lay chiefly with those whose rank and office gave them influence: *princes, judges, prophets, and priests.*

within her] is **in the midst of her**, as in *vv.* 5, 15, 17.

roaring lions] Terrifying, plundering, and slaying all who were in their power, to whom they should have been shepherds (cf. Prov. xxviii. 15; Ezek. xxii. 27).

evening wolves] The same expression is found in Hab. i. 8. Such as all day long had felt the pangs of hunger, which, under cover of night (Ps. civ. 20), they went forth to satisfy, and so fierce was their appetite that they devoured all the prey at once.

they gnaw not the bones, &c.] In Hebrew

[b] Jer. 23. 11. Hos. 9. 7.

4 Her [b] prophets *are* light *and* treacherous persons: her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done

[c] Ezek. 22. 26.

[c] violence to the law.

5 The just LORD *is* in the midst thereof; he will not do iniquity: [†] every morning doth he bring his judgment to light, he faileth not; but the unjust knoweth no shame.

[†] Heb. *morning by morning.*

6 I have cut off the nations: their [‡] towers are desolate; I made their streets waste, that none passeth by: their cities are destroyed, so that there is no man, that there is none inhabitant.

[‡] Or, *corners.*

7 I said, Surely thou wilt fear me, thou wilt receive instruction; so their dwelling should not be cut off, how-

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it is one verb, which our translators have taken as a denominative from a word sometimes used for a *bone*. Another form of the verb has this meaning (Num. xxiv. 8). But in this place probably the rendering should be in agreement with the ancient Versions: *they reserve nought for the morrow.*

4. *light*] Or, *reckless*, unprincipled, asserting that they delivered a message from God, while uttering their own words.

The word is of rare occurrence. It is the epithet given to the companions of Abimelech (Judg. ix. 4). A derivation occurs in a passage of Jeremiah (xxiii. 32) very like this, in which it is said of the false prophets that they *cause my people to err by their lies and by their lightness.*

treacherous persons] Lit. *men of treacheries* or *perfidies*. Systematically they deceived others, encouraging the people with false hopes (cf. Lam. ii. 14).

And the misleading teaching of the *prophets* was aided by the *priests*. They were combined to lead astray those whom it was their duty to guide. According to the prophet Jeremiah (v. 31) they played into each other's hands. It is expressly said to have been the duty of the priests to *put difference between holy and unholy, and between clean and unclean* (Lev. x. 10). The word rendered *sanctuary* is better understood of whatever is holy or sacred. *The priests profane what is sacred.* So they *do violence to the law*, by their perverse interpretations they make it void. Both these charges are repeated and explained in Ezek. xxii. 26.

5. *The just* LORD, &c.] This was the aggravation of all the people's offences. Their injustice and iniquity were rebuked daily by the tokens of His presence Whom they knew to be just and holy. There seems to be a reference to the words of Moses' song (Deut. xxxii. 4), *a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.*

morning by morning *doth he bring his judgment to light*] As each morning the rising sun sheds light upon the world, so each morning, day by day, there were clear proofs to all who would see that they had amongst them a righteous Governor, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. The next verse gives instances of God's *judgments* upon guilty nations, and amongst the Jews themselves prosperity and adversity were the sure signs of God's favour and displeasure. This view suits the context better than any reference to the promulgation of the Divine law by means of prophets, or the lessons taught by the Jewish ritual.

he faileth not] As the nominative is not expressed, it might be *it* (God's judgment) *faileth not*. The same word is used in Isaiah (xl. 26), where it is said of the stars, *not one faileth*. The daily manifestation of God's judgment is as certain as the rising of the sun.

All this was lost upon the *unjust*. He was blind to the light, he *knew no shame*. In Hebrew the word for *unjust* is nearly allied to that translated *iniquity*. This brings out more strongly the contrast between God and man. There are several similar statements in Jeremiah (iii. 3, vi. 15, viii. 12).

6. In this verse the reference cannot be to *the nations* mentioned earlier in the prophecy, ii. 4—15, for their punishment was still future. The destruction of the Canaanites may be referred to, or God's judgments upon guilty cities, executed by the Assyrians or others (2 K. xix. 25). It is simplest to understand *the towers* (*corner towers*) literally as in i. 16, not of *princes*, who are sometimes thus denominated (Judg. xx. 2; Isai. xix. 13). If *the nations*, the heathen that knew not God, suffered thus under His judgments, what did that people deserve whom alone He *knew*? (Amos iii. 2.)

7. *Surely*, &c.] Or, *Only fear me, receive correction.* The latter phrase is the same as in *v.* 2. In each, Jerusalem is the subject. There her special sins against God were recounted. Here she is reminded of what God had *said* to her by His prophets. They had commanded fear and submission, that her ruin might be averted.

their dwelling] should be **her dwelling**; and what is meant is, the place where God dwelt in the midst of her, *the temple*, for this is the prevailing meaning of the word used, cf. 2 Chro. xxxvi. 15. Similar is the language of our Lord in Matt. xxiii. 38, *your house is left unto you desolate.* To prevent this coming

soever I punished them: but they rose early, *and* corrupted all their doings.

8 ¶ Therefore wait ye upon me, *saith the LORD, until the day that I rise up to the prey: for my determination *is* to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation, *even* all my fierce anger: for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my [d]jealousy.

9 For then will I turn to the people a pure [†]language, that they may all call upon the name of the LORD, to serve him with one [†]consent.

10 From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, *even* the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.

[d] chap. i. 18.

† Heb. *lip.*

† Heb. *shoulder.*

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calamity had been the design of every threat, every chastisement.

howsoever I punished them, or her] These words have been variously translated and understood. Their simplest rendering is, *according to all that I appointed concerning her.* Judgments were *appointed* for Jerusalem if she repented not, if she turned not to God, and *received no instruction* from His prophets.

they rose early] The phrase expresses the set purpose and eager haste with which they sinned. It was with a high hand that they sinned. The absence of the conjunction between the verbs gives force to the prophet's language. The word for *doings* has always a bad sense when used of men.

The rest of the prophecy divides naturally into four parts, of which 1 (*vv.* 8—10) contains reasons for hope and patience; 2 (*vv.* 11—13) a description of Israel when restored; 3 (*vv.* 14—17) a song of triumph; 4 (*vv.* 18—20) a renewed assurance of restoration.

8. *Therefore wait ye upon me*] The meaning of the word *therefore* and its connection with what goes before will be determined by the force of the phrase, *wait upon me.* This always expresses a confident reliance on God (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 20; Isai. viii. 17; Hab. ii. 3). The words then can not be addressed in irony to those reckless sinners upon whom the long-suffering of God had had no effect, as if they were bidden to *wait for* the punishment that would soon come, but can only apply to *the meek of the land* (ii. 3), the remnant that God would spare, with which the future welfare of the nation was bound up. *Therefore*, because God would surely execute judgment upon the guilty, let the pious *wait upon* Him, patiently, trustfully, for He had good things in store for them; the punishment of the nations, of which mention is made immediately, should be followed not only by their admission to the knowledge and worship of God, but by the restoration of Israel.

saith the LORD] Lit. *the Lord's utterance.*

until] is rather *for*, the preposition used after the verb is repeated. The passage might be rendered literally, *wait for me, for the day*

rise up to the prey] is the gesture of the warrior who *rises up* for the fight in the confident expectation of seizing *the prey* (cf. Ps. vii. 6; Isai. ii. 19, 21). The word for *prey* is rare, but its sense is quite certain from its use in Gen. xlix. 27; Isai. xxxiii. 23.

determination] is lit. *judgment*, judicial sentence, for the gathering of the nations for punishment, cp. Joel iii. 11—14.

for all the earth, &c.] The judgment was to be universal. The language is the same as that used in i. 18, only what is there said of the *whole land* of Israel is applied here to *all the earth.*

9. *For then will I*, &c.] *For* introduces a new ground of hope for Israel. The chastisement of the heathen is to lead to their conversion, their conversion is to lead to the restoration of God's people. The meaning of the passage is obscured by the use of the word *people.* The prophet uses the plural. It should be **peoples**—all other nations besides the Jews. Hitherto they had been worshipping their idols, but *then*, when chastisement had done its appointed work, *I will turn to them a pure language*, or *lip*, *i.e.* I will work such a change in them that the *lip* that was rendered impure by words of praise and worship offered to idols, and words coming from an unsanctified heart, shall become *pure* (cp. Isai. vi. 5). The idiomatic use of the word *turn* here is well illustrated by 1 S. x. 9, *God gave him* (lit. *turned to him*) *another heart*, cp. Isai. xix. 18.

The fruit of this *pure lip* is the sincere worship of God. Such is the meaning of the phrase to *call upon the name of the Lord.* Here public worship is referred to (cp. Gen. iv. 26) as is shewn by what follows.

to serve him with one consent] In the Heb. it is *with one shoulder*, as of men helping one another to support a heavy load. So, steadily, strenuously.

10. As this verse stands in the A.V. the meaning is that the Jews who had been *dispersed* as far as *Ethiopia* (Heb. *Cush*) should return to their land, and there *bring an offering* to God.

the daughter of my dispersed] is a phrase that can hardly apply to any but the Jews. But the words may also be rendered thus:—*From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, they shall*

11 In that day shalt thou not be ashamed for all thy doings, wherein thou hast transgressed against me: for then I will take away out of the midst of thee them that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shalt no more be haughty † because of my holy mountain.

† Heb. *in my holy.*

12 I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the LORD.

13 The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth: for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make *them* afraid.

14 ¶ Sing, O [e] daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel; be glad and rejoice

[e] Isai. 12. 6. & 54. 1.

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bring mine offering, my suppliants, the daughter of my dispersed. The Chaldee paraphrast understood the passage thus, and many modern scholars construe it in the same way. This interpretation suits the context (*vv.* 8, 9) in which the heathen nations are spoken of. They are first punished, then converted, and the fruit of their conversion is to restore the Jewish exiles to their own land. The Jews themselves are *the offering* which the Gentiles bring in token of their faith in God. And this agrees remarkably with a prediction in Isaiah (lxvi. 20), in which the Jews are spoken of as an *offering* brought by the Gentiles. There (*v.* 19) several nations are mentioned by name; here only one, and that very remote. The *Ethiopians* alone may be named here as having been named before in the prophecy (ii. 12). The fulfilment of the words is still future, and the time indicated seems to be the same as that foretold in Rom. xi. 25 foll. The phrase *from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia* occurs in Isai. xviii. 1 (see note there). It is well known that there is a large number of Jews in Abyssinia, where they bear the name of *Falashas* or *immigrants*. There is a full account of them in the work of a missionary who has visited them; Stern, 'Wanderings among the Falashas.'

offering] is a technical word, meaning, in contrast with *sacrifice*, a bloodless gift. See notes on Lev. ii.

11. *In that day*] The day foretold in *v.* 8.

shalt thou not be ashamed, &c.] Hitherto the pious few had been exposed to shame and scorn, because involved in the punishment for national transgressions. Henceforth the cause of such *shame* should cease. The words of Isaiah (lx. 21) may be compared, *thy people also shall be all righteous.*

for then] Such characters as are described in *vv.* 3, 4 should no longer be found.

them that rejoice in thy pride] It was overweening pride and arrogance that lay at the root of all their sins. The same phrase is found in Isai. xiii. 3 (A.V. *them that rejoice in My highness*). They should *no more be haughty* in (as in margin) God's *holy mountain*, in Jerusalem. The princes and judges, the priests and prophets, had sinned with a *high hand*, *presumptuously* (Num. xv. 30), in flagrant violation of the plainest laws.

12. *I will also*] Better, *And I will leave*, *i.e.* leave as a remnant.

afflicted and poor] There is a very similar passage in Isaiah (xiv. 32), *the poor* (or *afflicted*) *of His people shall trust in it.* Cp. Zech. xi. 7, 11.

These words express primarily the outward condition, but it suits the context better to understand them as expressive of lowliness of mind, poverty of spirit (Matt. v. 3). The *poor* and *afflicted* are contrasted with the *proud* and *haughty* of the previous verse. They *trust* not in the temple, not in themselves, but *in the name of the Lord.*

13. *The remnant*] The substantive is a derivative of the verb used in the previous verse, *I will leave.* Here the performance of duty to man is described. They would become like Him Whom they worshipped. They would do no *iniquity* (cp. *v.* 5). The citizens should be free from the sins of lying and deceit, which had disgraced even the prophets of earlier days (*v.* 4).

for] The particle seems to be used because their state of security depended upon their obedience, and so was a proof of it. In the words *none shall make them afraid* the prophet uses the very phrase employed in the Law (Lev. xxvi. 6), when the blessings attendant upon keeping the commandments are enumerated. In Hebrew *they* is expressed, and is therefore emphatic. *These*, such as might seem too feeble to be safe.

14—17. The prophet bids Zion *rejoice* and *sing* in prospect of future happiness. Trials and calamities were before her citizens, but they might be armed with patience; nay, *rejoice in tribulation*, because their sufferings, however severe, would surely be followed by such consolations and joys as they had never yet known. The grounds of rejoicing are three: (1) The removal of chastisement and the sure tokens of the presence of the Great King amongst them. (2) Their perfect safety. (3) The manifestation of God's almighty power and tender love.

14. *shout, O Israel*] The verb is in the

with all the heart, O daughter of Jerusalem.

15 The LORD hath taken away thy judgments, he hath cast out thine enemy: the king of Israel, *even* the LORD, *is* in the midst of thee: thou shalt not see evil any more.

16 In that day it shall be said to Jerusalem, Fear thou not: *and to* Zion, Let not thine hands be ‖ slack.

17 The LORD thy God in the midst of thee *is* mighty; he will save, he will rejoice over thee with joy; † he will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing.

18 I will gather *them that are* sorrowful for the solemn assembly, *who* are of thee, *to whom* † the reproach of it *was* a burden.

19 Behold, at that time I will un-

‖ Or, *faint.*

† Heb. *he will be silent.*

† Heb. *the burden upon it was reproach.*

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plural, as *Israel* stands for Israelites. There had been a *rejoicing* that was evil, because it was the expression of pride (*v.* 11). Here the citizens of Jerusalem are bidden to *rejoice*, to pour out, without stint, all the joy of their heart in songs of praise and shouts of triumph for all the blessings they had received.

15. *The* LORD, &c.] *Judgments* are here penalties inflicted by righteous judicial sentence, chastisements appointed by God (cp. Ezek. v. 8). And as He sent them, He alone *removed* them. So it was He Who had *cast out* Zion's *enemy*. The same verb is used in Lev. xiv. 36 of *clearing out* a house, in Isai. xl. 3, lvii. 14 of *clearing* and *preparing* a road. When the enemy has done the work allotted to him, a Divine hand puts him aside. The true *King of Israel* is once more acknowledged and obeyed by His subjects, now no longer rebellious (cp. Isai. lii. 7; Ezek. xlviii. 35), and therefore they *shall not see evil any more.*

see] is equivalent to feel, experience, cp. Jer. v. 12.

16. *In that day*] So conspicuous should be the sign of God's favour to His people that others should observe it, and express their joyous sympathy with Jerusalem's prosperity. There is a great similarity between this place and Isai. lxii. 2—4.

and to Zion] Better, *Zion*, in the vocative. *Slackness of hands* is the emblem of despondency, cp. 2 S. iv. 1; Isai. xiii. 7.

17. *thy God*] In this one title there was the sure pledge of all good. He is *mighty*. The epithet recalls some places in Deuteronomy (vii. 21, x. 17), in which it is used to give Israel courage in the face of all dangers. Because He is such, He can and will *save*. Cp. Jer. xiv. 9.

he will rejoice, &c.] There is a close resemblance between this place and Isai. lxii. 5, *as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.* The emphatic expression *rejoice with joy* is found also in Ps. lxviii. 3.

he will rest in his love] Lit. *He will be silent in His love* (marg.). The silence may indicate that He would make no mention of His people's sins, that in the greatness of His love He would not remember them. Or it may represent the unspeakable love that God bears to His people. As the bridegroom at one time is delighted to gaze on his bride without uttering a word, so at another he *joys over her with singing*. This is the third word used in the verse to express gladness. The verb means *exult*. In reading the passage it should be borne in mind that in *vv.* 14—17 the pronouns of the second person are all feminine.

18—20. The joys of which the prophet speaks were distant. He does not forget the present sorrows of Israel or the sufferings they had yet to bear, before they could raise the shout of triumph. He has words of comfort specially adapted to cheer the hearts of those who mourned in Zion. It is God Himself Who now speaks (*v.* 20) to the *sorrowful*, assuring them that He knows their sorrows, that He will deliver and restore them, take away their *reproach*, and make them famous.

18. This obscure verse may be rendered somewhat clearer by a literal translation, in which the order of the words in the original is carefully retained: *Them that sorrow for the solemn assembly I gather. Of, or from thee they are, a burden upon her is reproach.*

It is Zion or Jerusalem that is still addressed. Her citizens are exiles, and among them are some at least who mourn that they cannot go up to the Holy City to take part in solemn assembly and sacred festival there. Their feelings would find utterance in Pss. xlii., xliii. Cp. Lam. i. 4, ii. 6. In Isai. xxxiii. 20 Zion is called *the city of our solemnities*. Such *are of*, or *from Zion*, her true children, alive to all the privileges of the covenant, taking delight in sacred worship. These God will *gather* from among the heathen, and since this is sure, the past tense is used, *I have gathered*. In the meanwhile there is a heavy *burden* on Zion, and that burden is the *reproach* of her foes, cp. Ps. cxxxvii. Here there is one of those sudden changes of person, so frequent in the prophetical writings, *upon her* instead of *upon thee*.

19. It is hard for "Zion in her anguish" to believe these good tidings. Her condition

do all that afflict thee: and I will save her that *f* halteth, and gather her that was driven out; and † I will get them praise and fame in every land † where they have been put to shame.

20 At that time will I bring you *again*, even in the time that I gather you: for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes, saith the LORD.

f Micah 4. 7.
† Heb. *I will set them for a praise.*
† Heb. *of their shame.*

as a captive seems so hopeless. Hence she is bidden to look to God as her deliverer.

Behold] The event is strange, but certain.

I will undo] Rather, *I will deal with;* clearly, in the way of retribution here.

What follows contains references to earlier prophecies. The words of Micah (iv. 6) are *In that day...will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out...and I will make her that halted a remnant.*

I will set them for a praise and a name. There is an allusion to Deut. xxvi. 18, 19, where God covenants to Israel, if obedient, to *make them high above all nations...in* (or *for*) *praise*, and *in* (or *for*) *a name* (cp. Deut. xxviii. 1).

When the people of Israel recognized the hand of God in their chastisements, returned to Him, and kept His laws, He would fulfil to the letter His part of the ancient covenant. Not only would He restore them and bless them, but make them famous *in every land of their shame*, or, as the words may be rendered literally, *in all the earth, their shame, i.e.* the scene of their shame. Wherever the Jews in their dispersion had been treated with indignity, they should one day be honoured and praised.

20. *At that time*] Twice in this verse, once in the previous verse, *the time* is mentioned. It is firmly fixed in the Divine counsels. And the assurance of restoration is repeated in what follows.

will I bring you again] Better, *I will bring you in* or, as we might express it in English, *bring you home*, and this *even in the time that I gather you.* Not only should they be gathered together from the many lands to which they had been scattered, but should be *brought home* to their own land. And these two events, so closely connected, shall be so strange, that all the world must notice them.

a name and a praise] are in Heb. the same words as are rendered in *v.* 19 *praise and fame.* Not only in the lands in which they had been exiles, but *among all the* **peoples**, or **nations**, *of the earth* they should be celebrated. Thus should be fulfilled the promise in Deut. xxviii. 10 (where *people* should be *peoples*).

captivity] is plural in Hebrew. In every other place, except Ezek. xvi. 53, the word is found in the singular. It may point to the final restoration of the Jews. For the phrase *turn back your captivity* see note on Deut. xxx. 3.

before your eyes] Visibly, conspicuously, signally, so that there cannot be a doubt Who has wrought this great work, cp. Deut. xxix. 2; Isai. lii. 8.

HAGGAI.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Person of the Prophet and date of his mission* . . . . . PAGE 693

§ 2. *The subject of the Prophecy* . . . PAGE 694

§ 1. *Person of the Prophet and date of his mission.*

ON the first of these points there is very little known, and the second admits of no discussion.

Haggai stands first in order of the minor prophets after the captivity. It is a probable conjecture that he was one of the exiles, who returned to Jerusalem in compliance with the edict of Cyrus, in which case he was cotemporary with Daniel; it is possible, but not probable, that he was one of the few who had seen the house of the Lord before its devastation by Nebuzar-adan (2 K. xxv. 9), in which case he was also a cotemporary of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. His call to the prophetic office was subsequent to the latest utterance of Daniel, and is assigned by himself to the second year of Darius, son of Hystaspes (B.C. 520).

Nothing is known of his parentage or tribe; or of the time of his death. It may be assumed that he was present at the setting up of the altar of the God of Israel at Jerusalem (Ezra iii. 2), and also that he witnessed the completion of the house of God in the sixth year of Darius the king (Ezra vi. 15), a work which his zeal as a prophet of God had so largely contributed to accomplish.

The history of this period of 21 years is contained in the Book of Ezra, beginning at chap. iii. *v.* 2, down to the end of ch. vi. (but omitting ch. iv. 6—23, and the last five words of *v.* 14 chap. vi); and this portion of the Book of Ezra has been ascribed with some probability to the pen of Haggai. (See the article on the Book of Ezra in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible' by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.) He has also been credited, in conjunction with his cotemporary Zechariah, with the authorship of certain Psalms.

The LXX. attribute Psalms cxxxviii. and cxlvi.—cxlviii.to Haggai and Zechariah. The Vulgate heads Ps. cxi. with the words *Alleluia Reversionis Aggei et Zachariæ;* and Ps. cxlv. with *Alleluia, Aggei et Zachariæ.* As to the three Hallelujah Psalms and Ps. cxlv., which immediately precedes them, the internal evidence is not adverse to this suggestion; see introductory note to Ps. cxlvi. Vol. IV. p. 496. So much cannot be said of Pss. cxi. and cxxxviii.

The name Haggai has been variously explained by lexicographers and commentators. Gesenius and Fürst take it to be an Aramaic adjectival form from *hag, a feast,* and, like the proper name of Haggi, a son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16, Num. xxvi. 15), they explain it by *festive*[1]. Others take it to be an abbreviated form of *Haggiah* (=festival of Jehovah), which is found in 1 Chron. vi. 30. Jerome assumes a connection between the name Haggai and the festive or joyous cha-

[1] The verb חגג is cognate of the transitive verb חוג, *to cause to revolve, to enclose,* and so is rendered *to move oneself in a circle, to dance* (1 S. xxx. 16), *to solemnize a feast with joy* (Exod. v. 1; Lev. xxiii. 41), where it is used with special reference to the pilgrims and pilgrim-processions at the three great feasts.

racter of the tidings which he was inspired to convey to his fellow-countrymen; but it was more probably given to him because he was born on a festal day, possibly on the Feast of Tabernacles.

The legend which represents Haggai, Malachi, and John the Baptist to have been angels in human shape is unworthy of notice. It has been formally refuted by Cyril (see Cyril on Hag. i. 13); and was therefore in all probability widely diffused in his time.

§ 2. *The subject of the Prophecy.*

The Book of Haggai divides itself into four distinct, but not unconnected, sections.

Section 1 contains an appeal to the Israelites to take up in earnest the work of restoring the temple of Jehovah, which work had been intermitted for some years, not for want of means (for they had built sumptuous residences for themselves), but because of the opposition they had met with, and their own want of zeal and energy, in the service of Jehovah. This neglect, as Haggai reminds them, had been followed by calamities indicative of the Divine displeasure. The successful issue of his appeal is recorded in Ezra v. 1, 2. (Haggai i.)

Section 2 conveys a message of encouragement, and a promise calculated to remove the natural despondency with which the Israelities regarded the meanness of their work, comparing it with what they had learned by the testimony of their forefathers as to the magnificence of Solomon's temple. The prophet announces, as from God, an approaching time, when the latter glory of the temple shall be greater than the former; and when the present hostility of the surrounding nations shall be succeeded by security and peace. (Hagg. ii. 1—9.)

Section 3 is practical and didactic, exhibiting, by means of the replies given by the priests to two questions respecting ceremonial uncleanness, the futility of rendering only a partial and divided obedience to the Divine Will; and promising that the defective harvests, which had been the consequences of past neglect, would be succeeded by the blessings of abundance, now that the work of restoration had been commenced in earnest. (Hagg. ii. 10—19.)

Section 4 is a word of encouragement specially addressed to Zerubbabel as the temporal head of the restored nation; and as such it declares the approaching overthrow of the thrones and kingdoms of the heathen, and the weakening of their political and military power. That Zerubbabel needed to be stirred up and encouraged in the prosecution of the work laid upon him may be inferred from i. 12—14; see note on i. 14.

The moral effect of the captivity, as a discipline of suffering leading to repentance and amendment of life, had begun to grow weaker by the lapse of time. In that furnace of affliction the national tendency to idolatry had been burnt out of the national heart, never to reappear. The idolatry of Babylon had had no attraction for the people who were the bondslaves of its votaries. But the transition from that state of bondage which inspired the mournful notes of the 137th Psalm to the freedom and practical independence which followed the return to Judæa was not without its own temptations. What these temptations were may be inferred from the warnings of Zechariah, Haggai's colleague and cotemporary. (Zech. vii. 9, 10, viii. 16, 17.)

HAGGAI.

CHAPTER I.

1 Haggai reproveth the people for neglecting the building of the house. 7 He inciteth them to the building. 12 He promiseth God's assistance to them being forward.

IN the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the LORD † by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, ‖ governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, saying,

† Heb. *by the hand of Haggai.*

‖ Or, *captain.*

2 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts,

CHAP. I. 1. *Darius the king*] This can be no other than Darius the son of Hystaspes (see note on Ezra iv. 5), whose second year was B.C. 520, so that when Haggai began to prophesy eighteen years had elapsed since the exiles had come back from Babylon under Zerubbabel; and sixteen years had passed since the foundation of the house of Jehovah was laid (see Ezra iii. 8—11). The external sources of opposition, which led to the intermission of the work begun under the auspices of Cyrus, are detailed in the fourth chapter of Ezra; but there were other causes in the temper of the Jews themselves tending to the same result. From the very first there had been despondency (Ezra iii. 12), as well as a spirit of procrastination and self-indulgence (infr. *vv.* 2, 4).

Darius the king is the expression which a cotemporary would naturally use. The compiler of the Book of Ezra, writing at a later period, calls him *Darius king of Persia* (Ezra iv. 5, 24). The curious story contained in the third and fourth chapters of the apocryphal first Book of Esdras, which represents Zerubbabel as a member of the body-guard of Darius, is discredited by the fact that Zerubbabel was the leader of the Jews who returned from Babylon in the reign of Cyrus, and that he is styled by Haggai governor of Judah. Possibly some foundation of truth underlies the tradition. Without ignoring the fact that the religious views of Cyrus, and his sympathy with the monotheism of the Jews, go far to account for the favour with which he regarded them, yet it is by no means improbable that Zerubbabel may have been an instrument in God's hand, influencing the mind of Cyrus to sanction the return of the Jews; just as Esther was employed to influence Ahasuerus. See Josephus, 'Ant. Heb.' xi. 3.

the sixth month] Not of the reign of Darius, but of the Jewish year, *i.e.* the month Elul. Possibly the reason why the Divine message came to the prophet on the first day of the sixth month, which was also that of the new moon, may have been that the first day of each month was a holy day, on which the people met together in the sanctuary (Isai. i. 13, 14; Ezek. xlvi. 1—3), and that it was solemnized by an offering (Num. xxviii. 11—26). The day itself therefore was a sort of summons to rebuild the temple, and to keep the feast in the ancient and correct manner.

Zerubbabel] (whose Chaldæan name was Sheshbazzar, Ezra v. 16) was not the son of Shealtiel, but of Pedaiah (1 Chro. iii. 19); just as Zechariah, who calls himself the grandson of Iddo (Zech. i. 1), is called the son of Iddo in Ezra v. 1. For Zerubbabel's royal descent, see notes on 1 Chro. iii. 17—19.

Shealtiel...Joshua...Josedech] In the Hebrew the orthography of all these names varies; and, with the exception of Shealtiel, in A. V. also. Josedech was carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chro. vi. 15, where he is called Jehozadak). He was son of Seraiah, whose fate is related in 2 K. xxv. 18—21; Jer. lii. 24—27.

governor] is the rendering of an Assyrian word adopted into the Hebrew. It first occurs in 1 K. x. 15, where it is used of the persons who in 1 K. iv. 7 are called *nitztzabim*. In 2 K. xviii. 24 it is rendered in A. V. by the word *captain*. The *pachah* was not a *satrap* (see note on Ezra viii. 36), but the ruler of a less important district. The title is given to Nehemiah, and to Tatnai (Ezra v. 3). There is an ambiguity in the term *governor* as applied to Zerubbabel, whose office in Palestine was different from that of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. xlii. 6), the latter being designated by a purely Hebrew word. The name of the political ruler precedes that of the high priest, as Joshua's name precedes Caleb's, and Saul and David are placed before Samuel. In Ezra iii. 2 the order is reversed, because the building of the altar was a religious act.

2. *speaketh*] Rather, *saith*, as in *v.* 5.

saying, This people say, The time is not come, the time that the LORD's house should be built.

3 Then came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

4 *Is it* time for you, O ye, to dwell in your cieled houses, and this house *lie* waste?

† Heb. *Set your heart on your ways.*

5 Now therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts; †Consider your ways.

[a] Deut. 28. 38. Micah 6. 14, 15.

6 Ye have [a]sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages *to put it* into a bag †with holes.

† Heb. *pierced through.*

7 ¶ Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

8 Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the LORD.

9 Ye looked for much, and, lo, *it came* to little; and when ye brought *it* home, I did ‖blow upon it. Why?

‖ Or, *blew it away*

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saying] is the equivalent of our expression, *to this effect, to wit;* see note on Jer. iii. 1, s. c.

This people] Not *my people*, because by their neglect of God's house they had forfeited their title to that name of privilege. Comp. note on ii. 14, infr.

The time is not come] *i.e. not yet*, as in Gen. ii. 5; A.V. expresses the sense of the Hebrew, though it is not possible to render the words literally. Various alterations in the punctuation have been suggested, but the general sense remains the same. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

4. *for you, O ye*] The repetition of the pronoun is emphatic; comp. Zech. vii. 5, ix. 11. Suggested alterations of the text here, and in the passages of Zechariah just referred to, are quite unnecessary.

The interrogative form of this sentence is one of the most obvious characteristics of Haggai's style. It adds life and energy to his exhortations, and partly refutes the reproach of Bishop Lowth, who calls him *omnino prosaicus*.

cieled] Not so much in the sense of being covered or arched over, as of being lined or wainscotted. Probably cedar wood was used for this purpose. The LXX. have κοιλοστάθμοις, which Jerome explains by *concavis, deorsum sitis, et in convalle demersis;* but which Cyril takes to signify *carved, adorned with carving*. Both Jeremiah (xxii. 14) and Haggai here rebuke the application to private houses of an arrangement which Solomon had introduced into the building of God's house (see 1 K. vi. 9, vii. 3, 7).

and this house lie waste] Better, *while this house is desolate* (comp. Jer. xxxiii. 10).

5. *Consider your ways*] A retrospective exhortation, "Think on your past conduct and its results. Look back over the whole period, since you began to intermit the work of restoring God's house."

6. Comp. Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 38; Micah vi. 14, 15; Hos. iv. 10.

but ye have not enough] Literally, *but not to satiety*, comp. Ezek. xxxix. 19; Isai. lvi. 11. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

there is none warm] Rather, **not to warmth for him** (that clothes himself). The pronoun relates to the individual who clothes himself, and may be explained by the phrase, חם לי, *I am warm* (1 K. i. 1).

a bag with holes] This may refer to the pocket formed by tying up the skirts of the clothing (Ezek. v. 3, infr. ii. 12): or to a separate purse or bag (Gen. xlii. 35; Prov. vii. 20), the γλωσσόκομον of John xii. 6, xiii. 29.

7. *Consider your ways*] A prospective exhortation, "Think upon the duty that is before you, and make haste to perform it." The Hebrew phrase is the same as in *v.* 5, but there the LXX. have τάξατε δὴ καρδίας ὑμῶν, here θέσθε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. Comp. infr. ii. 15, 18, in the LXX., where a similar variation occurs.

8. *to the mountain*] According to Drusius and Rosenmüller, the mountain on which the temple was being built. Others think that the word is used collectively of any neighbouring mountains, from which timber was procured, as in Neh. ii. 8, viii. 15. But it most probably refers to Lebanon (Ezra iii. 7); especially if we consider what was said in *v.* 4. The foundations of the temple had been laid years before; possibly the external walls and stone-work were considerably advanced (see note on Ezra v. 2). The wood-work (roofing and wainscotting) was the chief point now demanding attention. This accounts for the mention of timber, and not of stone, comp. 1 Esdras iv. 48.

I will be glorified] According to the Chaldee version, *I will place My glory there*, in reference to ii. 7. But comp. Exod. xiv. 4, 17; 2 S. vi. 22.

9. *and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it*] Rather, **and when ye brought it to the house, I sniffed at it**, *i.e.* I rejected it and treated it with contempt; see note on Mal. i. 13.

saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that *is* waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.

[b] Deut. 28. 23. 10 Therefore [b]the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed *from* her fruit.

11 And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil, and upon *that* which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands.

12 ¶ Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, with all the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of the LORD their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the LORD their God had sent him, and the people did fear before the LORD.

13 Then spake Haggai the LORD'S messenger in the LORD'S message unto the people, saying, I *am* with you, saith the LORD.

14 And the LORD stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the LORD of hosts, their God,

15 In the four and twentieth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius the king.

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and ye run every man unto his own house] Rather, **while ye exert yourselves every man for his own house.** The verb rendered *run* in A.V. includes the idea of zeal, eagerness, diligence, in any kind of work, comp. Prov. i. 16.

10. *over you*] Comp. Deut. xxviii. 24; Zeph. ii. 11.

is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit] Rather, **hath stayed itself from dew, and the earth has stayed its fruit**, the verb being transitive in both clauses. The Hebrews thought that the dew fell from heaven (Gen. xxvii. 39), so that the meaning here is, "the heavens have ceased to drop dew upon the earth, and the earth has ceased to bring forth her fruits." Comp. with this the opposite promise in Hos. ii. 21, 22.

11. *a drought*] The Heb. word *chorebh* contrasts with *chârébh*=*waste, desolate*, to express the idea of a *lex talionis*. Fürst's rendering, *destruction*, and the change of punctuation by the LXX. to get the rendering *a sword*, are both uncalled for.

the labour of the hands] The word rendered *labour* is from a root which means properly *wearied, tired*; then, as in Job iii. 17, *one who wearies his strength, i.e.* wastes and spends it in vain; and finally, it takes a concrete meaning, *what is gained by wearisome work*, and joined with "the hands," *what is worked for and gained by physical labour*, as here, and in Ps. cxxviii. 2.

12. *with all the remnant of the people*] Rather, **and all the rest of the people**, as in Neh. vii. 72. The whole body of Jews who had come back with Zerubbabel are meant.

obeyed] Rather, **gave heed to.** Their obedience is recorded in *v.* 14. Of the two qualities of God's people here noted, Drusius says, "Illa spectat ad res honestas faciendas: iste ad turpes devitandas."

The words of Haggai and *the voice of Jehovah* are identical: so that there is a distinct assertion of inspired authority. Comp. *v.* 13.

13. *messenger*] *i.e.* angel (ἄγγελος, ἀπόστολος). Comp. Mal. ii. 7, and Num. xx. 16, where the term is used of Moses.

14. *stirred up the spirit*] Comp. 2 Chro. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1, 5. It is implied that even Zerubbabel and Joshua had grown lukewarm; see note on Ezra v. 2. The same inference might be drawn with regard to Haggai himself, if we are right in supposing that he returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua; unless indeed we may attribute his silence, during the long interval between the second year of Cyrus and the second year of Darius, to the fact that the *set time* for the restoration of the temple (sup. *v.* 4) had not arrived.

all the remnant] Rather, **all the rest**, sup. *v.* 12, infr. ii. 2.

did work] *i.e.* the work laid upon them by God—what they were ordered to do, as in Jonah i. 8, where the rendering of A.V. *occupation* is incorrect, and should be *mission*. The reference to Ezra v. 8 is misleading, because the Aramean word there used signifies *the work done* rather than *the call to do the work*.

15. The 24th day of the sixth month of the second year of Darius would fall in September, B.C. 521. See Rawlinson, 'Anc. Mon.' Vol. IV. p. 405, note 6.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. I. 2, 6.

2. May not the expression עת־בא be taken to signify the time of the coming of the end of the 70 years foretold by Jer. xxv. 12, and referred to by Dan. ix. 2 (comp. Ps. cii. 13, where however the Hebrew is מועד, not עת)? Fürst gives as a meaning of עת, *tempus constitutum seu statum.* With עת־בא comp. לבלתי־בא in Num. xxxii. 9; and מדי־בא in 1 K. xiv. 28.

6. *ye eat, but ye have not enough*] Literally, *but not to satiety;* comp. Ezek. xxxix. 19; Isai. lvi. 11. David Schol. "Quod שבע in *cibo*, id est שכר in *potu;*" and hence Drusius renders the passage, *comeditis, sed non ad satietatem; bibitis, sed non ad saturitatem.* But this distinction is not observed by Amos (iv. 8), when he uses ולא ישבעו in reference to מים; and in Latin *satur* (and consequently *saturitas*) refers more frequently to eating than to drinking. Plautus, 'Ps.' i. 3. 62: Postquam isti a mensâ surgunt, saturi, poti.

CHAPTER II.

1 *He encourageth the people to the work, by promise of greater glory to the second temple than was in the first.* 10 *In the type of holy things and unclean he sheweth their sins hindered the work.* 20 *God's promise to Zerubbabel.*

IN the seventh *month*, in the one and twentieth *day* of the month, came the word of the LORD † by the prophet Haggai, saying,

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

2 Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and to the residue of the people, saying,

3 Who *is* left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? *is it* not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?

4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I *am* with you, saith the LORD of hosts:

5 *According to* the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not.

6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; [a] Yet once, it *is* a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry *land;*

[a] Hebr. 12. 26.

CHAP. II. 1. *seventh month*] Called Tisri in the Talmud. In 1 K. viii. 2 its name is Ethanim.

3. *Who is left among you*] Possibly some aged men were still living, who had seen Solomon's temple. Eighteen years before, in the second year of Cyrus, there had been many such (Ezra iii. 12). At that date only 52 years had gone by since the destruction of the temple; now the 70 years were completed (Zech. i. 12).

this house] Implying that some progress had been made in the work of restoration, as suggested in the note on i. 8. Haggai identifies the restored with the original temple; and does not distinguish a latter from a former temple.

first] Rather, **former**, as in *v.* 9 infr.

how] *i.e. in what fashion* (qualem). Comp. Num. xiii. 18; 1 K. ix. 13.

4. *work*] Literally, *do*, *i.e.* work. The full expression occurs sup. i. 14.

5. *According to...so my spirit*, &c.] Great difficulties exist in the translation of this passage; but its general purport is clear enough. God's covenant with Israel, when the people came out of Egypt, was this, that *they should be His people, and He would be their God.* He here declares this covenant to be still binding; that His Spirit is dwelling in their midst, and that they should therefore have no fear.

fear ye not] Rendered by the LXX. θαρσεῖτε. Conversely in John xii. 15, we get μὴ φοβοῦ, as the equivalent of the Heb. גילי מאד; LXX. χαῖρε σφόδρα.

6. This prophecy should be compared with the cotemporary prophecies of Zechariah, in which prosperity to Israel is foretold in connection with the discomfiture of the heathen nations by whom Israel had been oppressed, and who at this time were in a state of rest and security (Zech. i. 11, 14, 15, 21, ii. 7—9).

I will shake the heavens, &c.] is a figurative description of convulsions among the heathen kingdoms of the earth (comp. Isai. xiii. 13; Joel ii. 10, iii. 16; infr. 21, 22). Michaelis

7 And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts.

8 The silver *is* mine, and the gold *is* mine, saith the LORD of hosts.

9 The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

10 ¶ In the four and twentieth *day* of the ninth *month*, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

11 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Ask now the priests *concerning* the law, saying,

12 If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or

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and Dathe refer this shaking of the nations to the wars of Alexander the Great and his successors.

The quotation of this verse by S. Paul (Heb. xii. 26—29) is an instance of that *freedom of adaptation* on his part, which has been pointed out in connection with Hos. xiii. 14. See note ad loc. p. 488 of this Volume.

7. It has been usual to regard this verse as a direct prediction of our Lord's visit to the temple, and to identify *the desire of all nations* with Him of whom Jacob foretold *unto him shall the gathering of the people be*. This view is sustained by reference to Micah v. 4; Mal. iii. 1, and Heb. xii. 26, 27, but neither from the context nor from other passages of Scripture can it be gathered that these words of Haggai had direct reference to Messiah, or were so received by those to whom they were addressed. The LXX. version of *vv.* 7—9 proves that the authors of that Version attributed no such meaning to the passage. The actual presence in its courts of Him, in Whom *dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily*, was indeed the very highest glory that could attach to any earthly temple; and the Babe of Bethlehem, to whom the wise men brought their gifts, satisfied in the widest possible sense the desire of all nations for a Saviour and a Redeemer; but what the text asserts is simply this, that by reason of the offerings of the Gentiles, the later glory and adornment of the House of God should far exceed the promise of its present condition; and that the calamities about to fall on the heathen nations should give peace to Jerusalem. Thus viewed *vv.* 7 and 9 are very naturally linked together by *v.* 8. In justification of this view of the passage compare note on Ps. lxviii. 35, Vol. IV. p. 324. The fact that the passage is not quoted by the Evangelists in connection with the presence of our Lord in the temple is significant. Especially might we have expected to find St Matthew claiming the fulfilment of Haggai's words in his description of our Lord's visit to the temple (Matt. xxi. 12—14). See Note at the end of the Chapter.

8. *The silver is mine*, &c.] Even as I caused the Egyptians to pour their wealth into the lap of the Israelites when leaving Egypt, so will I cause the heathen nations to bring their riches and their precious things for the adornment of My temple at Jerusalem.

9. *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former*] Rather, **Greater shall be the later glory of this house than the former.** So the LXX. The adjectives belong to the noun *glory*, not to *house*. If Zerubbabel's building was a second temple and not a rebuilding of Solomon's, then Herod's temple, the temple visited by Jesus, was a third temple; and with this further difficulty, that it seems to have been more highly adorned than either of the other buildings. In Haggai's view there was but one temple; see note on *v.* 3 supra.

in this place will I give peace] Compare Ezek. xxxiv. 25, 26; Mic. iv. 3, 4, and Zech. viii. 12, *the seed of peace*. The LXX. interpolate at the end of this verse, καὶ εἰρήνην ψυχῆς εἰς περιποίησιν παντὶ τῷ κτίζοντι τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον. *And peace of soul abundantly*, or (for a possession) *to every one that buildeth in order to raise again this temple.*

10—19. Works and sacrifices are displeasing to God so long as the rebuilding of the temple is neglected. The calamities caused by this neglect, and the blessings to follow upon the renewal of the work.

10. There was an interval of two months and three days between this and the previous discourse of Haggai (sup. ii. 1). The ninth month was Chisleu (Zech. vii. 1; Neh. i. 1), answering to portions of November and December.

11. *concerning the law*] Rather, **for a law**, *i.e. for instruction and direction*. Comp. Job xxii. 22; Isai. viii. 16; where Fürst explains it to mean *directions with respect to conduct*. The verb governs a double accusative, of the person asked, and of the thing asked for, as in Jer. xxxviii. 14.

12. *holy flesh*] *i.e.* flesh sanctified by having been offered in sacrifice to God, comp. Jer. xi. 15. The reference is to Lev. vi. 27. The

wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the priests answered and said, No.

13 Then said Haggai, If *one that is* unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the priests answered and said, It shall be unclean.

14 Then answered Haggai, and said, So *is* this people, and so *is* this nation before me, saith the LORD; and so *is* every work of their hands; and that which they offer there *is* unclean.

15 And now, I pray you, consider from this day and upward, from before a stone was laid upon a stone in the temple of the LORD:

16 Since those *days* were, when *one* came to an heap of twenty *measures*, there were *but* ten: when *one* came to the pressfat for to draw out fifty *vessels* out of the press, there were *but* twenty.

[b] Amos 4. 9. 17 I smote you [b] with blasting and with mildew and with hail in all the labours of your hands; yet ye *turned* not to me, saith the LORD.

18 Consider now from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth *month*, *even* from the day that the foundation of the LORD's temple was laid, consider *it*.

19 Is the seed yet in the barn? yea, as yet the vine, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive tree, hath not brought forth: from this day will I bless *you*.

20 ¶ And again the word of the LORD came unto Haggai in the four and twentieth *day* of the month, saying,

21 Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth;

22 And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen; and I will overthrow the chariots, and those that ride in them; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother.

23 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerub-

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skirt which touched the flesh became holy, but not so things touched by the skirt.

13. *shall it be unclean?*] Comp. Num. xix. 13, 14, 22.

14. The Jews are spoken of not only as *this people*, but also as *this nation*, which is the rendering of a Heb. word usually applied to foreign nations; and may therefore be regarded as a term of reproach.

there] denotes the altar at Jerusalem built in the second year of Cyrus, immediately after the return from Babylon (Ezra iii. 3). The scope of the questions propounded and of the answers given in *vv.* 12, 13 is that no ceremonial obedience would be acceptable to God, so long as His will respecting the temple was being set at nought; and that disobedience on this one point was a contamination for which no ceremonial observances could atone (James ii. 10). Comp. also note on Isai. i. 13.

15. *and upward*] Rather, **and backwards**, *i.e.* from an earlier date than now, even from the time of your arrival here 18 years since, before one stone was laid upon another in the temple of the Lord (Infr. *v.* 18, where the LXX. have καὶ ἐπέκεινα, but here καὶ ὑπεράνω, the Heb. phrase being the same in either verse. The Vulgate has *et supra* here, there *in futurum*). Comp. Ezra iii. 10.

16. *fifty vessels out of the press*] Rather, **fifty bath.** The Heb. *Purâh* is not *the press*, but a measure for liquids, about 8½ gallons in capacity and equal to a *bath*.

17. The former portion of this verse is, word for word, like Amos iv. 9.

19. *Is the seed yet in the barn?*] Seed= what the sowing yields, the crop of corn, Lev. xxvii. 30; Isai. xxiii. 3; Job xxxix. 12.

20. *unto*] Not *by*, as in i. 1, 3, ii. 1, 10; because the message is addressed to Zerubbabel as an individual.

22. *throne of kingdoms*] *i.e.* the power of the heathen kingdoms; compare 2 S. vii. 13.

shall come down] *i.e.* shall be brought down and laid low; compare Ezek. xxx. 6; Isai. xxxiv. 7. The latter part of the verse is probably taken from Micah v. 10.

23. *will I take thee*] Not implying *into* my favour and protection, as Michaelis and Rosenmüller assert. It is merely introductory to the action following; comp. 2 K. xiv. 21, xxiii. 30.

babel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the LORD, and will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith the LORD of hosts.

will make thee as a signet] *i.e.* precious and honourable in my sight; comp. Jer. xxii. 24; Song of Sol. viii. 6, and specially Ecclus. xlix. 11, *How shall we magnify Zorobabel? even he was as a signet on the right hand: so was Jesus the son of Josedec; who in their time builded the house, and set up an holy temple to the Lord, which was prepared for everlasting glory.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE on CHAP. II. 7.

In the Hebrew the verb *shall come* is in the plural, and חמדת (LXX. τὰ ἐκλεκτά: De Wette, *die Kostbarkeiten*; Ewald, *die hohen Schätze*), in the singular, signifies *the desirable things, the costly things* (comp. Dan. xi. 8, for the use of the word in connection with vessels of silver and of gold; and Dan xi. 43, where חמדות מצרים is rendered *the precious things of Egypt*, also in connection with *treasures of gold and of silver*), *i.e.* the wealth and spoil of all nations shall come, either as voluntary offerings or as the spoil of successful warfare (comp. Isai. lx. 5, lxi. 6). This view is confirmed by *v.* 8, which otherwise has no apparent connection with the two verses between which it stands. Hitzig (followed by Fürst, p. 456 a) takes חמדת as the equivalent of מובחר, as it is used in Exod. xv. 4; Isai. xxii. 7, xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxii. 7. The rendering, *the noblest of all peoples*, gets rid of the objection to the use of בּאוּ in respect of inanimate things in the sense of *shall be brought*; but this objection falls to the ground in view of Josh. vi. 19; Isai. lx. 13, compared with Mark iv. 21, μητὶ ὁ λυχνὸς ἔρχεται. If חמדת signified a person, the verb must have been in the singular. Bp Wordsworth holds that the plur. verb is due to the fact that חמדת referring to Messiah involves the idea of his twofold nature, human and Divine, or of his triple offices as Prophet, Priest, and King, but this view is not sustained by the very passages which he quotes from Gen. xlix. 10 and Mal. iii. 1, where the titles of Messiah, *Shiloh* and *Messenger of the Covenant*, both take a singular, not a plural verb. After having defended the ordinary interpretation as against Michaelis, Dathe finally (in his 3rd edit.) renders the passage, "Et deinde afferentur res gentium pretiosissimæ, nam splendore hanc ædem replebo."

This view of the Hebrew text does not exclude the application of Haggai's words to Messianic times by way of illustration. It does not deny that the prophecy then received a higher and more spiritual fulfilment. It does exclude the intrusion of this sense into the Sacred Text, as has been done by Jerome in the Vulgate rendering *veniet desideratus omnibus gentibus*. Our exegesis confines itself to ascertaining what sense Haggai and his cotemporaries attributed to his words; not what application of them is permissible to the season of our Lord's first Advent, nor what further fulfilment may be yet in store for them, in the ἀσάλευτος βασιλεία which is to survive the μετάθεσις τῶν σαλευομένων and the end of this present world: see Heb. xii. 26, 27.

ZECHARIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

§ 1. *Person and date of the Prophet* . . 702
§ 2. *Subject-matter of the Book of Zechariah* 702
§ 3. *Integrity of the book* 703

§ 1. *Person and date of the Prophet.*

ZECHARIAH calls himself the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo (i. 1, 7), whereas Ezra speaks of him as Zechariah the son of Iddo (Ezra v. 1, vi. 14). The discrepancy is explained by assuming that Berechiah died before Iddo, and that Zechariah succeeded his grandfather Iddo in the headship of the Davidic priestly course, which the latter held in the time of Zerubbabel and Jeshua the high priest (Neh. xii. 4). See note on Ezra v. 1.

Zechariah is mentioned as one of the priests, the chief of the fathers, in the days of Joiakim, the successor and son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 16). These facts do not necessarily imply that he was a very young man when his prophetic ministry commenced, in the second year of Darius. His grandfather Iddo may well have been one of the original exiles; and though Zechariah was probably younger than Haggai, he had reached, when he came back to Jerusalem, a period of life at which the associations of residence in Chaldæa had been powerful to influence the current of his thoughts and to give a colour to the imagery in which his prophecies are clothed. His first prophetic utterance is dated only two months after that of Haggai, with whom he seems to have associated himself in the prosecution of a common purpose, viz. the encouragement of his fellow-countrymen in the work of rebuilding the temple, and re-establishing the theocracy. The fourth year of Darius is the latest undisputed date of his prophecies (vii. 1); and after the brief notice in Nehemiah (xii. 16) we have no clue to the period to which his life was prolonged, beyond a tradition that he died at an advanced age and was buried beside Haggai.

§ 2. *Subject-matter of the Book of Zechariah.*

i. 1—16 is introductory, comprising a brief but earnest appeal to his countrymen to turn from their evil ways—an appeal founded upon the experience of their forefathers in regard to the judgments as well as the mercies of Jehovah.

i. 7—vi. 8 contains a series of eight prophetic visions presented to the mind of the prophet in one night, viz. the 24th day of the 11th month, in the second year of Darius. As might have been inferred, this identity of time carries with it an identity of purpose, which runs through the whole series, viz. the encouragement of the Jews under their present hindrances and trials by the promise of the destruction of the heathen powers around them, and of the restoration of the theocracy under its civil and ecclesiastical leaders. In dealing with this theme, Zechariah, after the example of the older prophets, and guided by the inspiration of Jehovah, unfolds as in a type the spiritual victories and the spiritual establishment of the kingdom of Messiah.

vi. 9—15 is a symbolical transaction of precisely similar import to the preceding visions. It prefigures the union of the regal and the priestly offices in the Person of Christ, His work as the builder up of His Church, and the gathering in of the Gentiles. Zechariah himself and those among whom he prophesied may or may not have been conscious of this scope of his words; but the event constitutes our title to apply them in this sense, and to regard them as a proof of the assertion that to Him give all the prophets witness.

vii.—viii. Quitting both vision and symbol, we have in these chapters an example of the practical functions of the prophetic office in solving questions of duty. Were the fasts which had been enjoined as commemorative of those national judgments which had marked God's displeasure with His people, to be continued now that their sins had been repented of and forsaken, and they were entering upon a new career of national obedience and prosperity? Jehovah's answer propounds two general principles of universal application. First, that the moral law is above the ceremonial: and secondly, that His promises are *conditional* on obedience to His precepts. These truths being admitted and acted upon, fasts are to be changed into feasts, and the Gentiles are to be brought in to worship the God of the Jews.

ix.—xiv. The analysis of these chapters necessarily varies with the date and the authorship assigned to them; but we may say of them generally that they agree with the preceding prophecies of Zechariah in indicating the overthrow of the heathen powers of the earth, and in foreshadowing the coming of Messiah, and the establishment of His kingdom. In this respect, however, they only share a character which is common to many of the earlier prophetic writings; and so far furnish no conclusive argument in favour of the common authorship of the two portions of the book.

§ 3. *Integrity of the book.*

Whether Zechariah the son of Berechiah the son of Iddo was the writer of those last six chapters which are assigned to him in all the copies of the Hebrew Bible upon which our present text is founded, and in all the ancient Versions, is a question not readily admitting a definite reply, in view of the conflicting weight of authority arranged on either side of it.

The arguments against the integrity of the book have been briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The difference in point of style between the earlier and later portions of the prophecy—a difference admitted by all critics.

(2) The absence from the later chapters (1) of modes of expression constantly occurring in the earlier part, and (2) of the accurate determination of the date of each several prophecy.

(3) The different historical stand-point which the writer of the later chapters occupies from that of Zechariah, especially in relation to the temple and its ordinances.

(4) The occurrence of allusions, which cannot be accommodated to any but a date anterior to the exile at Babylon.

To these arguments it has been objected:

(1) That the difference in style between the two divisions of the prophecy is not greater than might reasonably be expected from the change in subject—not greater than is found to exist in different portions of other prophetic writers, as, for instance, in Hosea and Ezekiel.

(2) That the same peculiar forms of expression occur in the two divisions of the prophecy, as, for instance, in vii. 14 compared with ix. 8, and in iii. 4 compared with xiii. 2.

(3) (*a*) That in the earlier portion the prophet's attention is fixed upon the events of his own time, and the great national work that he was sent to forward; and hence the frequent reference to the temple at Jerusalem, and the particularity with which the date of his utterances and visions is fixed: whereas in the later part he is dealing with a yet distant future.

(*b*) That there is a general agreement between the predictions in the first and second sections; that their scope is the same; and that they alike have their fulfilment in the times of the Messiah.

(4) That there are frequent allusions in the later chapters to Zephaniah, Jere-

miah and Ezekiel, which are evidence that this portion of the book was written after the exile, and therefore by Zechariah.

(5) That the historical references in the later portion are not inconsistent with a post-exile date; and that the prophecies in their first fulfilment are really more applicable to the Persian era than to any earlier times.

(6) That in all ancient copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as in all the ancient Versions, the integrity of the book is taken for granted.

(7) That those who maintain the pre-exile date of the later chapters are not agreed among themselves as to their authorship, some ascribing all six chapters to the same hand, while others separate chh. ix.—xi. from chh. xii.—xiv., referring the former to a date antecedent to the destruction of the kingdom of Israel—and the latter to a date subsequent to the death of Josiah.

The writer of the article *Zechariah*, in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible', from whom the preceding summary of the controversy has been adopted, concludes with the words, "it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates." To this conclusion the present writer assents. While the Holy Scriptures contain many statements of acknowledged difficulty and many hopelessly obscure allusions, it is idle to expect entire agreement among those who take it in hand to explain them; or to exact it as the condition of orthodoxy on the one hand, or of critical skill and scholarship on the other. And this is especially true of points like that under review, where the balance of probability and the weight of authority are so nearly equal.

Looking to the didactic value of the prophecies under consideration, and to their character as an unquestioned portion of that Scripture which has been given by inspiration of God, it matters little whether it is the earlier destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuzar-adan, or the later by Titus, which is foretold in them —whether the references to the cities of Philistia and Syria relate to occurrences which preceded or followed the captivity at Babylon. Whichever view of them we adopt, the moral lessons to be gathered from them remain the same; in either case they satisfy the condition, "To Him give all the prophets witness;" in either case they are God's words addressed to the hearts and consciences of mankind.

The weight of authority for and against the integrity of the book is very evenly balanced; while its decision is not of vital importance in reference to the inspired authority attaching to it as a portion of the Sacred Canon of Scripture: for to whatever hand we owe the final recension of the Canon of Hebrew Scripture, in the form in which it has been handed down to us, it is clear that exact chronological arrangements of the several books, as well as questions of authorship, were not looked upon then as of the same importance as they are wont to be regarded now. The attribution of all the parts of the book of Ezra to Ezra; the confused arrangement of the prophecies of Jeremiah—are evidence of the slight value attached to these points by the last revisers of the Hebrew Canon. If, as seems probable, the Canon as handed down to us was in gradual process of formation during the entire period that intervened between the return from Babylon and the death of Malachi, it is not improbable that the book of Zechariah in its present form may have come to us from Zechariah's own hands, with all the authority of his office as a prophet of the Lord, and yet that the later chapters may have been the work of some earlier prophet or prophets, adopted by him as suitable in many points to the exigencies of his own and immediately succeeding times.

ZECHARIAH.

CHAPTER I.

1 Zechariah exhorteth to repentance. 7 The vision of the horses. 12 At the prayer of the angel comfortable promises are made to Jerusalem. 18 The vision of the four horns, and the four carpenters.

IN the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD unto Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet, saying,

2 The LORD hath been † sore displeased with your fathers.

† Heb. *with displeasure.*

3 Therefore say thou unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; [a] Turn ye unto me, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will turn unto you, saith the LORD of hosts.

[a] Mal. 3. 7.

4 Be ye not as your fathers, unto whom the former prophets have cried, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; [b] Turn ye now from your evil ways, and *from* your evil doings: but they did not hear, nor hearken unto me, saith the LORD.

[b] Isai. 31. 6. Jer. 3. 12. & 18. 11. Ezek. 18. 30. Hos. 14. 1.

5 Your fathers, where *are* they? and the prophets, do they live for ever?

CHAP. I. 1. *In the eighth month*] This message of Zechariah comes in between that prophecy of Haggai, which ends at Hagg. ii. 9, and that which is contained in Hagg. ii. 10—19. The Jews before the exile called the eighth month *Bul* (1 K. vi. 38). Its later name was *Marcheshvan;* it synchronizes with the latter half of October and the earlier half of November. The later names of the months after the return from Babylon occur only in Zechariah, Nehemiah, and Esther.

Zechariah has not recorded the day of the month, as Haggai had done (Hagg. i. 1); probably because it bore no special relation to the message delivered.

the second year of Darius] B.C. 520; see Hagg. i. 1.

the son of Berechiah] In Ezra v. 1, vi. 14 Zechariah is called the son of Iddo, as Jehu is called the son of his grandfather Nimshi; see note on Ezra v. 1.

the prophet] refers to Zechariah, and therefore there must be a comma after Iddo.

2. *sore displeased*] Lit. *angry with anger.* Comp. Soph. 'Phil.' 59, ἔχθος ἐχθήρας μέγα. The Hebrew root conveys that idea of breaking forth into anger or displeasure which we have in the word *ebullition;* comp. Eur. 'Hec.' 583, δεινόν τι πῆμα Πριαμίδαις ἐπέζεσεν.

3. *unto them*] *i.e.* to the present generation of the Jews.

saith the LORD of hosts] This expression occurs three times in this one verse; according to Scholz, for the sake of emphasis. See Note at the end of the Chapter. The words, with which Zechariah the son of Berechiah opens his prophetic ministry, should be compared with those with which Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, speaking by the Spirit of God, closed both his ministry and his life, *Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the Lord, He hath also forsaken you...And when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it and require it* (2 Chro. xxiv. 20—22). The later prophet bears witness to the fact that Jehovah did not suffer his martyred servant's words to return unto Him void; but Zechariah puts the minatory declaration, that they who forsake God will of God be forsaken, into that more merciful form of promise in which God delights, viz. that as to those who turn to Him, "to them will He turn."

4. *the former prophets*] Zechariah quotes the substance of passages in Hosea, Joel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Koester thinks that there is a special reference to Hos. xiv. 2, 3 and to Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Probably the prophet had in his mind 2 K. xvii. 13. There is no reason for excluding Ezekiel from the list of those whom Zechariah would call *the former prophets.*

now] Rather, I pray, the Hebrew word being supplicatory and hortative.

5. This verse and the next are closely connected. The idea is that of John viii. 52, *Abraham is dead and the prophets.* The generations to whom God's warnings had been sent of old, and the bearers of those

6 But my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not [l] take hold of your fathers? and they returned and said, [c] Like as the LORD of hosts thought to do unto us, according to our ways, and according to our doings, so hath he dealt with us.

7 ¶ Upon the four and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which *is* the month Sebat, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD unto Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet, saying,

8 I saw by night, and behold a man riding upon a red horse, and he stood among the myrtle trees that

[l] Or, *overtake.*

[c] Lam. 1. 18.

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warnings, have passed away, but God's word and God's decrees stand fast for all generations: and therefore, as they overtook your fathers, so will they overtake you. The prophets of the post-captivity period took their stand upon the past history of the people, upon former miracles and upon fulfilled prophecy. They regarded these as the true foundations upon which the faith and obedience of the Jews were to be built up. See Jahn, 'Heb. Ant.' § 312.

6. *my words and my statutes*] *i.e.* the threats and the judicial decrees of the earlier prophets. For the use of the former noun, comp. Jer. xxxix. 16; Ezek. xii. 28; and of the latter, comp. Zeph. ii. 2.

take hold of] Rather, as in the margin, **overtake.** This truth had been exemplified in the sorrows of the captivity, sorrows which have their echoes in the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Lam. i. 18, ii. 17), in the Psalms of the captivity, and in the penitential prayers of Daniel and of Ezra.

returned] Rather, **turned**, *i.e.* from their evil ways, &c., sup. *v.* 4.

thought to do] *i.e. purposed to do*, for the Hebrew root signifies *to weave together*, and so *to plan, to design.* Comp. the use of πλέκειν in Greek.

our ways...our doings] For the distinction between these terms see note on Jer. vii. 3.

dealt with us] Rather, **done with us**, for the verb is the same as that used just before in the expression *purposed to do.*

7—17. A vision of horsemen, indicating the coming downfall of the heathen nations, and God's return with mercies to Jerusalem.

7. This is the commencement of a series of eight symbolical visions, all, it would seem, presented to the mind of the prophet in one night—that of the 24th of Sebat, corresponding to the 9th or 10th of March. (Sebat or Shebat is the post-captivity name of the 11th month. It was probably the name of a Syrian deity.) There are eight distinct visions, but they are linked together by the bond of a common purpose, viz. the encouragement of the Jews to continue the work of restoring the temple and rebuilding the city, and re-establishing the Theocratic government.

saying] Better, *to this effect, on this wise;* for the word does not prelude the *ipsissima verba* of Jehovah, but only the narrative of Zechariah's visions.

8. The *dramatis personæ* of this vision are four in number:—

(1) The prophet himself.

(2) The angel, whose office it was, as well in this as in subsequent visions, to interpret to the prophet what he saw and heard, and whose Hebrew designation (*vv.* 9, 13, 14, 19, ii. 3, iv. 1, 4, 5, v. 5, 10, vi. 4) is rendered *the angel that talked with me*, except once (i. 14), where it is rendered *the angel that communed with me.*

(3) The *man riding upon a red horse*, who is described in *v.* 10 as *the man that stood among the myrtle trees*, in *v.* 12 as *the angel of Jehovah*, and finally in *v.* 13 as *Jehovah*, being none other than the divine Mediator, the Angel of the covenant and of the presence of Jehovah, and who in *v.* 12 in his office of intercession addresses the Father as Jehovah of hosts. Comp. Josh. v. 13—vi. 5, where the same person is called (1) *a man*, (2) *captain of the host of Jehovah*, and (3) *Jehovah.* See notes on the above passages. Blayney suggests that the reply of him who is called a man in *vv.* 8, 10 revealed to the prophet that though in human form he had a divine commission, and so in *v.* 12 he called him *the angel of Jehovah.* Finally the intercessory character of his words in *v.* 12 led Zechariah to see in him Jehovah Himself.

(4) The riders upon the horses, red, speckled, and white, mentioned in *v.* 8, whose answer to the angel of Jehovah, as to the result of their mission, is given in *v.* 11.

8. *myrtle trees*] It has been suggested that the mention of the myrtle is due to Zechariah's residence in Babylonia; but see the Article *Myrtle* in Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.,' which is conclusive as to the myrtle being indigenous in Palestine.

in the bottom] Comparing the usage of the same word in Zech. x. 11 concerning the floods of the Nile, we may understand here the deep valley of the Kedron, in which the myrtles were seen growing. Comp. Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2, as illustrative of the imagery which would

were in the bottom; and behind him
[1] Or, *bay.* *were there* red horses, [1] speckled, and white.

9 Then said I, O my lord, what *are* these? And the angel that talked with me said unto me, I will shew thee what these *be*.

10 And the man that stood among the myrtle trees answered and said, These *are they* whom the LORD hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth.

11 And they answered the angel of the LORD that stood among the myrtle trees, and said, We have walked to and fro through the earth, and, behold, all the earth sitteth still, and is at rest.

12 ¶ Then the angel of the LORD answered and said, O LORD of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?

13 And the LORD answered the angel that talked with me *with* good words *and* comfortable words.

14 So the angel that communed with me said unto me, Cry thou, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; I am [d] jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy. [d] chap. 8. 2.

15 And I am very sore displeased with the heathen *that are* at ease: for I was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction.

16 Therefore thus saith the LORD;

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naturally attach itself to the vision of a seer who had been an exile in Babylon.

speckled] Or, as in the margin, *bay*. Koester connects it with a Syriac verb, rendered by *exarsit*, and so translates it *fiery* (Gk. πύῤῥος), § 8, p. 27. Scholz, "reddish, brown, and white." Ewald, "light-brownish red, and grey, and dark-red."

No symbolical meaning is attributed by the divine interpreter, either to the place where the rider and his followers appeared standing, or to the colour of their horses. None therefore need be sought by us. In comparing Zech. vi. 1—8 with Rev. vi. 2—8, we may gather that in those instances difference of colour in the horses implies difference of office in the riders; but *here* they have all one and the same duty, viz. *to walk to and fro through the earth*.

9. *O my lord*] Hebrew, *Adoni*, addressed to the person who immediately afterwards is called *the angel that talked with me*.

with me] Rather, **by me**, the prophet being the channel through whom the divine revelations were made; comp. Hos. i. 2, and note.

10. *answered*] The Hebrew verb does not necessarily denote a reply to a question put. It often has the force of *to declare, to announce*. The Æthiopic has only one verb to express *answering* and *beginning to speak*.

11. *is at rest*] *i.e.* is undisturbed by war or tumults. For the fuller expression see Josh. xi. 23, xiv. 15. The *little while* of Haggai had not yet elapsed. The calm which precedes and presages the storm was upon the nations which composed the Persian empire, the πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη of the Jews at this date. Haggai's predictions (Hagg. ii. 6, 7, 21, 22) had raised expectations which seemed to be still far from fulfilment. Zechariah was inspired to instruct the people that the triumph of Jerusalem and of Zion was only delayed for a time (Hab. ii. 3).

12. *these threescore and ten years*] Rather, **these seventy years**, as in vii. 5, there being no reason for varying the rendering. It does not signify the seventy years from the captivity of Jeremiah to the edict of Cyrus; see Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10; Dan. ix. 2; but the seventy years of the destroyed temple, from the captivity of Zedekiah to the second year of Darius Hystaspis; see Davison 'on Prophecy,' p. 316 and note.

13. *answered*] Rather, **declared to** (sup. *v.* 5), omitting the preposition *with* as well as the conjunction *and*.

good words...comfortable words] *i.e. good words, that do good*.

14. *communed*] Rather, **talked**, as it is elsewhere. The whole expression, wherever it occurs, might be more correctly rendered *the angel that spake by me*.

jealous] Infr. viii. 2. This jealousy implies God's resentment at His people, because of their disloyalty towards Him, according to the meaning of the Hebrew word as used in Prov. vi. 34.

15. *they helped forward the affliction*] Perhaps better, *they strengthened themselves for evil*. This is one of many instances in which the heathen nations, when employed by God as instruments for punishing His people, would seem to have exceeded their commission, and so to have brought down His wrath upon themselves (see Isai. xlvii. 6; Amos i. 9, 11; Ps. cxxxvii. 7, A.V.).

I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the LORD of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem.

17 Cry yet, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts; My cities through † prosperity shall yet be spread abroad; and the LORD shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem.

† Heb. *good.*

18 ¶ Then lifted I up mine eyes, and saw, and behold four horns.

19 And I said unto the angel that talked with me, What *be* these? And he answered me, These *are* the horns which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem.

20 And the LORD shewed me four carpenters.

21 Then said I, What come these to do? And he spake, saying, These *are* the horns which have scattered Judah, so that no man did lift up his head: but these are come to fray them, to cast out the horns of the Gentiles, which lifted up *their* horn over the land of Judah to scatter it.

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16. *I am returned...shall be built*] This combination of the present and future tenses is not uncommon in the prophetic writings; comp. Hos. xiv. 4.

my house] *i.e.* the temple, begun at this date, but not completed and dedicated till four years later, in the sixth year of Darius.

a line] The stretching forth of a line denotes the restoration and extension of Jerusalem.

17. *My cities through prosperity*, &c.] Rather, **Yet again My cities shall overflow with good.** A prediction of the coming occupation of the land by Jews returning from Babylon, and of the increase of population under the Asmonæan princes.

18—21. In the Hebrew text ii. 1—4. A vision of the four horns and of the four workmasters, sent to fray or harry the enemies of Judah and Jerusalem.

18. *four horns*] *i.e.* the heathen nations by whom the Jews had been oppressed. The word *horn* occurs in the same sense in Dan. vii. 20. The number four intimates the fact that the enemies of the Jews were around them on all sides.

19. *Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem*] It is not unlikely that *Israel and Jerusalem* is an interpolation, see *v.* 21: or the mention of Israel may be due to the fact that the returned exiles comprised many of the ten tribes as well as men of Judah. Comp. note on Obad. 18; and Introduction to Ezekiel, § vi. p. 5, of this volume.

20. *carpenters*] Rather, **workmasters**, or **plowers**. Either meaning is better than the rendering of A.V.: *workmasters* = superintendents of a work (in this instance) of destruction; comp. Ezek. xxi. 31, where workmasters of destruction = *men skilful to destroy*. Perhaps *plowers*, in the sense in which the same Hebrew word is used in Ps. cxxix. 3, *The plowers plowed upon my back: they made long their furrows*. In connection with this meaning compare Deut. xxii. 10; Isai. xxviii. 24; Amos ix. 13.

21. *to fray them*] Better, *to harry them*. There is a noticeable alliteration in the Hebrew words rendered *workmasters* or *plowers* and *to fray* or *harry*.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on CHAP. I. 3.

In the first and third places of its occurrence in this verse, *saith the Lord of hosts* represents the Hebrew אמר יהוה צבאות, but in the second place it stands for נאם וגו׳. Ewald marks the distinction by using *sagt* for אמר and *spricht* for נאם. In English the distinction might be retained by rendering אמר by *saith*, and נאם by *it is the saying of*. If there be any difference of meaning, we may perhaps say that אמר sometimes implies *a command with promise*, and נאם *a command with rebuke*. In *v.* 4, where אמר וגו׳ occurs exactly in the same connection as נאם וגו׳ here, its use is possibly due to the introduction of the supplicatory נא.

CHAPTER II.

1 God, in the care of Jerusalem, sendeth to measure it. 6 The redemption of Zion. 10 The promise of God's presence.

I LIFTED up mine eyes again, and looked, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand.

2 Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what *is* the breadth thereof, and what *is* the length thereof.

3 And, behold, the angel that talked with me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him,

4 And said unto him, Run, speak to this young man, saying, Jerusalem shall be inhabited *as* towns without walls for the multitude of men and cattle therein:

5 For I, saith the LORD, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her.

6 ¶ Ho, ho, *come forth*, and flee from the land of the north, saith the LORD: for I have spread you abroad as the four winds of the heaven, saith the LORD.

7 Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest *with* the daughter of Babylon.

8 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you: for he that [a] toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye.

[a] Deut. 32. 10. Psal. 17. 8.

9 For, behold, I will shake mine hand upon them, and they shall be a spoil to their servants: and ye shall

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CHAP. II. 1—5. The vision of the man with the measuring-line (sup. i. 16).

1. *again*] This word is not in the Hebrew.

a man with a measuring line in his hand] Zechariah beholds, as it were, the fulfilment of the promise in i. 16, *a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem*. Comp. Ezek. xl. 3.

3. *went out*] Rather, **went forth**, as before. The Hebrew word is the same, and there is no reason why the rendering of it should be varied.

4. *this young man*] *i.e.* the man with the measuring-line, to whom it is intimated that it is needless to measure Jerusalem, because it was destined to be inhabited as towns without walls.

as towns without walls] Rather, **as unwalled villages**. The expression denotes not only the greater space required for a largely increased population, but also greater security, founded on the promise of divine protection. Compare Ezek. xxxviii. 11; Esther ix. 19.

5. *the glory in the midst of her*] Compare Ezek. xliii. 1—7; Ps. cxxv. 2 and note. Perhaps St Paul had this passage in mind when he wrote Rom. ix. 4.

6—9. An invitation to the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Compare Jer. xxxi. 1—14.

6. *the land of the north*] here means Babylon. Comp. Jer. iii. 18, vi. 22.

spread] Rather, **scattered**. Compare Ps. lxviii. 14.

as the four winds of the heaven] does not conflict with the previous phrase *land of the north*. It indicates the violence with which the dispersion of the Jews was carried out; and perhaps the fact of their dispersion on all sides from Babylon as a centre, after their removal thither.

7. *Deliver thyself, O Zion*] Rather, **Ho! Zion, make haste to deliver thyself!** This rendering restores the particle of exhortation as in *v.* 6, and gives more accurately the force of the verb. Comp. 2 S. i. 3; Job xix. 20.

that dwellest with] Rather, **that remainest as** = that art content to remain as a daughter of Babylon.

8. *After the glory*] *i.e.* after God's glory shall once more have taken up its abode in the temple (sup. *v.* 5), or perhaps, *after* = in succession to the glory of the oppressing Gentiles, now about to pass away. Zechariah's mission was not limited to his own people. It was a ministry of mercy to them, of judgment to the heathen. He here claims to occupy towards the latter the same position, which the former prophets had so often taken up; as for example, Amos, when, following his predecessor Joel, he cried, *The Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem.*

toucheth you] *i.e.* in a hostile way, as in Gen. xxvi. 11; Josh. ix. 19, where the same Hebrew verb is followed by the same preposition.

the apple of his eye] Lit. *the gate or opening of his eye*. The Hebrew word differs from that which is correctly rendered *the apple of his eye* in Deut. xxxii. 10. In Ps. xvii. 8 we have a combination of the phrase used by Moses in Deuteronomy and of that which Zechariah uses here. Comp. also Lam. ii. 18.

9. *I will shake*] Rather, **I am shaking**, *i.e.* in a threatening way, for the spoilers of

know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me.

[b] Isai. 12. 6. & 54. 1.

10 ¶ [b] Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for, lo, I come, and I [c] will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the LORD.

[c] Lev. 26. 12. Ezek. 37. 27. 2 Cor. 6. 16.

11 And many nations shall be joined to the LORD in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto thee.

12 And the LORD shall inherit Judah his portion in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again.

13 Be silent, O all flesh, before the LORD: for he is raised up out of [†] his holy habitation.

[†] Heb. *the habitation of his holiness.*

CHAPTER III.

1 *Under the type of Joshua, the restoration of the church,* 8 *Christ the Branch is promised.*

AND he shewed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the LORD, and [‖] Satan standing at his right hand [†] to resist him.

[‖] That is, *an adversary.* [†] Heb. *to be his adversary.*

2 And the LORD said unto Satan, [a] The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan; even the LORD that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: *is* not this a brand plucked out of the fire?

[a] Jude 9.

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v. 8 were to become in their turn a prey to the Jews, who were at this time their servants.

10—13. God's promise to abide in Zion, and of the incoming of the Gentiles. Compare the parallel passages in Zeph. iii. 14—20; Isai. xii. 6; and infr. ix. 9, which, like that before us, had a first and literal fulfilment in the times following the return of the Jews from Babylon. They are all applicable in a wider and loftier sense to the dwelling of Messiah in Palestine, and to the spread of the Gospel among the heathen. Comp. Jer. iii. 17 and note.

Rawlinson ('Anc. Mon.') quotes *v.* 11 of this chapter, as well as Zech. vii. 2, viii. 22, 23, in proof of his assertion that the return from the captivity was the starting-point from which we may trace a gradual enlightenment of the heathen world by the dissemination of Jewish beliefs and practices.

11. *shall be joined*] Comp. Gen. xxix. 34. The prophecy is parallel with that of Hagg. ii. 7.

12. *shall inherit Judah his portion in the holy land*] Rather, **shall take possession of Judah as His inheritance for a holy ground.** There is an alliteration in the Hebrew.

13. *he is raised up*] Rather, **he is arising** or **awakening.** The time of judgment is near.

his holy habitation] = His temple, compare Hab. ii. 20, from whom this expression is borrowed, though in a different connection. What the two passages, as well as Zeph. i. 7, express in common, is the expectation of approaching judgments.

CHAP. III. A vision concerning Joshua the high priest, who appears as a type of the Jewish Church, whose adversaries are typified by the Accuser or Satan. The restoration of ceremonial purity is indicated, and the Advent of Messiah promised.

1. *he*] *i.e.* the interpreting angel, though both here and at iv. 1 the angel of Jehovah is identified by the Talmudists with him whom they called Mĕtâtrón = forerunner of God. Jahn, 'Heb. Ant.' § 228. See supr. i. 8, note.

Satan] Rather, **the accuser**, or **the adversary.** Joshua is seen in vision preparing to offer an expiatory sacrifice on behalf of the people in discharge of his duty as high priest. But an adversary intervenes, who, as usual in the case of an accuser, stands at the right hand of the accused, and urges that he has incurred a ceremonial impurity which unfits him for his office of expiation. This charge is not expressly stated by the accuser, but may be inferred from the decision of the angel of Jehovah, who appears as an arbiter or judge.

to resist him] Rather, **to accuse him.** Rashi thinks that the ground of accusation was personal to Joshua, and may be inferred from Ezra x. 18, where it is stated that some of the sons of Joshua had taken strange wives: but it is better to regard Joshua as a type of the Jewish nation, and to assume that the accusation took the form of a charge of ceremonial impurity, arising out of the neglect of the Jews to rebuild the temple: see next note.

2. *even the* LORD *that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee*] Possibly, *and Jehovah rebuke thee, O thou that hast pleasure in Jerusalem!* This rendering seems requisite to satisfy the parallelism of the Hebrew text. *O thou that hast pleasure in Jerusalem* is spoken in irony. The accuser is a type of those adversaries of the Jews, who at first had desired to unite with them in rebuilding the city and the temple (Ezra iv. 2), but whose real spirit towards the work was developed, when Zerubbabel and Joshua declined their co-operation.

a brand plucked out of the fire] A prover-

3 Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the angel.

4 And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment.

5 And I said, Let them set a fair mitre upon his head. So they set a fair mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments. And the angel of the LORD stood by.

6 And the angel of the LORD protested unto Joshua, saying,

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my ‖charge, then thou shalt also judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee †places to walk among these that stand by.

‖ Or, *ordinance.*

† Heb. *walks.*

8 Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee: for they *are* †men wondered at: for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the [b] BRANCH.

† Heb. *men of wonder.*

[b] Isai. 11. 1. Jer. 23. 5. & 33. 15. chap. 6. 12. Luke 1. 78.

9 For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone *shall be* seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.

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bial expression slightly altered from Amos iv. 11. Jehovah had rescued the Jews from the miseries of the captivity in Babylon, and He will not now suffer His purpose of mercy towards them to be frustrated.

3. *filthy*] *i.e.* without the requisite ceremonial purity, and therefore symbolizing sin: see Isai. iv. 4 (where see note A, Vol. v. p. 50); Prov. xxx. 12. There is no reference to anything like the Roman custom, which required accused persons to appear in filthy attire (*sordidati*), referred to by Livy, II. 54, VI. 20.

4. *he*] *i.e.* the angel in whose presence Joshua is seen standing.

those that stood before him] *i.e.* angels of a lower order, who waited to do the behests of the angel of Jehovah: compare 1 K. x. 8; Esther iv. 5; Dan. i. 5.

and I will clothe thee with change of raiment] Or, **and I have clothed thee in festal raiments.** Comp. Isai. iii. 22, and note there. Festal implies *fresh, clean*, as opposed to *filthy*, and indicates the ceremonial purity requisite in the high priest.

5. *And I said*] I=the angel of Jehovah. It has been proposed to alter the Hebrew text in order to get *And he said;* but this is needless.

mitre] The word is rendered by *diadem* in Isai. lxii. 3, and in Job xxix. 14, and by *hoods* in Isai. iii. 23.

7. *judge my house*] Explained by Maurer to signify *govern My people*. But, considering the person addressed, it more probably means *rule My temple*.

places to walk among, &c.] *i.e.* I will give you for the faithful discharge of your duties in the temple a ministry among these. My ministers who are standing here; no longer among your fellow-priests in the courts of an earthly temple, but among the hosts of heaven.

8. *for they are men wondered at*] Rather, *for men of type* (=typical men) *are they*, because their intercessory office makes them types of the Great Intercessor; or else, *men of forecast are they* (comp. Isai. viii. 18), men who can look onward and find in these present dispensations of deliverance and restoration a type of the deliverance and the restoration hereafter to be wrought by Him Whom Isaiah (iv. 2) and Jeremiah (xxiii. 5) had foretold as the Branch; and Whom the Alexandrian Jews, in rendering this passage, have styled, in anticipation of St Luke, the Sunrise, the Dayspring from on High. The prophecy had also no doubt a present interpretation and a nearer fulfilment in Zerubbabel, who, as heir of David's throne, is looked upon as the Royal Stem, out of which the renewed power and prosperity of Judah should grow. Passages in which the word *tsémach* is used with special reference to Messiah, besides the two quoted above, are Jer. xxxiii. 15 and Zech. vi. 12. In Isai. xi. 1 the Hebrew word is *nétser*, not *tsémach*. The second *for* is probably an interpolation.

9. *the stone*] *i.e.* the foundation-stone of the temple, upon which the eyes of God are fixed; because the rebuilding of the temple is His special care, and He claims even the graving of the stones as His own work.

before Joshua] *i.e. before thee*, the noun being used instead of the pronoun.

seven eyes] *i.e.* the eyes of the Lord, as is expressly stated in iv. 10 infr. The number *seven* implies the perfection of the divine vision. Comp. Rev. v. 6.

that land] Rather, **this land.**

10 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree.

CHAPTER IV.

1 By the golden candlestick is foreshewed the good success of Zerubbabel's foundation. 11 By the two olive trees the two anointed ones.

AND the angel that talked with me came again, and waked me, as a man that is wakened out of his sleep,

2 And said unto me, What seest thou? And I said, I have looked, and behold a candlestick all *of* gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps, which *are* upon the top thereof:

3 And two olive trees by it, one upon the right *side* of the bowl, and the other upon the left *side* thereof.

4 So I answered and spake to the angel that talked with me, saying, What *are* these, my lord?

5 Then the angel that talked with me answered and said unto me, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my lord.

6 Then he answered and spake unto me, saying, This *is* the word of the LORD unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the LORD of hosts.

† Heb. *with her bowl.* ‖ Or, *seven several pipes to the lamps, &c.*

‖ Or, *army.*

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in one day] = once for all, according to Keil, in the sense in which ἐφάπαξ occurs in Heb. vii. 27, ix. 12, x. 10. It is more likely that *one day* = a short period of time.

10. Comp. 1 K. iv. 25 and Micah iv. 4.

CHAP. IV. The vision of the golden candlestick and of the two olive-trees, related and explained to signify the completion of the temple by Zerubbabel, supported by the high-priest, and with the sanction and help of Jehovah.

1. *came again, and waked me*] = *waked me again*, implying that Zechariah was entranced in contemplation of the preceding vision, and must be roused to give heed to that which follows it.

2. *I have looked*] Rather, **I have seen**, the verb being the same as in the question.

a candlestick] Heb. *m'norah*. The word is used in its ordinary sense in 2 K. iv. 10, but specially of the candlestick of the tabernacle in Exod. xxv. and 2 Chro. iv. 20.

For a full discussion of the form of the golden candlestick of the sanctuary see note on Exod. xxv. 31—39. Here, as there, *m'norah* denotes the stand and stem of the candlestick on which the lamps were supported, and from which the arms that held the lights sprang.

with a bowl] Lit. *with its bowl.* The word here rendered *bowl* does not occur in the Mosaic descriptions of the candlestick of the tabernacle. *Bowls* in Exod. xxv., &c. should be *flower-cups*, and what is meant here is *a vessel* of oil, from which the lamps were supplied through the seven pipes, as also in Eccles. xii. 6. This is the only place where the word *mutzâkâh* (= pipe) occurs in connection with the candlestick of the tabernacle. In *v.* 12 infr. *pipes* represents a different Hebrew word, *tzanteroth*.

and seven pipes to the seven lamps] This rendering is not borne out by the Hebrew text, and the marginal reading is *seven several pipes to the lamps*, which some take to mean *forty-nine pipes*, others *fourteen pipes*, and again others, *pipes by sevens*. Probably the first *seven* should be omitted. Then we get *and seven pipes to the lamps*, which is intelligible. *Septem erant lampades, tres ad dextram, tres ad sinistram, septima in superiori candelabri parte sub ipso olei receptaculo.* Dathe.

3. *two olive trees*] Probably *two olive-branches*, but see infr. *v.* 12. They are referred to by St John (Rev. xi. 4) as *αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι*, a reference which accounts for the article there; but he also mentions *αἱ δύο λυχνίαι*, which is not in accord with this passage, where only *one* candlestick is spoken of, while the lamps are *seven*.

4. *spake*] Rather, **said**.

6. This verse contains the divine explanation of the vision by the interpreting angel, proving that its direct purpose was to encourage Zerubbabel not to trust in the arm of flesh, but in the Spirit of Jehovah as manifested in the providential ordering of the world.

The golden candlestick of the vision is the restored Church, once more offering holy worship in the restored temple, and drawing its supplies of grace through the two olive-branches, which represent Zerubbabel and Joshua, the temporal and spiritual rulers of the Jews.

Not by might, &c.] *i.e.* shall the temple be finished. The omission of the verb is characteristic of Zechariah's style, compare *v.* 7.

7 Who *art* thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel *thou shalt become* a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone *thereof with* shoutings, *crying*, Grace, grace unto it.

8 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

9 The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it; and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.

10 For who hath despised the day of small things? ‖ for they shall rejoice, and shall see the † plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel *with* those seven; [a] they *are* the eyes of the LORD, which run to and fro through the whole earth.

11 ¶ Then answered I, and said unto him, What *are* these two olive trees upon the right *side* of the candlestick and upon the left *side* thereof?

12 And I answered again, and said unto him, What *be these* two olive branches which † through the two golden pipes ‖ empty † the golden *oil* out of themselves?

13 And he answered me and said, Knowest thou not what these *be?* And I said, No, my lord.

14 Then said he, These *are* the two † anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth.

‖ Or, *sith the seven eyes of the* LORD *shall rejoice.*
† Heb. *stone of tin.*
[a] chap. 3. 9.
† Heb. *by the hand.*
‖ Or, *empty out of themselves* oil *into the gold.*
† Heb. *the gold.*
† Heb. *sons of oil.*

CHAPTER V.

1 *By the flying roll is shewed the curse of thieves and swearers.* 5 *By a woman pressed in an ephah, the final damnation of Babylon.*

THEN I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a flying roll.

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7. *O great mountain?*] A metaphor signifying the obstacles which had delayed the rebuilding of the temple. These were now to disappear before the face of Zerubbabel, until the top-stone of the building had been brought forth with great rejoicings. Comp. Ezra vi. 15—22.

a plain] For the natural features of the hill of Zion, to which reference is here made, see note on Jer. xxi. 13.

the headstone thereof with shoutings] Lit. *the top-stone, shoutings*, the latter noun being used adverbially, or in apposition to the preceding clause, and followed by the very words of the cry with which the conclusion of the work was greeted.

9. Comp. Ezra iii. 10 with Ezra vi. 15.

thou shalt know] *i.e.* in witnessing the fulfilment of this prophecy, Zechariah would have full assurance that the angel's message came from Jehovah.

10. *with those seven; they are the eyes of the* LORD] Rather, **those seven, eyes of Jehovah, they.** The expression *those seven* explains who they are that *shall rejoice*, &c. The question, *who hath despised the day of small things?* implies this answer: God will not despise the day of small things, viz. the still unfinished temple and feeble temporal power of the returned Jews. His providential care, typified by the seven eyes, shall overlook the work of restoration and rejoice in it.

run to and fro] implies God's perfect oversight of the whole earth. *His eyes are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.*

11. No interpretation has been given as yet of the two olive trees, though they were probably included in the prophet's question at *v.* 4. Now therefore he expressly asks what is meant by them; first generally, in *v.* 11, and then more particularly in *v.* 12, in their connection with the two tubes of gold (or oil tubes), through which the two olive-branches are seen emptying themselves of oil into the vessel on the top of the candlestick, from which, as from a reservoir, the seven lamps are fed.

12. The Hebrew word rendered *branches* is only found here. It comes probably from the root *shábál*, which signifies *to move gently*, as a branch might. The flow of the oil from the branch into the tube would seem to give it a tremulous motion.

golden pipes] Rather, **oil tubes.** Heb. *tzanteroth*, not *mutzákáh* as in *v.* 2. The primary notion of the one being that of *hollowing out;* of the other that of *metal casting*, compare 2 Chro. iv. 3. If we take *hazáhab* to mean the oil which is emptied through the tubes, we may also take it in the same sense here.

14. *These are the two anointed ones*] Rather, as in the margin, **These are the two sons of oil** (comp. Isai. v. 1), to wit, Zerubbabel and Joshua, the anointed ruler and the anointed priest, the servants and ministers of the Lord of the whole earth, the channels of grace and favour to His Church and people, as well in temporal as in spiritual things.

CHAP. V. 1—4. The vision of the flying roll.

1. *a flying roll*] The LXX., by dropping

2 And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a flying roll; the length thereof *is* twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof ten cubits.

3 Then said he unto me, This *is* the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for ‖ every one that stealeth shall be cut off *as* on this side according to it; and every one that sweareth shall be cut off *as* on that side according to it.

‖ Or, *every one of this people that stealeth holdeth himself guiltless, as it* doth.

4 I will bring it forth, saith the LORD of hosts, and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it with the timber thereof and the stones thereof.

5 ¶ Then the angel that talked with me went forth, and said unto me, Lift up now thine eyes, and see what *is* this that goeth forth.

6 And I said, What *is* it? And he said, This *is* an ephah that goeth forth. He said moreover, This *is* their resemblance through all the earth.

7 And, behold, there was lifted up a ‖ talent of lead: and this *is* a woman that sitteth in the midst of the ephah.

‖ Or, *weighty piece.*

8 And he said, This *is* wicked-

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the final letter of the Hebrew word rendered *roll*, get the rendering *a flying sickle*; and there is much to be said in favour of this interpretation. But *roll* gives good sense. It implies a book unrolled and spread out. The same word is found in Jer. xxxvi. and in Ezek. ii.; and in both these places the contents of the roll have a minatory character. In Ps. xl. 7 *the volume or roll of the book* is inscribed with other language than that of "lamentation and mourning and woe."

2. The dimensions of the roll seem to have no special meaning beyond implying that it was a roll of great magnitude.

3. *the curse*] *i.e.* the document on which the curse is inscribed. Some have conjectured that allusion is made to Deut. xxvii. 15—26 and xxviii. 15—68.

the whole earth] Rather, **the whole land**, *i.e.* of Judah.

for every one that stealeth, &c.] Rather, **for every thief shall be driven out hence according to it; and every swearer shall be driven out hence according to it.** The sin of the thief against man, and of the false swearer against God, are supposed to stand here for all sins against God and man. *Hence* means from this land of Judah, as in the next vision the ephah and its contents are removed into the land of Shinar; comp. Gen. xxxvii. 17; Exod. xi. 1; Deut. ix. 12. *Swearer* = false swearer, as explained in *v.* 4. Hitzig holds that all oaths are forbidden, and compares Matt. v. 34.

4. *it shall enter...and it shall remain*] *i.e.* the roll shall abide as a standing protest and witness against sin among the people of God; and shall not only denounce but also bring down judgment upon the house of the sinner.

5—11. The vision of the ephah and of the woman in the midst thereof. This vision is not one with the last, as Keil takes it. It has a very distinct character and meaning of its own, while the imagery has an Oriental tinge due probably to Zechariah's sojourn in Babylon.

5. *went forth...goeth forth*] Rather, **appeared...appeareth**, as rendered by Ewald, comp. Gen. xix. 23; Hos. vi. 3.

6. *an ephah*] Literally, *the ephah*, the large measure, the very size and weight of which implies strength to bear the solid leaden lid by which its contents were shut in.

their resemblance] Probably **the likeness of their sin.** The Hebrew word means *an appearance, a likeness, what presents itself to the sight*, in Num. xi. 7; Lev. xiii. 5; but the rendering of the LXX. and the Syr. V., *that is their sin*, is most probably the true meaning here. *That is their guilt*, which is something heavy (Isai. i. 4), which has been made full like a sieve or measure, Gen. xv. 16; Matt. xxiii. 32.

all the earth] Rather, **all the land.**

7. *there was lifted up*] Rather, **in the act of being lifted up.** The present tense implies that the spirit of rebellion described in Jer. xliv. 16—19 was beginning to re-assert itself.

a talent of lead] Rather, **a circular leaden lid.**

and this is a woman that sitteth], Rather, **and here is a certain woman sitting.** Comp. Song of Sol. ii. 9 for the use of the demonstrative pronoun, and Mal. ii. 15 for the indefinite use of the numeral.

8. *wickedness*] symbolized by the woman: comp. Isai. ix. 18; Mal. iii. 15. The article is emphatic, implying the lawlessness and

ness. And he cast it into the midst of the ephah; and he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof.

9 Then lifted I up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came out two women, and the wind *was* in their wings; for they had wings like the wings of a stork: and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven.

10 Then said I to the angel that talked with me, Whither do these bear the ephah?

11 And he said unto me, To build it an house in the land of Shinar: and it shall be established, and set there upon her own base.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The vision of the four chariots.* 9 *By the crowns of Joshua is shewed the temple and kingdom of Christ the Branch.*

AND I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains *were* mountains of brass.

2 In the first chariot *were* red horses; and in the second chariot black horses;

3 And in the third chariot white horses; and in the fourth chariot grisled and ‖ bay horses.

‖ Or, *strong.*

4 Then I answered and said unto the angel that talked with me, What *are* these, my lord?

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wantonness which had prevailed in Judah, and which is to be borne away into the land of Shinar, the home of lawless and licentious men. Comp. Isai. xiii. 11, xiv. 5.

And he cast it] meaning the woman. Ewald says *backwards*, *i.e.* he thrust her down again into the ephah, as she was raising her head, when the lid was being lifted up.

the weight of] *the lid.* Literally, *the stone of the lead;* but if we read *óven* for *éven* by a change of the vowel-points, it would signify *a wheel or circle of lead* as in *v.* 7; comp. Jer. xviii. 3.

9. *came out two women*] Rather, **appeared two women**, sup. *v.* 5. Various conjectural interpretations have been assigned to these two women; but, as no meaning is assigned to them in the text, such conjectures are precarious and doubtful. Maurer is right probably in saying *Pertinent hæc ad colorem imaginis.* The general scope of the vision indicates the removal of iniquity from the land of Judah to its natural and native place, the land of Shinar and Babel.

11. *it shall be established*] *i.e.* the house.

and set there] Rather, **and it** (the ephah) **shall be set there** (in the house).

upon her own base] Rather, **in its own place.** The word so rendered is frequent in Ezra; see Ezra ii. 68, iii. 3.

CHAP. VI. 1—8. The vision of the four chariots with variously coloured horses.

1. This last vision is more obscure than any of the preceding ones. It probably indicates the judgments soon about to fall upon the nations that had persecuted and oppressed the Jews; sup. p. 14, 21. Some have held that the four chariots symbolize the four great empires of Daniel (Dan. ii. 31—35; vii. 3—7), and that the colours of the horses are characteristic of the nations referred to; viz. *red*=bloodshed; *black*=mourning and woe; *white*=victory; and *grisled* or variegated=the varied forms of government of the fourth or Roman empire (*partly strong and partly broken*, Dan. ii. 42). Jahn ('Heb. Commonwealth,' § 57) finds in it a reference to the wars of Darius Hystaspis, including the capture of Babylon, the expedition against the Scythians, the conquest of Macedonia and of Western India, and of Ionia and the Ægean islands. But such speculations rest upon no certain foundation. The number *four*, as Wordsworth has remarked on the vision of the four horns, represents completeness as to space, and therefore the four chariots here indicate the complete and entire discomfiture of the former persecutors of the Jews; compare Hagg. ii. 22.

chariots] *i.e.* war-chariots, involving the idea of their mission to overthrow the earth-powers against whom they were sent.

two mountains] Rather, **the two mountains**, which would be familiar to the mind of Zechariah, namely, Mount Zion and the Mount of Olives. These mountains of Jerusalem were again to become *strong as brass*, and the habitation of the Lord of the whole earth (*v.* 5 and sup. ii. 12). The place, whence the chariots went forth, still further defines their character as ministers of judgment upon the enemies of the Jews, comp. Joel iii. 16.

3. *grisled and bay horses*] Rather, **horses piebald, swift**; or, *piebald, dark red; i.e.* of two colours, dark red and white. There is no trace of *and* in the Heb. text. If *dark red* be the true rendering, the Heb. word

5 And the angel answered and said unto me, These *are* the four [1] spirits of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth.

[1] Or, *winds.*

6 The black horses which *are* therein go forth into the north country; and the white go forth after them; and the grisled go forth toward the south country.

7 And the bay went forth, and sought to go that they might walk to and fro through the earth: and he said, Get you hence, walk to and fro through the earth. So they walked to and fro through the earth.

8 Then cried he upon me, and spake unto me, saying, Behold, these that go toward the north country have quieted my spirit in the north country.

9 ¶ And the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,

10 Take of *them of* the captivity, *even* of Heldai, of Tobijah, and of Jedaiah, which are come from Babylon, and come thou the same day, and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah;

11 Then take silver and gold, and make crowns, and set *them* upon the head of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest;

12 And speak unto him, saying,

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connects itself with the Syriac verb signifying *to blush* (Heb. xii. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 9); and is cognate of *Chamutz* in Isai. lxiii. 1. The original idea is of *sharpness, acuteness*, transferred to colour to express *brightness;* as in the Greek we have φοινικὶς ὀξεῖα=*a bright scarlet.*

5. *the four spirits*] Rather, **four winds**, as in Jer. xlix. 36, where the fuller expression occurs, *four winds from the four quarters of heaven*, which is precisely what is meant here. Compare Rev. vii. 1, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τὰς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς κ. τ. λ.

6. *the north country*] *i.e.* the land of Babylon; comp. Jer. i. 14, iv. 6, vi. 1.

after them] Literally, *to after them, i.e.* in their rear, so as to follow up and complete the threatened overthrow, *white* being the symbol of victory.

toward the south country] Rather, **to the south country**, meaning Egypt (Isai. xliii. 6; Dan. xi. 5). It is curious that the same preposition, occurring three times in this verse in the same connection, has in each case been differently dealt with by our Translators. In the first and third cases they render it by *into* and *toward* respectively, in the second case they omit it altogether.

7. *the bay*] Rather, *the swift* (horses); or, by an extremely probable correction of the Heb. text, *the dark red* (horses). See above.

Get you hence] Rather, **Go ye.**

8. *cried he upon me*] Rather, **he called out to me**, *i.e.* the interpreting angel speaking in the name of Jehovah; comp. Jonah iii. 7.

have quieted] In the sense of **have satisfied**, *i.e.* have executed to the full My judgments upon Babylon; comp. Ezek. v. 13, xxiv. 13.

9—15. The symbolical crowning of Joshua the high priest with diadems of silver and gold.

10. This verse must be rendered thus: **Let there be taken** (silver and gold) **from the captivity, from Heldai, from Tobijah, and from Jedaiah, and come thou this same day and come into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, to which they are come from Babel.**

of the captivity] includes all that had been carried away to Babylon, wealth as well as persons; comp. Jer. xxviii. 6. Possibly the persons mentioned here had in charge some of the restored treasure; or they may have been sent, as Keil supposes, as bearers of contributions towards the restoration of the temple from Jews still remaining at Babylon. From their having come to the house of Josiah it may be inferred that they were only temporary sojourners in Jerusalem and purposing to return to Babylon.

11. *Then take*] Rather, **And thou shalt take.**

crowns] *i.e.* circlets of silver and gold, forming one tiara. The circlets were probably two in number, one of gold, and one of silver, though there is nothing to indicate the exact number.

upon the head of Joshua] Ewald proposes to interpolate here *upon the head of Zerubbabel and* upon the head of Joshua; but there is no authority for such a correction of the text; and the use of the singular pronoun *to him* in *v.* 12 is conclusive against the suggestion. Joshua is selected, apart from Zerubbabel, in order that in his person a future union of the royal with the priestly dignity may be set forth—that union which had its highest exem-

Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name *is* The [a] BRANCH; and he shall [1] grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the LORD:

[a] chap. 3. 8.
[1] Or, *branch up from under him.*

13 Even he shall build the temple of the LORD; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.

14 And the crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah, and to Jedaiah, and to Hen the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the LORD.

15 And they *that are* far off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD, and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you. And *this* shall come to pass, if ye will diligently obey the voice of the LORD your God.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The captives inquire of fasting.* 4 *Zechariah reproveth their fasting.* 8 *Sin the cause of their captivity.*

AND it came to pass in the fourth year of king Darius, *that* the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah in the fourth *day* of the ninth month, *even* in Chisleu;

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plification in the man whose name is Branch, the Messiah.

12. *and he shall grow up out of his place*] Rather, **and He shall sprout forth from under Himself**, *i.e.* send forth shoots as from a parent stem, indicating the effect of Joshua's example upon his countrymen in inciting them to do their duty; but also, in the higher sense of the words, implying the growth of all Christian holiness from Christ as from the root-stem. See note on Isai. iv. 2, Obs. 2.

and he shall build the temple of the LORD] Joshua was as much concerned with the rebuilding of the temple as Zerubbabel. The two are mentioned together in Ezra iii. 8, 10 as *the builders*, see note ad loc.; and Joshua has work assigned to him and his (ibid. *v.* 9), in which he is not associated with Zerubbabel.

13. *and he shall bear the glory*] Rather, **and He shall obtain dignity**, referring to Messiah's regal character, as further expressed in the term *rule* (Heb. *máshal*).

between them both] *i.e.* between the seat of the ruler and the seat of the priest. The two characters, now distinct, will be harmonized and blended in the person of the Branch. Neither will the regal office overshadow the sacerdotal, nor the sacerdotal the regal.

14. *Helem*] Rather, **Heldai**; the difference in the Hebrew words being very slight, and probably due to the mistake of a copyist rather than, as Koester suggests, to the inaccuracy of Zechariah.

to Hen the son of Zephaniah] Usually taken as the equivalent of *to Josiah the son of Zephaniah* in *v.* 10: but a better rendering is, *to the grace or kindness of Zephaniah's son*; see infr. xii. 10.

for a memorial] *i.e.* to commemorate the liberality of Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah; and their hospitable reception by Josiah, that so others might be encouraged to follow their good examples.

15. *they that are far off*] Rather, **they that have been removed far away**, *i.e.* other Jewish exiles in Babylon and elsewhere shall do as these men have done. But a Messianic sense also underlies the expression. Not the Jews only, but the Gentiles—they that are far off as well as they that are near—will have part in promoting the true worship of God, when they shall have learned the duty of obedience to His will: comp. Rom. i. 5, xvi. 19, 26; and Eph. ii. 13.

ye shall know] *i.e.* ye Jews shall be assured of the divine authority by which I am speaking, when ye shall hearken diligently to the voice of Jehovah.

CHAPS. VII.—VIII. God's reply by Zechariah to the question respecting fasts. The moral law above the ceremonial. God's promises conditional on obedience to His precepts. Fasts will be changed into feasts. The coming in of the Gentiles to worship the God of the Jews.

CHAP. VII. 1. *the fourth year of king Darius*] B.C. 518. Nearly two years had elapsed since the visions vouchsafed to Zechariah had been made known for the encouragement of the people. Meanwhile the work of restoration had progressed and Jerusalem had begun to wear somewhat of her former aspect. With returning prosperity and power it was only natural that a question should arise as to the propriety of retaining those services of humiliation, which had been instituted as memorials of the destruction of the city and temple.

Chisleu] Or, *Kisleu*, the name of the ninth month among the later Hebrews, introduced from Babylonia after the captivity. Possibly it may be connected with *K'sil*, *i.e.* Orion=

2 When they had sent unto the house of God Sherezer and Regem-
† Heb. *to intreat the face of the* LORD. melech, and their men, † to pray before the LORD,

3 *And* to speak unto the priests which *were* in the house of the LORD of hosts, and to the prophets, saying, Should I weep in the fifth month, separating myself, as I have done these so many years?

4 ¶ Then came the word of the LORD of hosts unto me, saying,

5 Speak unto all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, When
a Isai. 58. 5. ye [a] fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh *month*, even those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, *even* to me?

6 And when ye did eat, and when ye did drink, ‖ did not ye eat *for yourselves*, and drink *for yourselves*?
‖ Or, be not ye they that, &c.

7 ‖ *Should ye* not *hear* the words which the LORD hath cried † by the former prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity, and the cities thereof round about her, when *men* inhabited the south and the plain?
‖ Or, Are not these the words. † Heb. by the hand of, &c.

8 ¶ And the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah, saying,

9 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, † Execute true judgment, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother:
† Heb. Judge judgment of truth.

10 And [b] oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you ima-
b Exod. 22. 21. Isai. 1. 23. Jer. 5. 28.

Mars, who plays a part in the mythology of the older Semites. See note on Amos v. 8.

2. *When they had sent unto the house of God*] Probably, **And Beth-el sent...** It is not likely that Zechariah would use *Beth-el* for the temple when he uses *Beth-Jehovah* in that sense in *v.* 3. Maurer (comparing *Beth-Jehovah* in Hos. viii. 1) takes *Beth-el* to mean *the house or family of God*. But nowhere else in Scripture is *Beth-el* used in any other way than as the name of a place (see note on Judg. xx. 18). We are unable to explain how it was that the question propounded to the priests and prophets came from *Beth-el*, but still the rendering here given is the most probable one. The LXX. take it to be the name of the city of Bethel.

Sherezer] Rather, **Sharezer**. *Regem-melech* (=friend of the king) may be a title of office, and not a proper name. The two names are Chaldæan. Comp. Jer. xxxix. 3.

to pray before the LORD] See marginal reading. Literally, *to smooth the face of Jehovah;* see infr. viii. 21, 22 and Maurer on Dan. ix. 13.

3. *weep*] Rather, **mourn**.

the fifth month] Because on the tenth day of the fifth month the temple had been destroyed by the Babylonians, see Jer. lii. 12—14; 2 K. xxv. 8—10, where the seventh day of the fifth month is mentioned as the date of the final destruction, not the tenth, as in Jer. lii. 12.

separating myself] Rather, **abstaining from food**; though the Hebrew root is not the same as that rendered by *fasted* in *v.* 5 infr.

5. *seventh month*] Probably on account of the death of Gedaliah; see 2 K. xxv. 25; Jer. xli. 1—3.

those seventy years] *i.e.* the period between the burning of the temple and the fourth year of Darius.

did ye at all fast unto me, even to me?] Rather, **did ye really fast to Me, yea, to Me?** Comp. Hagg. i. 4 for the emphatic repetition of the pronoun.

6. *did not ye eat for yourselves*, &c.] Rather, **was it not you that were the eaters, and you that were the drinkers?** *i.e.* did you not eat and drink simply for your own gratification, without any regard to God's will and God's glory? Comp. 1 Cor. x. 31.

7. *Should ye not hear the words*, &c.] Rather, as in the margin, **Are not these the words**, &c., *i.e.* Is not this that which Jehovah by His prophets predicted, while your country was yet secure and prosperous?

the south and the plain?] *i.e.* the Negeb and the Shephêla, two of the three divisions of the territory of Judah, the third being *the hill country;* see Josh. xi. 16.

9. *Execute*] Rather, **Judge ye**. This is a republication to the men of Zechariah's age of the moral law which had been given to their forefathers in Exod. xxii. 21, and to which they had refused to hearken. The former prophets had sought to enforce it (Isai. i. 23, lviii. 6, 7; Micah vi. 6—8; Jer. v. 28) but without success (infr. *vv.* 11, 12).

10. *and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart*] Or perhaps, *and ye shall not each one meditate upon his brother's sin in your hearts, i.e. keep it in remembrance*, as the LXX. have expressed it by μὴ μνησικακείτω, and by τὴν κακίαν τοῦ πλήσιον αὐτοῦ μὴ λογίζεσθε, infr. viii. 17, q.v. Comp. in the LXX. Prov. xxi. 24, and Herod. VIII. 29.

gine evil against his brother in your heart.

11 But they refused to hearken, and † pulled away the shoulder, and † stopped their ears, that they should not hear.

† Heb. *they gave a backsliding shoulder.*

12 Yea, they made their hearts *as* an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the LORD of hosts hath sent in his spirit † by the former prophets: therefore came a great wrath from the LORD of hosts.

† Heb. *made heavy.*

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

13 Therefore it is come to pass, *that* as he cried, and they would not hear; so [c] they cried, and I would not hear, saith the LORD of hosts:

[c] Prov. 1. 28. Isai. 1. 15. Jer. 11. 11. & 14. 12.

14 But I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations whom they knew not. Thus the land was desolate after them, that no man passed through nor returned: for they laid the † pleasant land desolate.

† Heb. *land of desire.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The restoration of Jerusalem.* 9 *They are encouraged to the building by God's favour to them.* 16 *Good works are required of them.* 18 *Joy and enlargement are promised.*

AGAIN the word of the LORD of hosts came *to me*, saying,

2 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; [a] I was jealous for Zion with great jealousy, and I was jealous for her with great fury.

[a] chap. 1. 14.

3 Thus saith the LORD; I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth; and the mountain of the LORD of hosts the holy mountain.

4 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand † for very age.

† Heb. *for multitude of days.*

5 And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof.

6 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; If it be ‖ marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in these days, should it also be marvellous in mine eyes? saith the LORD of hosts.

‖ Or, *hard*, or, *difficult.*

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11. *they*] *i.e. your forefathers.*

to hearken] literally means *to prick up the ears to listen.* Comp. Isai. x. 30 and note.

and pulled away the shoulder] Rather, **and turned a refractory back.** The prophet is using the metaphor of a stubborn mule or ass. The same phrase occurs in Neh. ix. 29, where A.V. has *and withdrew the shoulder.*

stopped] Rather, **made dull.** Comp. Isai. vi. 10.

that they should not...] Rather, **lest they should**, as in the next verse.

12. *they made*] Rather, **they set.**

as an adamant stone] The Hebrew *Shamír* means properly *a thorn or thistle:* thence any sharp-pointed tool, a diamond point for engraving, Jer. xvii. 1, where it is rendered *diamond;* it is used as a figure of hardness in Ezek. iii. 9. According to Koester it is *vox junior*, which is true of its secondary meaning. In its primary meaning it is found in Isai. v. 6, xxxii. 13, &c.

the law...the...prophets] Distinguished here even in the assertion of the unity of their testimony.

in his spirit] Rather, **by His Spirit.**

13. *he...I*] Observe the change from the third to the first person.

14. *whom they knew not*] Comp. Jer. xvi. 13, xxii. 28.

after them] *i.e.* after they were so scattered abroad, whether as captives or as fugitives. For this usage of *after* see sup. ii. 8.

passed through nor returned] The occurrence of the same phrase in ix. 8 has been adduced as a proof of common authorship; but it is used in a different sense in the two passages, and is found also in Exod. xxxii. 27; Ezek. xxxv. 7.

pleasant] Rather, **desirable.** Comp. Jer. iii. 19 and note.

CHAP. VIII. 2. *with great fury*] Rather, *with great warmth* or *zeal*, in a good sense; unless indeed we refer it to the enemies of Zion.

3. *a city of truth*] Rather, **a faithful city.** Comp. Isai. i. 21.

4. *his staff*] See Judg. vi. 21; Isai. xxxvi. 6. Compare the metaphorical use of the cognate noun *Mish'an* in Isai. iii. 1.

5. *playing*] In the sense of *sporting;* comp. Judg. xvi. 25, 27; in 2 S. vi. 5, 21, *played* means on a musical instrument.

6. *these*] Rather, **those**, *i.e.* at the time when My promise is fulfilled.

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Behold, I will save my people from
† Heb. *the country of the going down of the sun.* the east country, and from † the west country;

8 And I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness.

9 ¶ Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days these words by the mouth of the prophets, which *were* in the day *that* the foundation of the house of the LORD of hosts
‡ Or, *the hire of man became nothing, &c.* was laid, that the temple might be built.

10 For before these days ‡ there was no [b] hire for man, nor any hire for beast; neither *was there any* peace to him that went out or came in because of the affliction: for I set all men every one against his neighbour. [b] Hag. i. 6.

11 But now I *will* not *be* unto the residue of this people as in the former days, saith the LORD of hosts.

12 For the seed *shall be* † prosperous; the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these *things*. † Heb. *of peace.*

13 And it shall come to pass, *that* as ye were a curse among the hea-

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should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?] Rather, **also in My eyes shall it be marvellous?** the question implying a negative reply. That which seems marvellous, yea, impossible to man, is possible with God.

7. *from the east country*] Lit. *from the land of the sun-rising.* According to Fürst, Elymais, the land east of Syria.

from the west country] Lit. *from the land of the setting sun.* There were Jews in the west as well as in the east, whom the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple would bring back to their native land. There were the descendants of the captives whom the Phœnicians had sold westward among the Grecians (Joel iii. 6, A. V.); and there were doubtless many fugitives who had escaped in the same direction from the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar; comp. Isai. xliii. 5, 6.

8. *in truth and in righteousness*] These are the conditions of the covenant on both sides. Truth and righteousness are attributes of God, and God's people are pledged to be truthful and righteous (infr. *vv.* 16, 17). Comp. Hos. ii. 18—23 with this passage down to *v.* 13, and also 1 K. iii. 6 and Isai. xlviii. 1. Jeremiah's version of the covenant is to be found in Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

9. *of the prophets*] *i.e.* Haggai and Zechariah. The reference is to the time when the building of the temple was being proceeded with, as related in Ezra v. 1, 2 (where it is said that Zerubbabel and Jeshua rose up, and *began* to build the house of God which was at Jerusalem), and *not* to the actual laying of the foundation of the house of the Lord in the second year of Cyrus, as related in Ezra iii. 8—13. This latter became, as Keil remarks, an eventful fact through the continuation of the building in the second year of Darius. So also Blayney.

10. *before these days*] *i.e.* before the days when the work of restoration was begun heartily and with a will, at the instigation of Haggai and Zechariah.

no hire] *i.e.* no reward of their toil for man or beast by reason of the failure of the crops.

neither...peace] This refers to the period when the rebuilding of the temple was interrupted and neglected: see Ezra iv. 1, 4.

11. *residue*] Rather, **rest**; and also in *v.* 12 instead of *remnant*: see Hagg. i. 12.

as in the former days] *i.e.* the times when the work of the temple was neglected. What was the state of things then is described in Hagg. i. 6, 9—11, ii. 15—17.

12. *For the seed shall be prosperous*] Rather, **For the seed of peace, the vine**, &c. This is Keil's rendering, and is without doubt correct. In Ezek. xvii. 5, 6, the great eagle takes *the seed of the land*, and plants it in a fruitful field; and it grows and becomes *a spreading vine of low stature*; and in Jer. ii. 21 Israel is spoken of as *a noble vine, wholly a right seed.* It might be better in all these passages to render the Hebrew word by *plant.* The vine is pre-eminently *a plant of peace*; see 1 K. iv. 25; 2 K. xviii. 31; Isai. xxxvi. 16; Micah iv. 4.

13—15. This passage relates to the captives who had been carried away upon the destruction of the Israelitish kingdom, as well as to those of the captivity of Judah in Babylon. The punishment had been inflicted at two different times; but both nations were invited to participate in the blessings of the return to Zion.

13. *a curse*] = the object of cursing, a fe-

then, O house of Judah, and house of Israel; so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not, *but* let your hands be strong.

14 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, saith the LORD of hosts, and I repented not:

15 So again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah: fear ye not.

16 ¶ These *are* the things that ye shall do; [c] Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; [†] execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates:

17 And let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath: for all these *are things* that I hate, saith the LORD.

18 ¶ And the word of the LORD of hosts came unto me, saying,

19 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; The fast of the fourth *month*, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful [‖] feasts; therefore love the truth and peace.

20 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; *It shall* yet *come to pass*, that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities:

21 And the inhabitants of one *city* shall go to another, saying, [d] Let us go [‖†] speedily [†] to pray before the LORD, and to seek the LORD of hosts: I will go also.

22 Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the LORD of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the LORD.

23 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; In those days *it shall come to pass*, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even

[c] Eph. 4. 25.
[†] Heb. *judge truth, and the judgment of peace.*
[‖] Or, *solemn*, or, *set times.*
[d] Isai. 2. 3. Micah 4. 1, 2.
[‖] Or, *continually.*
[†] Heb. *going.*
[†] Heb. *to intreat the face of the LORD.*

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prqach, a proverb, a bye-word. The word occurs in the same sense in 2 K. xxii. 19; Jer. xxiv. 9, xlii. 18.

a blessing] = an example of blessedness to which other nations shall appeal (Gen. xlviii. 20).

fear not] Rather, **fear ye not**, as in *v.* 15.

but] should be omitted.

15. *again*] Rather, **on the other hand.** The verb שׁוּב indicates not only a repeated, but also a contrasted, a directly opposite action to that preceding it. Comp. Jer. xii. 15.

16. *execute the judgment*, &c.] Rather, **truth and judgment of peace, judge ye in your gates.** To judge truth = to give true and righteous judgment; *judgment of peace* = such an administration of justice as tends to promote peace and concord.

17. *And let none of you imagine evil*, &c.] Rather, **And ye shall not each one meditate upon his brother's sin in your hearts**, sup. vii. 10.

for all these are things that...] Rather, **for all these things...** The relative is wanting in several MSS., and is probably an interpolation.

19. *The fast of the fourth month*] was a memorial of the capture of Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah: see Jer. xxxix. 2, lii. 6, 7.

the fast of the tenth month] was a memorial of the commencement of the blockade of Jerusalem: see Jer. xxxix. 1, lii. 4.

The reasons for the fasts of the fifth and seventh months have been already indicated at vii. 3, 5 sup.

joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts] Rather, *for a joy and for a jubilee and for goodly festivals*, retaining the alliteration of the Hebrew. Contrast this change with that threatened by Amos, viii. 10.

love the] Rather, **love ye.** This last clause shews the conditional character of the promise which precedes it; and solves the difficulty presented by the fact that these anniversaries are still observed by the Jews as fasts, and not as feasts.

20. *It shall yet come to pass*, &c.] Rather, **Yet there shall be people who shall come, and inhabitants of many cities.**

21. *to pray before the* LORD] See sup. vii. 2. Contrast this flocking of the inhabitants of one city to another city with that described in Amos iv. 8.

I will go also] *i.e.* Zechariah, who invites others to serve God, professes his own purpose to do likewise: and so indicates his hope of witnessing in person the alteration in the character of these fast-days.

23. *ten*] This numeral is used for an indefinite number, as in Gen. xxxi. 7; Lev.

shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard *that* God *is* with you.

CHAPTER IX.

1 God defendeth his church. 9 Zion is exhorted to rejoice for the coming of Christ, and his peaceable kingdom. 12 God's promises of victory and defence.

THE burden of the word of the LORD in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus *shall be* the rest thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, *shall be* toward the LORD.

2 And Hamath also shall border thereby; Tyrus, and Zidon, though it be very [a] wise.

[a] Ezek. 28, 3, &c.

3 And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets.

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xxvi. 26; Num. xiv. 22; and in the N. T. in the parables of the ten virgins and the ten talents.

shall take hold of the skirt] *i.e.* shall appeal to for instruction and for protection: comp. Isai. iv. 1, where the same verb is used in a somewhat different sense.

that] is omitted in the Hebrew.

CHAPS. IX.—XIV. The controversy on the date and authorship of these chapters is treated of in the Introduction, p. 703.

CHAP. IX. 1—7. The prophet foretells the humiliation of the bordering nations (Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines), and their incorporation as feudatories into the restored kingdom of Israel.

1. *The burden*] See note on Isai. xiii. 1.

the land of Hadrach] Meaning Syria, probably from the name of its king. Hadrach = Chadrach = Shadrach (Σεδράχ, LXX.), a Syrian god representing the seasons, from whom the king's name would be derived. Babylonia is *the land of Nimrod* in Micah v. 6. There is nothing to intimate that it is a symbolic name. Its association with Damascus and Hamath is fatal to that suggestion; see also Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' Vol. IV. p. 576, who finds it recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions that Shalmaneser III. made two expeditions, the first against Damascus in B.C. 773, and the second against Hadrach in B.C. 772; and again that Asshurdanin-il II. made expeditions in B.C. 765 and 755 against Hadrach.

shall be the rest thereof] *i.e.* the spot whereon it shall light in wrath and abide (sup. vi. 8). Compare the use of the verb in Ezek. v. 13. The noun is used generally, if not always, except here, in a good sense.

when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward the LORD] Rather, *for the eye of Jehovah is over man and over all the tribes of Israel*, a parenthetical sentence, to be compared with Jer. xxxii. 19. This is the sense of the LXX., followed by Luther and Maurer. Preusel takes עין אדם to signify *the whole circle of humanity*, and refers to Exod. x. 5, 15; Num. xxii. 5, 11 for a similar expression. He therefore renders it, *For to Jehovah belongs the whole circuit of the human race as well as all the tribes of Israel.* It must be confessed that the passage is one of great obscurity. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

2. *And Hamath also shall border thereby*] *i.e.* shall be next to Damascus not only geographically, but also its neighbour in regard to the calamities coming upon it; comp. Jer. xlix. 23; Ezek. xlvii. 16, 17; and see note on Gen. x. 18.

though it be very wise] The ironical epithet is usually referred to Tyre by reason of her presumptuous trust in her insular position, her strong fortifications, and her great wealth; see *v.* 3 and Diod. Sic. XVII. 40. But both the LXX. and the Vulgate, by adopting the plural number, include Zidon with Tyre under the term *very wise*. Tyre, as the metropolis of Phœnicia, would be a special object of the prophecy, while Zidon would occupy only a secondary place, as she does in Ezekiel's prophecy (chh. xxvi.—xxviii.), which is almost wholly devoted to Tyre; the fate of Zidon occupying four verses (20—23) only of ch. xxviii. It would however be better (with A. V.) to refer the epithet to Zidon alone, putting a semicolon after *wise*, and supplying *though* before Tyrus in *v.* 3. The sense is then as follows: "Tyrus also and Zidon shall border upon the land of Hadrach in regard to the judgments resting upon them. Zidon in spite of its wisdom—Tyre in spite of its fortifications." The skill of the Phœnicians not only in building, in sculpture, in metal-casting, in navigation and trade, but also in statecraft, and in the occult arts, was matter of notoriety. See notes on Ezekiel referring to Tyre and Zidon.

3. *fine gold*] This word occurs five times in Proverbs and once in the 68th Psalm in reference to the wings of the dove, and nowhere else in the O. T. Possibly gold was used in the public adornment of the city; comp. Ovid. 'Epist. e Ponto,' II. 1. 41:

"Deque triumphato quod sol incenderit auro,
Aurea Romani tecta fuisse fori."

4 Behold, the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea; and she shall be devoured with fire.

5 Ashkelon shall see *it*, and fear; Gaza also *shall see it*, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.

6 And a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod, and I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.

7 And I will take away his † blood out of his mouth, and his abominations from between his teeth: but he that remaineth, even he, *shall be* for our God, and he shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite. † Heb. *bloods.*

8 And I will encamp about mine house because of the army, because

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4. *the Lord*] Heb. *Adonai*, not *Jehovah*: but many MSS. have *Jehovah*.

will cast her out] Lit. *shall come into possession of her*; or, according to Hitzig, *shall bring her low, shall impoverish her*, comp. 1 S. ii. 7; Mal. i. 4.

smite her power in the sea] *i.e.* throw down her sea-defences, her piers, and harbours, and so destroy the main source of her wealth, her foreign merchandise; comp. Ezek. xxvi. 17, 19, xxvii. 34.

shall be devoured with fire] *i.e.* her palaces and storehouses and other buildings; comp. Ezek. xxviii. 18; Jer. xlvii. 4: Amos i. 9; Joel iii. 5—7. The destruction of Zidon by Artaxerxes Nothus is described by Diodorus Siculus, XVI. 42—45: see Jahn's 'Heb. Com.' §§ 67, 70.

5—8. This passage has been compared with Zeph. ii. 4—7 as a proof of the writer's acquaintance with the latter. The similarity existing between them is rather an argument for the ante-captivity date of the passage before us. There is no appearance of one being quoted from the other. With regard to Ashkelon, Zephaniah says, *in the houses of Ashkelon they* (*i.e.* the remnant of the house of Judah) *shall lie down in the evening*, whereas here it is said, *Ashkelon shall not be inhabited*. This discrepancy is natural in two independent writers; but would have been avoided by a copyist or adapter. The one describes the dispossession of the old inhabitants by conquest, the other the re-occupation of the place by the conquerors.

5. *Ashkelon shall see it, and fear*] Rather, **Let Ashkelon see it and she shall fear.** There is an alliteration in the Hebrew words for *see* and *fear*. *Ashkelon* in Judg. i. 18 and elsewhere is written Askelon. In the Apocrypha it is written Ascalon, 1 Macc. x. 86, xi. 60, xii. 33. The Hebrew word means *holm-oak*.

and be very sorrowful] Rather, **and shall tremble very much**: comp. Hab. iii. 10.

Ekron] Heb. *naturalization*; the proper name of a Philistine tribe, territory and city. See note on Josh. xiii. 3; and comp. Amos i. 8.

her expectation shall be ashamed] On the word *expectation* see Isai. xx. 5, 6.

the king] Rather, **a king.**

6. *a bastard*] (Heb. *mamtzer*)=a mongrel, *i.e.* one whose father is a Jew, and his mother a Philistine; see Deut. xxiii. 2 and Note at the end of the Chapter (Vol. I. Pt. ii. p. 884). Fürst's derivation from an unused root *mâtzar*, to mix, to mix lewdly (*i.e.* by adultery or incest), is the most satisfactory, see 'Lex.' p. 792 b.

Ashdod] (Heb. *castle*). See note on Josh. xiii. 3, and note on Neh. iv. 7 as to the probable condition of Ashdod in the post-captivity period.

7. *his blood*] This refers to the non-observance by the Philistines of the restrictions imposed from the earliest times upon the Hebrews with respect to eating blood; comp. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. vii. 26, 27, &c.; 1 S. xiv. 33.

his abominations] *i.e.* the things a Hebrew was forbidden to eat, Num. xxv. 2; τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα of Acts xv. 29. Comp. Hos. ix. 10; and see 'Dict. of the Bible,' Vol. I. p. 849 b.

but he that remaineth, &c.] Rather, **and he shall be left, even he, to our God**, *i.e.* he shall become a proselyte, and worshipper of Jehovah.

be shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite] Rather, **he shall be as Eleph in Judah, and Ekron as Jebusi**; see Note at the end of the Chapter. The general tenor of these announcements respecting the cities of Philistia would seem to be that a change was about to take place in their relations to the Jews. They were not to be extirpated, but to become in a certain sense part and parcel of the Jewish people, adopting the service of Jehovah in place of their abominable idols, submitting to the restrictions of the Mosaic law, governed by men of alien birth, and occupying, as compared with the Jews, an inferior political station, as the Jebusites had done at Jerusalem, 1 K. ix. 20, 21. Comp. Jer. xii. 14—17.

8. *And I will encamp about*, &c.] Rather, **And I will give defence to Mine house**

of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth: and no oppressor shall pass through them any more: for now have I seen with mine eyes.

9 ¶ [b] Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he *is* just, and [1] having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

10 And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion *shall be* [c] from sea *even* to sea, and from the river *even* to the ends of the earth.

[b] Isai. 62. 11. Matth. 21. 5. John 12. 15.
[1] Or, *saving himself.*
[c] Psal. 72. 8.

from a host, and from him that passeth by, and from him that returneth, &c.

The appropriateness of this promise at a time when the temple had been newly rebuilt, has been advanced as an argument for the post-captivity date of the prophecy. The promise of protection to God's house is said to have no parallel in the earlier prophets: but if in Hos. viii. 1 *beth-Jehovah* is rightly rendered by *familia Dei*, and in Num. xii. 7 בֵּיתִי means *familia mea*, there is no reason why it should not have the same meaning here. This is confirmed by the use of עֲלֵיהֶם, which could hardly refer to the temple.

oppressor] (=ἐργοδιώκτης, *exactor operarum*). Comp. Exod. iii. 7, where the word is rendered *taskmasters*. The Hebrew is *nogés*, which may be compared with *nĕgûs*, a title of the kings of Abyssinia, as Tobbâ is a royal title in Arabia Felix, from a verb signifying *to demand, to exact*.

for now have I seen with mine eyes] Supr. *v.* 1. This is a reiteration of the fact of God's supervision of all human events; but implies also favour on the part of God. Comp. the use of *raah* in Ezek. viii. 12, ix. 9, where the LXX. have the compound verb ἐφορᾷν: here they have ἑώρακα.

IX. 9—X. 12. Compare this whole passage carefully with Isai. lxii. and with Zeph. iii. 14—20. Dathe treats it as a section complete in itself, predictive of the prosperity of the Jews in the Maccabean times; and in a higher sense, of Messiah's advent and kingdom. It can, however, hardly be wholly severed from the promise of divine protection to Jerusalem in *v.* 8, as that again naturally follows the prediction respecting the humiliation of the neighbouring nations, by whom the Jews had so often been harassed and oppressed.

9. *shout*] The Hebrew word often implies *a war-shout, a shout of victory* (Hos. v. 8; Joel ii. 1); but here, as in Zeph. iii. 14, it signifies *a shout of joy*. In this latter passage the Hebrew is *shout ye, O Israel*, but the LXX. render it κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ, as here. See note on Zeph. l. c.

thy King] meaning Christ. He was to be *lowly, i.e.* a gentle and peaceable Ruler, not a warrior, as is intimated by the animal on which He was to ride; see Judg. v. 10.

foal of an ass] Rather, **foal of a she ass**, the Hebrew word not being the same as that rendered *ass* just before. St Matthew (xxi. 5) in quoting the passage distinguishes the two words, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον, καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου, but A.V. repeats the error of its rendering from the Hebrew, in translating the Greek, giving the word *ass* both for ὄνος and for ὑποζύγιον. St John (xii. 15) quotes the passage more briefly, and changes *Rejoice greatly* into *Fear not*.

10. *And I will cut off*] Not in judgment, but in mercy. The chariot will be taken from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem, because no longer needed. Comp. Hos. ii. 18; Micah v. 9—11.

chariot]=*war-chariot*.

horse]=*war-horse*. In the visions of Zechariah and the Apocalypse horses are the regular symbol of war. Comp. Virg. 'Æn.' III. 540, "Bello armantur equi: bellum hæc armenta minantur."

The expressions in this verse indicate a temporal, as well as a spiritual, fulfilment of the prophecy; and this fulfilment has been referred by the maintainers of the ante-captivity date to that part of Hezekiah's reign, when remnants of the ten tribes accepted the proclamation in which he invited them to return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel (2 Chro. xxx. 5, 6, xxxii. 8, 27—30).

Ephraim] This mention of Ephraim, repeated infr. *v.* 13 and x. 7, is one of the chief difficulties met with in assigning a post-captivity date to the last six chapters of Zechariah. It is not solved by reference to i. 19, where Israel is spoken of in connection with Judah and Jerusalem. The term Israel is frequently applied to the returned exiles in post-captivity writings, *e.g.* Ezra ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61, xii. 47; Mal. i. 1, ii. 11; but Ephraim does not occur in acknowledged post-captivity writings, unless these three passages of Zechariah be so regarded.

from sea even to sea] *i.e.* from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean = from east to west: see Amos viii. 12.

to the ends of the earth] Rather, **to the borders of the land**, either the northern

11 As for thee also, [1] by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy [d] prisoners out of the pit wherein *is* no water.

12 ¶ Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope: even to day do I declare *that* I will render double unto thee;

13 When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man.

14 And the LORD shall be seen over them, and his arrow shall go forth as the lightning: and the Lord GOD shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with whirlwinds of the south.

15 The LORD of hosts shall defend them; and they shall devour, and [1] subdue with sling stones; and they shall drink, *and* make a noise as

[1] Or, *whose covenant is by blood.*

[d] Isai. 61. 1.

[1] Or, *subdue the stones of the sling.*

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or the southern borders, according as we take the Wady el Arish or the Euphrates to be the river referred to. Comp. Gen. xv. 18 with Exod. xxiii. 31. The reference in the margin to one verse of the 72nd Psalm might well have been extended to the whole psalm, which presents many points of resemblance to the passage before us. The 72nd Psalm refers to Solomon, and it is clear that the prophet was inspired to foretell a king of the type of Solomon, a peaceful king, not a man of war like David.

11. *As for thee*] meaning the daughter of Zion addressed in *v.* 9. On this use of the emphatic pronoun see sup. vii. 5 and Hagg. i. 4.

by the blood of thy covenant] *i.e.* because of the blood sprinkled by Moses on the people, when Jehovah made a covenant with the Israelites at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 8).

I have sent forth] The prophetic perfect equivalent to a future.

thy prisoners] Literally, *thy fettered ones.* The word occurs several times in the Psalms, once in Isaiah (xiv. 17), and once in Lam. (iii. 34). If we take the ante-captivity date, these *prisoners* were the captives of the Israelitish kingdom, together with men of Judah whom Sennacherib may have taken captive before his discomfiture before the walls of Jerusalem; and also those taken by the Edomites and Philistines (2 Chro. xxviii. 17, 18). Comp. *v.* 14 with Isai. xxxvii. 7; 2 K. xix. 7. Also *v.* 8 supr. with 2 K. xix. 32—34.

out of the pit, &c.] is a periphrasis for a prison; comp. Gen. xxxvii. 22; Exod. xii. 29; Jer. xxxvii. 16. The *Bór* and the *Sóhar* are different names for the same place (comp. Gen. xxxix. 20 with Gen. xl. 15), implying, the one the subterranean character, the other the circular form, of the pit in which the prisoners were confined; see note on Gen. xxxix. 20.

12. Omit ¶ and place a full stop at the end of the verse, which is closely connected with *v.* 11.

the strong hold] is the rendering of a Heb. word which occurs only in this passage. It signifies a fortified place; and here in the literal sense of the prophecy it points to Jerusalem, but in a metaphorical sense to Christ.

prisoners of hope] *i.e.* prisoners to whom God has just given the hope and promise of release (*v.* 11). Comp. Isai. li. 14, *The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit.*

do I declare that] Literally, *declaring am I.*

double] Comp. Isai. lx. 1, 7; Jer. xvi. 18.

13. The construction is very obscure in the Hebrew, though the general meaning is sufficiently obvious, viz. that God will use Judah and Ephraim as weapons of offence against the heathen powers of the earth. Comp. Ps. xxi. 13.

and raised up] Rather, **I will even raise up** = will stir up to revolt. This begins the apodosis of the sentence.

O Greece] Rather, **O Javan**, as in Isai. lxvi. 19. Javan here may mean the Græco-Syrian empire, but since in Isai. l. c. it is named with Tubal and with the isles afar off as representative of the Gentile world, it may perhaps have the same force here, especially if the prophecy has reference to a time when the Macedonian empire should have superseded Persia and Egypt as the great heathen power. The reason for the promise here made appears from Joel iii. 6; Amos i. 6, 9.

14. *shall be seen over them*] Rather, **shall shew Himself to them**, *i.e.* as a protector.

as the lightning] Comp. Nahum iii. 3; Hab. iii. 11, where see notes.

whirlwinds of the south] Comp. Isai. xxi. 1. In Palestine storms from the south were the most violent, as coming from the Arabian desert; comp. Hos. iv. 19, xiii. 15; Jer. iv. 11, 12, xxiii. 19.

15. *and subdue with sling stones*] Rather, **and shall tread upon the stones slung against them**, *i.e.* disregard the weapons of their adversaries, and treat them with contempt. The same expression occurs in the description of Leviathan in Job xli. 28, *the arrow cannot make him flee: slingstones are turned with him into stubble*, *i.e.* he disregards them.

through wine; and they [1]shall be filled like bowls, *and* as the corners of the altar.

16 And the LORD their God shall save them in that day as the flock of his people: for *they shall be as* the stones of a crown, lifted up as an ensign upon his land.

17 For how great *is* his goodness, and how great *is* his beauty! corn shall make the young men [1]cheerful, and new wine the maids.

[1] Or, *shall fill both the bowls, &c.*

[1] Or, *grow, or, speak.*

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and they shall be filled] *i.e.* with blood, as is shewn by the context; see Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 18. To be wet with blood is an image of victory; see Isai. lxiii. 1—3.

like bowls] These were the vessels in which the blood of the victims was received, and then sprinkled upon the corners of the altar. The law of this sprinkling is written in Lev. i. 5, 11, iii. 2, &c.

The corners terminated in the horns of the altar. Josephus ('B. J.' v. 5, 6) calls them κερατοειδεῖς γωνίαι. The word occurs in a different connection in Ps. cxliv. 12.

16. *stones of a crown*] Rather, **select stones**, or **dedicated stones**, according to the meaning of the root *nâzar*. The expression probably suggested itself to the prophet's mind in contrast to the *sling-stones* of the previous verse.

lifted up as an ensign] Rather, **shining forth from afar**. So Maurer, Keil, and other commentators. The idea of an ensign was probably borrowed from Ps. lx. 4.

17. *his goodness*] *i.e.* his prosperity, the good which accrues to him from the favour of Jehovah; comp. Hos. x. 11; Jer. ii. 7.

his beauty] The Heb. word so rendered is used of personal beauty in Prov. xxxi. 30; Esther i. 11; of the beauty of cities in Ps. l. 2 (where see note); Lam. ii. 15; Ezek. xxvii. 3; and of Messiah in Isai. xxxiii. 17. It is nowhere used of Jehovah.

shall make...cheerful] Rather, **shall make ...to grow, shall make...full of life and energy**; comp. Ps. xcii. 15.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. IX. 1, 7.

1. May not the original reading have been אדם and not ארם? If so, it must be rendered, *The whole face of Syria*, &c.

7. Fürst proposes to read אֶלֶף for אֶלֹף; and to treat it as the name of a Benjamite city mentioned in Josh. xviii. 28. "*Zelah*, *Eleph*, and *Jebusi*, which is Jerusalem," &c. יבוסי is not *Jebusite*, but *Jebus*, like היבוסי in Josh. xv. 8. Jefet reads Josh. xviii. 28 צלע האלף היבוסי, taking it as the name of a single city; and states that in his time אלף was still the name of a quarter of Jerusalem, which contained the tomb of Zechariah. צלע is mentioned in 2 S. xxi. 14. See also note on 1 S. x. 2, where if I ventured upon any correction of the text I should suggest *Zelah* for *Zelzah*.

CHAPTER X.

1 God is to be sought unto, and not idols. 5 As he visited his flock for sin, so he will save and restore them.

ASK ye of the LORD rain in the time of the latter rain; *so* the LORD shall make [1]bright clouds, and

[1] Or, *lightnings.*

CHAP. X. This chapter connects itself so obviously with the preceding one, that they should properly form but a single chapter. The vision of temporal prosperity just revealed —peace and security from external oppression —suggests to the prophet's mind a warning that such blessings are God's gifts, to be sought from Him by prayer; and not to be obtained by resorting to idolatrous intercessions, and to false teachers. Compare x. 1 with ix. 17; x. 3, 4, 5, with ix. 13, 15; x. 6 a, with ix. 13 a; and x. 6 b, 8 sq. with ix. 11 sq. If the writer, when he penned the last verse of ch. ix., had the older prophecy of Joel in his mind, the first verse of this chapter is probably drawn from the same source; comp. Joel ii. 23.

1. *bright clouds*] Rather (as in the margin), **lightnings**. The word strictly means *lightning bolts, anything which pierces*. Comp. its use in Job xxviii. 26, xxxviii. 25, where the bolt of His thunder is spoken of.

showers of rain] Literally, *rain of the shower*. The converse expression to that in Job xxxvii. 6. The periodical rains in Palestine are accompanied by thunder and lightning; comp. Jer. x. 13, where the ordinary word for lightnings is used. It may be inferred

give them showers of rain, to every one grass in the field.

2 For the [a †] idols have spoken vanity, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams; they comfort in vain: therefore they went their way as a flock, they [‡] were troubled, because *there was* no shepherd.

3 Mine anger was kindled against the shepherds, and I [†] punished the goats: for the LORD of hosts hath visited his flock the house of Judah, and hath made them as his goodly horse in the battle.

4 Out of him came forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle bow, out of him every oppressor together.

5 ¶ And they shall be as mighty *men*, which tread down *their enemies* in the mire of the streets in the battle: and they shall fight, because the LORD *is* with them, and

[a] Jer. 10. 8. Hab. 2. 18.
† Heb. *teraphims.*
‡ Or, *answered that, &c.*
† Heb. *visited upon.*

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from this, that if one passage is taken from the other, Jeremiah's is the later of the two.

grass] Literally, *vegetation*, including not only green crops for the cattle, but also corn, and the fruits of the field, Gen. i. 29; Ps. civ. 14, where it is distinguished from *the grass for the cattle.*

2. *idols*] Rather, **teraphim**; see note on Gen xxxi. 19, and infr. xi. 17: Hos. iii. 4. The use of *teraphim* is denounced as a sin (1 S. xv. 23); and spoken of among the things which Josiah put away (2 K. xxiii. 24). With the exception of Ezek. xxi. 21, the present is the last passage in Scripture which speaks of teraphim. The mention of teraphim and diviners has been held to indicate a date earlier than the captivity at Babylon.

have spoken vanity] Literally, *have spoken nothingness.*

the diviners] The Heb. word is generally used in a bad sense. Comp. Deut. xviii. 10, 14; 2 K. xvii. 17, in reference to the Israelites in the time of Hoshea; and Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28.

have told] Rather, **have spoken.**

in vain] The Heb. word is a noun, signifying *a breath, anything light.* It is used adverbially in the sense of *in vain;* comp. Job xxi. 34.

they went their way] Rather, **they migrate.** Literally, *they move their tents*, as shepherds do when migrating with their flocks from pasture to pasture. If this refers to the deportation of captives after the death of Hoshea, the present tense of the verb would imply that the process was going on when the prophecy was being delivered.

they were troubled, &c.] Rather, **they are afflicted, because there is no shepherd**; *i.e.* they lead miserable lives, down-trodden because they have no king, no shepherd, to protect and defend them; comp. Hos. iii. 4.

3. *the shepherds*] *i.e.* the princes and great ones of the land. The immediate predecessors of Hoshea had perished in rapid succession; and in the revolutions caused by their rise and downfall many of the nobles and great men also.

the goats] Rather, **the chief ones**, as the word is rendered in Isai. xiv. 9. See note on Jer. l. 8.

as his goodly horse] Rather, **like His majestic horse**, the horse being viewed as an emblem of strength and beauty. See Job xxxix. 19—25.

4. *Out of him*] *i.e.* out of the house of Judah.

came forth] Rather, **shall come forth**; see Micah v. 1; Jer. xxx. 21.

the corner] *i.e.* **the corner-stone**; literally, *that which projects*, and so is prominent and conspicuous. Comp. Job xxxviii. 6; Ps. cxviii. 22. It implies here the head man of the state, who is the corner-stone of the state-building; and in its highest sense is to be referred to Him who came out of the house of Judah to be the head-stone of the corner, Ps. cxviii. 22; Isai. xxviii. 16; Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 6.

the nail] Rather, *the staple*, that which compacts and secures the defences of the building, used metaphorically of the nobles and counsellors of the king, just as the battle-bow represents the chief warriors. This sense is most suitable in Ezra ix. 8.

every oppressor] Rather, *every leader*, *i.e.* every one in authority, whose function it is to keep others up to their work, whether in the civil or the military administration of the state, if the word can have this general sense; see note on ix. 8. Keil takes it to mean *every oppressor of Judah's enemies*, every one who in the victorious career promised to the people of God shall be employed in ruling the vanquished, and exacting tribute from them; comp. Jer. xxx. 21, *their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from...them.*

5. There is no break here as implied in A. V.

[1] Or, *they shall make the riders on horses ashamed.*

[1] the riders on horses shall be confounded.

6 And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph, and I will bring them again to place them; for I have mercy upon them: and they shall be as though I had not cast them off: for I *am* the LORD their God, and will hear them.

7 And *they of* Ephraim shall be like a mighty *man*, and their heart shall rejoice as through wine: yea, their children shall see *it*, and be glad; their heart shall rejoice in the LORD.

8 I will hiss for them, and gather them; for I have redeemed them: and they shall increase as they have increased.

9 And I will sow them among the people: and they shall remember me in far countries; and they shall live with their children, and turn again.

10 I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and gather them out of Assyria; and I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon; and *place* shall not be found for them.

11 And he shall pass through the sea with affliction, and shall smite the waves in the sea, and all the deeps of the river shall dry up: and the pride of Assyria shall be brought

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in the mire] Rather, **as the mire**, by the change of ב into כ; comp. Micah vii. 10.

be confounded] Rather, **be put to shame.**

6. *house of Joseph*] *i.e.* the survivors of the kingdom of the ten tribes. The expression occurs in the same sense in Amos v. 6 and in Obad. 18, where see note; but not in Haggai or Malachi, nor elsewhere in Zechariah.

and I will bring them again to place them] Expressed by a single Heb. word.

as though I had not cast them off] Better, perhaps, *as though I had not failed them, left them without support*; comp. Ps. xliii. 2, lx. 1.

7. *like a mighty man*] Rather, *like a giant.*

as through wine] Comp. sup. ix. 15, where, as here, the gladness is a consequence of God's favour. The same word is used *malo sensu* in Hos. vii. 3.

8. *I will hiss for them*] *i.e.* by way of invitation, as bees are enticed into the hive by tinklings. Comp. Isai. v. 26, vii. 18. The root is cognate of the Greek συρίζειν.

redeemed them] Rather, **set them free**; comp. Isai. xxxv. 10, where *the ransomed of the Lord* = those whom Jehovah sets free.

and they shall increase as they have increased] Comp. Jer. xxx. 19, 20, which looks like an expansion of this passage.

9. *among the people*] Rather, **among the peoples**, for the plural noun denotes different peoples, separated by boundaries, as in Gen. xvii. 16; Isai. ii. 3, x. 13.

in far countries] *i.e.* in lands remote from Judæa. In Isai. x. 3, and in Jer. v. 15, the same noun denotes Assyria; and in Isai. xiii. 5, Media.

shall live] *i.e.* the spiritual life of the people of God.

10. *out of Assyria*] Comp. 2 K. xv. 29; Isai. xi. 11, 16; Hos. xi. 11.

into the land of Gilead and Lebanon] These localities indicate a special reference to the first captivity.

and place shall not be found for them] Rather, *and it* (the land of Gilead and Lebanon) *shall not be enough for them*; comp. Josh. xvii. 16.

11. *he*] *i.e.* Jehovah, when He is leading His people back, as of old He led their forefathers out of Egypt.

he shall pass through the sea with affliction] Rather, *he shall pass over by the narrow sea*, literally, *by the sea, narrowness*, meaning the Red Sea; *and shall smite by the rolling sea*, literally, *by the sea, rollers*; cp. Jonah ii. 3; Job xxxviii. 11; Jer. li. 42; Ps. lxv. 7. The prophet, predicting a future deliverance of God's people, draws his imagery from the great deliverance under Moses. Comp. Isai. xi. 15, 16, a passage which has so many points of contact with this verse that it is most probable that they both refer to the same event. The above rendering preserves the parallelism, which is so striking in the Hebrew of this and the following verse.

all the deeps of the river] Rather, **all the floods of the Nile.** See note on Jonah ii. 3. The prophet, like Amos, was acquainted with the fact of the yearly overflow of the Nile; comp. Amos viii. 8 and note. The inundation of the Nile valley is an image of the ravages of a hostile invasion.

down, and the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away.

12 And I will strengthen them in the LORD; and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the LORD.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *The destruction of Jerusalem.* 3 *The elect being cared for, the rest are rejected.* 10 *The staves of Beauty and Bands broken by the rejection of Christ.* 15 *The type and curse of a foolish shepherd.*

OPEN thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.

2 Howl, fir tree; for the cedar is fallen; because the ‖ mighty are spoiled: howl, O ye oaks of Bashan; for ‖ the forest of the vintage is come down.

‖ Or, *gallants.*
‖ Or, *the defenced forest.*

3 ¶ *There is* a voice of the howling of the shepherds; for their glory is spoiled: a voice of the roaring of young lions; for the pride of Jordan is spoiled.

4 Thus saith the LORD my God; Feed the flock of the slaughter;

5 Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them say, Blessed *be* the

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12. *in the* LORD] Rather, **by Jehovah**, *i.e.* by Myself, as in Hos. i. 7.

and they shall walk up and down in his name] *i.e.* they shall live their lives in His name; comp. Col. iii. 17.

CHAP. XI. The historical groundwork of this chapter may be identified with the disastrous times which preceded the final destruction of the kingdom of Israel, the reference in *vv.* 1—3 being to the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xv. 29); in *vv.* 4—14 to a period of anarchy which followed upon the murder of Pekah the son of Remaliah; and in *vv.* 15—17 to the reign of the foolish shepherd Hoshea, with whose deposition the separate monarchy of Israel came to an end.

1—3. The mention of Lebanon, Bashan, and the Jordan suggests that this passage refers to some invasion of the Northern kingdom, most probably that related in 2 K. xv. 29; 1 Chro. v. 26. Lebanon and Bashan are coupled together in Isai. ii. 13. It is not necessary to seek a metaphorical sense in the cedars of Lebanon, the oaks of Bashan, and the lions of Jordan valley. The destruction of the forest trees and of the lion haunts may well be referred to an actual devastation of the land. The mighty ones in *v.* 2 are the princes and nobles, on whom in its first severity the brunt of foreign invasion would fall.

1. *thy doors*] Rather, **thy passes**, *i.e.* the mountain defiles through which an Assyrian invader would enter the Northern kingdom. The burning of the valuable cedar forests is characteristic of the fierceness and the bitterness of ancient warfare.

2. *fir tree*] Rather, **cypress**, as in Hos. xiv. 8. It was a tree of Lebanon, as we learn from Isai. xxxvii. 24, lx. 13, and it has been found on the slopes of Lebanon by Pococke and Van de Velde. See Smith's 'Bibl. Dict.' Vol. 1, p. 376 *b*.

because the mighty are spoiled] Rather, **whereof the principal ones are spoiled** (Jer. xxv. 34, 35). This clause breaks the parallelism of the verse; and therefore Gesenius conjectures that it is an interpolation. It might well be a gloss upon the phrase, *for their glory is spoiled*, in *v.* 3. If this be so, it is of older date than the LXX., who render it by ὅτι μεγάλως μεγιστᾶνες ἐταλαιπώρησαν.

the forest of the vintage] Rather, **the inaccessible forest**, *i.e.* hitherto inaccessible to hostile attack; comp. Isai. ii. 15, Jer. xv. 20. Vineyards are not specially mentioned in connection with Bashan.

3. This verse continues the description of the Assyrian invasion. It should not be treated as the commencement of a new subject, as in A. V.

shepherds] Apparently used here in its literal as well as in a metaphorical sense.

their glory] *i.e.* their flocks and pastures (Jer. xxv. 36), their most precious things. Comp. infr. *v.* 13 and Ezek. xvii. 8, where *goodly vine* should be *precious vine*.

young lions] *i.e.* lions in the vigour of youth, not lion cubs; see Ezek. xix. 2, 3, where the distinction between the two is clearly indicated.

the pride of Jordan] here and in Jer. xii. 5 (where see note) signifies the woods and thickets on the banks of the upper reaches of the Jordan, which afforded cover to lions and other beasts of prey: comp. Jer. xxv. 38, where it is said of the shepherds, whose pasture Jehovah had laid waste, *He hath forsaken his covert, as the lion; for their land is desolate.*

4. *the flock of the slaughter*] *i.e.* destined for, or exposed to slaughter at the hands of their lords and rulers; comp. Jer. xii. 3; Ps. xliv. 22; and as quoted by St Paul, Rom. viii. 36. The noun rendered *slaughter* is used only by Jeremiah and in this passage.

5. This verse presents a picture of the oppression of the poorer classes during the anarchy which preceded Hoshea's reign; comp. Amos ii. 6, 7, viii. 4—6.

LORD; for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.

6 For I will no more pity the inhabitants of the land, saith the LORD: but, lo, I will † deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king: and they shall smite the land, and out of their hand I will not deliver *them*.

† Heb. *make to be found.*

7 And I will feed the flock of slaughter, ‖ *even* you, O poor of the flock. And I took unto me two staves; the one I called Beauty, and the other I called ‖ Bands; and I fed the flock.

‖ Or, *verily the poor.*

‖ Or, *Binders.*

8 Three shepherds also I cut off in one month; and my soul † lothed them, and their soul also abhorred me.

† Heb. *was straitened for them.*

9 Then said I, I will not feed you: [a] that that dieth, let it die; and that that is to be cut off, let it be cut off; and let the rest eat every one the flesh † of another.

[a] Jer. 15. 2.

† Heb. *of his fellow,* or, *neighbour.*

10 ¶ And I took my staff, *even* Beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people.

11 And it was broken in that day: and ‖ so the poor of the flock that waited upon me knew that it *was* the word of the LORD.

‖ Or, *the poor of the flock, &c. certainly knew.*

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hold themselves not guilty] Comp. Hos. v. 15 and note; Lev. iv. 22, 23. Gesenius would retain the ordinary meaning of the word (viz. to *suffer punishment*) in all these passages.

they that sell them] *i.e.* into the hands of their enemies; see Amos i. 6, 9; Joel iii. 19.

for I am rich] Rather, **I am become rich.** Comp. Hos. xii. 8, 9, where the latter clause of *v.* 8 confirms the rendering given above, *hold themselves not guilty*=*justify themselves*. The writer of this prophecy most probably had the passage of Hosea in his mind, if not before his eyes.

6. *deliver...into...*] Rather, **cause the men to be found every one of his neighbour's hand, and of the hand of his king.** Comp. the similar use of the verb in 2 S. iii. 8, and in Job xxxiv. 11.

king] Both here and in *v.* 8 the office of king seems to be implied as still existing in Israel.

they shall smite] Literally, *they shall break in pieces;* an expression which fits in with the way in which judgment came upon the kingdom of Israel, through periods of anarchy and the struggles of rival pretenders to the throne; so that it may be said to have come to an end *piecemeal*. Comp. Deut. ix. 21; Isai. xxx. 14; Micah i. 7.

7. *And I will feed*] Rather, **I fed**; see the end of the verse.

even you, O poor] Rather, **verily the poor.**

Beauty] Rather, **Grace** or **Favour**, as from God—friendliness on the part of God; so that the first staff expressed the relation of the Flock to their Divine Chief Shepherd. Comp. Ps. xc. 17, and note there.

Bands] Rather, **confederates**, or **knitting ones**, implying the union between Israel and Judah, under Jehovah as their God. By changing the vowel-points we get the same word which in Ps. xvi. 6 is rendered *the lines*, and which signifies in both places *the hereditary portion* of God's people, *i.e.* participation with Judah in the Holy Land. Comp. Ezek. xlvii. 13. For the whole passage comp. Ezek. xxxvii. 15—19.

8. *Three shepherds*] meaning *three kings*, or three pretenders to the throne. Comp. Ezek. xxxvii. 24.

I cut off] in the sense of *I declared should be cut off*. Comp. infr. *v.* 14, where *that I might break* is equivalent to *that I might declare the breaking of*, and Jeremiah's commission from Jehovah, Jer. i. 10.

in one month] *i.e.* in a short space of time, comp. Hos. v. 7.

lothed them] Rather, **was grieved with them**, *i.e.* the people. I became impatient and angry with them, because they did not recognize my pastoral character and my mission from Jehovah, as indicated by the two staves. Comp. Num. xxi. 4; Judg. xvi. 16.

abhorred me] *i.e.* turned with aversion from my message. The verb *bâchal* (occurring only here) is the opposite to *bâchar*, *to take pleasure in*, sup. i. 17.

9. This passage, like Jer. xv. 2, implies the prophet's abandonment of his mission of warning and mercy. The people are left to the fate they have provoked. They shall devour one another, and perish through their own intestine struggles. Comp. Hos. iv. 17, *Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone.*

every one the flesh of another] Rather, **each the other's flesh.** The pronouns are feminine because the noun is in the feminine form.

10. *people*] Rather, as in the Heb., **peoples.** The covenant is that by which the heathen nations were restrained by Jehovah from injuring and oppressing Israel; comp. Hos. ii. 18, 19 (which has a metaphorical as

12 And I said unto them, †If ye think good, give *me* my price; and if not, forbear. So they [b] weighed for my price thirty *pieces* of silver.

13 And the LORD said unto me, Cast it unto the [c] potter: a goodly price that I was prised at of them. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD.

14 Then I cut asunder mine other staff, *even* ‖Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel.

15 ¶ And the LORD said unto me, Take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd.

16 For, lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, *which* shall not visit those that be ‖cut off, neither shall seek the young one, nor heal that that is broken, nor ‖feed that that standeth still: but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces.

† Heb. *If* it be *good in your eyes.*
[b] Matth. 26. 15.
[c] Matth. 27. 9.
‖ Or, *Binders.*
‖ Or, *hidden.*
‖ Or, *bear.*

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well as a literal meaning); and so the breaking of the staff symbolized the dissolution of the covenant of peace and protection. *To be in covenant with* had become a proverbial expression signifying *to be in a state of security from*; comp. Job v. 23, and Lucan, 'Pharsalia,' IX. 894:

> ..."gens unica terras
> Incolit a sævo serpentum innoxia morsu
> Pax illis cum morte data est..."

11. *it was broken, i.e.* the covenant.

that waited upon] Rather, **that gave heed to**: see note on Hos. iv. 10.

knew] Rather, *know*, or *shall know*, by the withdrawal of God's favour and protection from the people.

it] *i.e.* the prophet's message.

12. *my price*] *i.e. my wages, my hire.* We may infer from this that the prophets were maintained by those to whom they were sent (comp. Num. xxii. 7). The same thing is suggested in Amos vii. 12. Here the terms in which the wage is asked for shew that the gift was voluntary.

thirty pieces of silver] A paltry amount compared with the service rendered. Thirty shekels of silver was the standard price of a slave, Exod. xxi. 32 and note. Comp. also Hos. iii. 2, where the price of the harlot-wife is thirty shekels of silver, half in coin, half in kind: see note ad loc. On the quotation of this passage in the N. T. see note on Matt. xxvii. 9.

13. *a goodly price*] Literally, *magnificence of price, i.e.* a magnificent price, spoken ironically.

14. *the brotherhood*] is the rendering of a Heb. word found only here. Fürst says it is a *late* noun. If we take the ante-captivity date, the breaking of the staff *Confederates* was symbolic of the severance of Israel and Judah, when the kingdom of Israel came to an end under Hoshea. Up to that time both kingdoms were regarded as parts of the covenant-nation. Both in Hebrew and in Arabic the term brotherhood expresses a wider relationship than that of blood. It includes friendship, alliance, confederacy. See Amos i. 9 and note. If we take the post-captivity date, the breaking of the second staff implies the internal dissensions which preceded the final destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.

15—17. Compare these verses with Ezek. xxxiv. 2—10, from which they are assumed to be copied. What is common to the two passages is the metaphor of a shepherd feeding or neglecting his flock for a king governing or misgoverning his people: but this metaphor occurs also in Micah v. 5 and Nahum iii. 18. It is more likely that the passage in Ezekiel is a reminiscence and expansion of the one before us.

15. Having divested himself of his office as a good shepherd, the prophet is bidden to assume an opposite character, and to take to himself the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to signify the approaching reign of an evil ruler over the people.

16. *visit*] *i.e.* in a good sense, *be merciful to, care for and overlook.*

feed that that standeth still] Rather, *bear the halting one, i.e.* lift up and carry the sheep that halts and comes to a standstill for weariness. It has also been taken, as by the LXX., to signify *the sound ones he shall not sustain*, in contrast to the preceding clause (comp. Gen. xlv. 11; 2 S. xix. 33; 1 K. iv. 7); but in this case we should have expected a similar contrast between the two preceding and the two following characteristics of the foolish shepherd. The passage should be compared with Isai. xl. 11 and with John x. 1—16.

of the fat] *i.e.* of the fatlings of the flock: comp. Amos vi. 4.

and tear their claws in pieces] Rather, **and wear away their hoofs** by merciless driving over rough roads. In the Heb. there is an alliteration between the noun and the verb.

[d] Jer. 23. 1. Ezek. 34. 2. John 10. 12.

17 [d]Woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth the flock! the sword *shall be* upon his arm, and upon his right eye: his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened.

17. *idol shepherd*] *Idol* being equivalent to *worthless, a thing of nought*. The Heb. word signifies any small image of a god, and is used by Ezek. in xxx. 13 for the images of gods at Memphis. See note on Lev. xxvi. 1; and comp. Isai. ii. 8 and note; Hab. ii. 18. Comp. also note on Jer. xiv. 14, p. 406.

that leaveth the flock] Comp. John x. 12, *he that is an hireling...seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep.*

the sword] Rather, *drought*, by a change of the vowel-points; comp. Gen. xxxi. 40. But see Deut. xxviii. 22 and note. Drought is an infliction more terrible to the shepherd than the sword, and therefore more suitable to the metaphor here. It implies the drying up of the arm, which is an emblem of strength (see 1 S. ii. 31 and note), and of the right eye, see 1 S. xi. 2.

shall be utterly darkened] Or better, *shall surely be dimmed*; comp. Gen. xxvii. 1; Deut. xxxiv. 7.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on CHAP. XI. 13.

In the house of the Lord. Mede's conjecture that בית יהוה is a corruption of כרה יהוה is very plausible; and is strongly confirmed by the Greek of St Matthew, καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος. It disposes of the difficulty of explaining the presence of pottery (or rather of a place where broken fragments of pottery were thrown away) within the sacred precincts of the temple. If Mede's conjecture be admitted, the occurrence of the form *dâth*, which elsewhere is found only in Ezra and Esther, would indicate a late date for this portion of Zechariah, and would be so far an evidence that Zechariah was the author of the last six chapters of the book.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *Jerusalem a cup of trembling to herself,* 3 *and a burdensome stone to her adversaries.* 6 *The victorious restoring of Judah.* 9 *The repentance of Jerusalem.*

THE burden of the word of the LORD for Israel, saith the LORD, which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth, and formeth the spirit of man within him.

‖ Or, *slumber, or, poison.*

2 Behold, I will make Jerusalem a cup of ‖trembling unto all the people round about, ‖when they shall be in the siege both against Judah *and* against Jerusalem.

‖ Or, *and also against Judah*

‖ Or, *which shall be in siege against Jerusalem.*

CHAP. XII. 1. The introductory words, as in sup. ix. 1, and in Mal. i. 1, are proof that a new prophecy commences here. Its date, if placed before the captivity, is certainly later than that of chh. ix.—xi. It is later than the death of Josiah, and, if not written by Jeremiah, is probably the work of a cotemporary prophet.

The burden of the word of the LORD for Israel] Rather, **The sentence of the word of Jehovah concerning Israel.**

which stretcheth forth the heavens, &c.] This solemn assertion of the creative power of Jehovah is an implicit claim to Divine inspiration. He who has done such wonders in creation has *power* to give effect to the words spoken by his prophet and messenger. Comp. Isai. xlii. 5, xliv. 24; Jer. x. 12, 13; Amos iv. 13, ix. 6.

and formeth] Heb. *yotzer*. In the generalized use of this verb, the original meaning, to form or fashion by carving, casting, moulding, &c., has been thrown into the background. Comp. Isai. xlv. 7.

2. *a cup of trembling*] Or, a cup of tottering. Comp. the parallel but not identical expression in Isai. li. 17; Ps. lx. 3; and Jer. xiii. 13, 14.

when they shall be in the siege, &c.] The scope of the first clause of this verse is clear enough. It predicts the repulse of the heathen nations from before the walls of Jerusalem. The latter clause is one of considerable difficulty. We have to choose between the interpretation which would make Judah suffer like defeat with the nations round about on the assumption that men of Judah joined in the attack upon Jerusalem, of which we have no evidence, while it is highly improbable; and the interpretation which makes Judah, as well as Jerusalem, a cup of tottering to the in-

3 ¶ And in that day will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people: all that burden themselves with it shall be cut in pieces, though all the people of the earth be gathered together against it.

4 In that day, saith the LORD, I will smite every horse with astonishment, and his rider with madness: and I will open mine eyes upon the house of Judah, and will smite every horse of the people with blindness.

5 And the governors of Judah shall say in their heart, ‖ The inhabitants of Jerusalem *shall be* my strength in the LORD of hosts their God.

‖ Or, There is *strength to me* and *to the inhabitants, &c.*

6 ¶ In that day will I make the governors of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf; and they shall devour all the people round about, on the right hand and on the left: and Jerusalem shall be inhabited again in her own place, *even* in Jerusalem.

7 The LORD also shall save the tents of Judah first, that the glory of the house of David and the glory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem do not magnify *themselves* against Judah.

8 In that day shall the LORD defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and he that is ‖ † feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David *shall be* as God, as the angel of the LORD before them.

‖ Or, † Heb. *abject. fallen.*

9 ¶ And it shall come to pass in

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vaders. This is not inconsistent with the rendering of A.V., though this latter cannot be deemed a literal translation of the original. See note below, *v.* 5, and Note at end of Chapter.

3. *in that day*] viz. when the enemies of Judah and Jerusalem shall be brought to judgment; and their designs against the city and people of Jehovah frustrated.

a burdensome stone] Literally, *a stone of burden, i.e.* heavy and difficult, if not dangerous, to lift. The idea of the preceding verse is carried on under another metaphor. *The stone of burden* alludes to a practice, which Jerome reports to have prevailed in Judæa, of lifting heavy stones, as a trial of strength; something akin to our "putting the stone."

all the people] Rather, **all the nations.** The Heb. is *go-im*, which implies heathen nations.

4. *astonishment...madness...blindness*] Both in Heb. and English the same three terms occur in Deut. xxviii. 28, a passage which the prophet probably had in his mind.

I will open mine eyes upon] *i.e.* I will regard with favour, will watch over for good. Comp. Job xiv. 3.

5. *the governors*] Rather, **the tribe-leaders.** On the Heb. words rendered *governor* in A.V. see note on Hagg. i. 1.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem, &c.] Rather, **Strength to me are the dwellers in Jerusalem through Jehovah of Hosts their God.**

This verse proves that the people of Judah would cast in their lot with the city of Jerusalem, and confirms the view taken of *v.* 2. It was only natural that the people of Judah should consider a city so strongly fortified by nature and art as was Jerusalem, to be their chief reliance in view of impending attacks; but the prophet goes on to declare that God will use the weaker instrument to effect the deliverance He was preparing for His people.

6. *an hearth*] Rather, **a pan**, a chafing-dish to hold fire; comp. 1 S. ii. 14, where it signifies a pan for cooking purposes. Here under yet another metaphor we have the same idea that is expressed in *vv.* 2, 3 by *the cup of tottering* and *the burdensome stone*. The leaders of Judah are to be a fire bursting out on every side, the enemies that beleaguer Jerusalem being the fuel by which it is fed. Comp. Nahum i. 10, where it is said that the Assyrians shall be devoured as dry stubble, utterly.

7. **the tents of Judah**] Probably the open towns and villages of Judah, as contrasted with the walls and fortifications of the capital (sup. ii. 4, 5).

David] is written in the Heb. as it is in the books of Chronicles, and not as in the older writings. But both here and in the next verse there are numerous MSS. which exhibit the older form of the word.

8. *shall the* LORD *defend*] Rather, **Jehovah shall put a fence about.**

as David] *i.e.* as one that is strong: see 1 S. ii. 4, where *they that stumble* are contrasted with the strong or mighty ones: comp. Joel iii. 10.

as God] Rather, **as a God**, as explained in the next clause, as *an angel of Jehovah*.

that day, *that* I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem.

10 And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they [a] shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for *his* only *son*, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for *his* firstborn.

11 In that day shall there be a great [b] mourning in Jerusalem, [c] as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.

12 And the land shall mourn, [†] every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart;

13 The family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart;

14 All the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart.

[a] John 19. 34. 37. Rev. 1. 7.

[b] Acts 2. 37.

[c] 2 Chron. 35. 24.

[†] Heb. *families, families.*

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9. *I will seek to destroy*] Rather, **I will endeavour to destroy**, *i.e.* I will make it my business, I will exert myself to destroy.

10. *the spirit of grace and of supplications*] Rather, **a spirit of gracious supplication**, *i.e.* such a spirit as will make their prayers acceptable to Jehovah.

they shall look upon me] Rather, **they shall look upon him**; the change from the first to the third person involves only the addition of ו to the pronoun, and has the sanction of many MSS. The way in which St John applies the passage in John xix. 37 affords us no help in deciding the question as between *me* and *him*; but in Rev. i. 7 he uses the third personal pronoun. Dathe would retain the rendering *me*; but then he renders the pronouns which follow the verbs *mourn for*, and *be in bitterness for*, by *eâ de re*, *i.e.* he would substitute *it* for *him*, making the object of their mourning the fact of their previous rebellion, which is not reconcileable with the comparison of the mourning to that for *an only son* and *a firstborn*.

whom they have pierced] St John in the places just referred to applies this passage to the piercing of the side of our Lord upon the cross, and to the attractive power, which the spectacle of Christ crucified exercises upon "all kindreds of the earth," when those who have pierced Him with their sins turn to Him in contrition and faith, and look to Him as the Israelites looked upon the brazen serpent, and were saved.

11. *The mourning of Hadadrimmon*] Probably the mourning for the death of Josiah (see 2 K. xxiii. 29 compared with 2 Chro. xxxv. 22—25), Adad-Rimmon being the spot in the valley of Megiddo, where that monarch received his death-wound. Adad-Rimmon had its name from a Syrian deity; it was called Maximianopolis in Jerome's time, and was not far from Jezreel. There is no ground for connecting the mourning here referred to with that mentioned in Ezek. viii. 14, which was *luctus abominabilis* (*v.* 15 l. c.). See Winer, 'R. W. B.' Vol. II. p. 601.

12—14. It has been argued that the genealogical references in these verses indicate a post-captivity date; but see Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 64. Dathe notes that David, Nathan, Simei and Levi are all enumerated among the ancestry of Jesus by St Luke (iii. 26, 29, 31).

The word משפחת, *family*, which is of frequent occurrence in the earlier historical books and specially in Numbers and Joshua, is found almost exclusively in the prophetic writings in Jeremiah, and in the last three chapters of Zechariah. It is not used by Isaiah, nor by Malachi, nor in Zech. i.—viii; only twice by Amos, and once by Ezekiel, by Micah and by Nahum. Its use here may be taken as an indication of the authorship of Jeremiah.

As to the separation of the sexes among the Hebrews, even on such an occasion of national mourning as this, see Gen. xviii. 6, 9, xxiv. 67; Exod. xv. 20. On Shimei see Note at end of Chapter.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. XII. 2, 13.

2. *When they shall be in the siege both against Judah and against Jerusalem.* Lit. "And also in respect of Judah it shall be (a cup of trembling to the nations round about) in the siege against Jerusalem." This seems to be the best sense that can be given to the Hebrew words, though it cannot be called a satisfactory one. Dathe, who follows the LXX. in their rendering of *Matzor* by περιοχή, is driven to treat the preposition before Judah as pleonastic, and that before Matzor as though it were ב, and not ב. By these means he arrives at this rendering—"And also Judah shall be as a bulwark to Jerusalem."

13. In Num. iii. 21 משפחת השמעי is rendered *the family of the Shimites*, here *the family of Shimei*, in A.V. Fürst says that in the former place שמעי = שמעיי, a patronymic of שמעי, and in this place Maurer renders it *familia Simeitarum*.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 The fountain for purgation for Jerusalem, 2 from idolatry, and false prophecy. 7 The death of Christ, and the trial of a third part.

IN that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for † uncleanness.

† Heb. *separation for uncleanness.*

2 ¶ And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD of hosts, *that* I will [a] cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: and also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.

[a] Ezek. 30. 13.

3 And it shall come to pass, *that* when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live; for thou speakest lies in the name of the LORD: and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth.

4 And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear † a rough garment † to deceive:

† Heb. *a garment of hair.* † Heb. *to lie.*

5 But he shall say, I *am* no prophet, I *am* an husbandman; for man taught me to keep cattle from my youth.

6 And *one* shall say unto him, What *are* these wounds in thine hands? Then he shall answer, *Those* with which I was wounded *in* the house of my friends.

7 ¶ Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man *that is* my fellow, saith the LORD of hosts: [b] smite the shepherd, and the

[b] Matth. 26. 31. Mark 14. 27.

CHAP. XIII. 1. This verse is closely connected with what precedes it. It points to the moral reformation which should result from that spirit of national humiliation which God was about to pour forth upon Judah and Jerusalem.

a fountain] Heb. *makor*, rendered *spring* in Hos. xiii. 15, but more accurately an artificial reservoir for storing water; see addit. Note on Jer. ix. 1. It is used here in a moral sense as a bath of healing.

2. *the prophets and the unclean spirit*] *i.e.* all lying prophets and all unclean spirits. Comp. Isai. lii. 11; Ezra vi. 21; and πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον in Matt. xii. 43; Luke xi. 24; Rev. xviii. 2. The prophet predicts that freedom from idolatry which marked the post-captivity period of Jewish history. The passage can hardly have been written by the author of the first eight chapters. It should be compared with Micah v. 12, 13; Nahum i. 14; Lev. xxvi. 30.

3. The language of this verse is in accord with the law laid down in Deut. xiii. 1—11. The nearest blood-relationship would be no excuse for any toleration of idolatry. Comp. also Ezek. xiii. 1—9.

thrust him through] Not necessarily *slay him*, though the word is generally used in that sense; see sup. xii. 10.

4. *a rough garment*] Literally, *a mantle of hair*. This, the characteristic dress of Elijah and possibly of other older prophets, was probably worn by the prophets of falsehood; comp. 2 K. i. 8, and the note there. It is used of the royal robe of the king of Nineveh in Jonah iii. 6. The word expresses size, not magnificence (Pusey).

5. In the discredit into which they that prophesy lies are about to fall, they will not only cast away their distinctive dress, and disavow the prophetic character, but even profess themselves to be purchased slaves of the lowest class—bondsmen of the field—*ascripti glebæ*, see sup. xi. 5.

I am an husbandman] Literally, **I am a man serving the ground** (Gen. iv. 2).

taught me to keep cattle] Rather, **has been in possession of me by purchase**, *i.e.* has held me as a bondman or slave.

6. *in thine hands*] Rather, **between thine hands**, *i.e.* on thy breast. Comp. 2 K. ix. 24, where *between his arms* = on his breast; and Deut. vi. 8, where *between thine eyes* = on thy forehead.

7. This verse is the commencement of a new prophecy, which extends to the end of the book. It opens with a denunciation of judgment upon the ruler of the Jews and upon a large number of the people; but with

sheep shall be scattered: and I will turn mine hand upon the little ones.

8 And it shall come to pass, *that* in all the land, saith the LORD, two parts therein shall be cut off *and* die; but the third shall be left therein.

9 And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will [c] refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on my name, and I will hear them: I will say, It *is* my people: and they shall say, The LORD *is* my God.

[c] 1 Pet. 1. 6, 7.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The destroyers of Jerusalem destroyed.* 4 *The coming of Christ, and the graces of his kingdom.* 12 *The plague of Jerusalem's enemies.* 16 *The remnant shall turn to the Lord,* 20 *and their spoils shall be holy.*

BEHOLD, the day of the LORD cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.

2 For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city.

3 Then shall the LORD go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle.

4 ¶ And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which *is* before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, *and*

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a promise of protection and favour towards the little ones of the flock.

the shepherd] *i.e.* the king whom Jehovah calls *the man of my fellowship;* because there was a sense in which Jehovah also was king of Israel. St Matthew (xxvi. 31) and St Mark (xiv. 27) relate the application of this passage by Jesus Himself to the desertion of His disciples when He was arrested in the garden of Gethsemane, a desertion recorded in the words, "they all forsook Him and fled."

I will turn mine hand upon] *i.e.* for good, as in Isai. i. 25, a passage which illustrates the one before us; see *v.* 9, where we have the metaphor of the refiner. The same phrase is found *malo sensu* in Amos i. 8; Ps. lxxxi. 14.

8. *two parts*] *i.e.* two parts out of three, and hence in Deut. xxi. 17 and 2 K. ii. 9 the same expression is rendered *a double portion.* It is not however to be taken literally. It only implies that the larger portion of the people shall perish by the sword and by famine, and the rest be reformed and purified; comp. infr. xiv. 2. There is a similar division into three parts in Ezek. v. 2, 12, where see notes.

9. *the third part*] called in *v.* 7 *the little ones;* comp. Jer. xiv. 3, xlix. 20.

through the fire] Comp. Ezek. xxii. 18 and note.

they shall call...they shall say] In the Heb. *he shall call...he shall say;* comp. Hos. ii. 23, where a similar change of number occurs in A.V.

CHAP. XIV. 1. *the day of the* LORD *cometh*] Rather, **a day cometh to Jehovah,** for there is no article in the Hebrew. It signifies that a season or occasion is approaching for a display of the power of Jehovah in the providential government of the world.

thy spoil] *i.e.* of Jerusalem, see *v.* 2.

divided] Rather, **portioned out.** The expression occurs first in Gen. xlix. 27. The Pual form here, as in Isai. xxxiii. 23, and in Amos vii. 17, refers to the portioning out of the land.

2. *be taken*] Rather, **be encompassed as in a net,** for this is the true force of the Heb. verb. The strong expressions which follow, found also in Isai. xiii. 16, are not inconsistent with a partial visitation falling upon the wicked, but sparing the poor ones of the flock, and eventually recoiling upon the head of the nations employed by God as the ministers of His wrath.

3. *as when he fought*] Literally, *as in the day of His fighting,* possibly in allusion to Exod. xiv. 14. As then He opened a way for His people through the waters of the Red Sea, so now the valley by which they should escape from the eastern side of Jerusalem should be opened by way of the Mount of Olives.

4. This verse seems to indicate some natural convulsion, which should alter the physical character of the region to the east of Jerusalem, so as to facilitate the escape of God's chosen ones from the city. This suggestion is confirmed by the reference to the earthquake in the days of Uzziah in *v.* 5; see also Amos i. 1; Josephus, 'Ant.' IX. 10. 4.

shall cleave, &c.] Rather, **shall be hollowed out in the midst thereof toward**

there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south.

5 And ye shall flee *to* the valley of ‖ the mountains; ‖ for the valley of the mountains shall reach unto Azal: yea, ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the [a] earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah: and the LORD my God shall come, *and* all the saints with thee.

6 And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* the light shall not be † clear, *nor* † dark:

7 But ‖ it shall be [b] one day which shall be known to the LORD, not day, nor night: but it shall come to pass, *that* at [c] evening time it shall be light.

8 And it shall be in that day, *that* living [d] waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the ‖ former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea: in summer and in winter shall it be.

9 And the LORD shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one LORD, and his name one.

10 All the land shall be ‖ turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon

‖ Or, *my mountains.* ‖ Or, *when he shall touch the valley of the mountains to the place he separated.* [a] Amos 1. 1. † Heb. *precious.* † Heb. *thickness.* ‖ Or, *the day shall be one.* [b] Rev. 22. 5. [c] Isai. 60. 19. Rev. 21. 23. [d] Ezek. 47. 1. Joel 3. 18. Rev. 22. 1. ‖ Or, *eastern.* ‖ Or, *compassed.*

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the sunrising and sunset. The Heb. word rendered *toward the east* is not the same as that rendered *on the east* just before.

and there shall be] These words are better omitted.

shall remove] Rather, **shall recede.**

5. *to the valley*] Rather, *by* or *along the valley*. The accusative of the way by which the flight was to be made good.

Azal] The name probably of some suburb of Jerusalem on the eastern side, and at the western entrance of the valley of escape. It may be identical with the Beth-Ezel of Micah i. 11, which seems from *v.* 12 ibid. to have been near one of the gates of Jerusalem. The derivation of the word from *Atzel, to lean upon, to incline to*, may suggest a slope from the city gate by which the fugitives were to escape into the valley: and then Beth-ezel would be the buildings on that slope. Nehemiah (iii. 13) mentions *the valley gate*.

with thee] Rather, **with Him**, a reading obtained by a change in the Heb. text, which is sanctioned by many MSS. and all the versions.

6. *that the light shall not be clear, nor dark*] Rather, **that there shall be no light, the bright ones shall be contracted** or **darkened.** By *the bright ones* are meant the heavenly luminaries, the planets and stars; comp. Job xxxi. 26. If we take the K'ri reading we get nearly the same meaning, *there shall be no light of the bright ones, but contracted* (*light*) = *darkness*. For the general sense comp. Joel ii. 31, iii. 15; Isai. xiii. 10; Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8; Matt. xxiv. 29; Rev. vi. 12. The partial absence of light is one of the marks of the day of Jehovah (Joel ii. 2; Amos v. 18, 20). Absolute darkness is not implied, but the deep gloom of a clouded day.

7. *But it shall be*, &c.] Rather, **And there shall be a certain day (it is known to Jehovah), not day, not night; and it shall be that at eventide it shall be light.** *A certain day*, *i.e.* a day unique in its aspect of gloom; not an ordinary day of 24 hours, with its ever-varying alternate periods of light and darkness, but a period of unbroken gloom, until the late even, when the light of God's mercy shall be revealed to His people in their deliverance. See Gen. i. 3, and note ad loc.

8. With this verse begins a description of the restored temporal prosperity of the land and city. The flow of living (=perennial) waters throughout summer and winter (lit. in the grape harvest and wheat harvest) is a symbol of fertility. Comp. Joel iii. 18 and note; also Maurer ad loc.; and specially Ezek. xlvii. 1, and note.

the former sea] = *the east sea*, as it is rendered in Joel ii. 20, meaning the Dead Sea.

the hinder sea] *i.e.* the western sea, the Mediterranean, rendered *the utmost sea* in Joel ii. 20.

9. *all the earth*] Rather, **all the land**, as in *v.* 10; meaning the whole land of Canaan, or Israel, between the two seas (*v.* 8). This declaration accords with that in xiii. 2, 3. There will no longer be any idolatry, but one God, and His name one, viz. Jehovah.

10. *shall be turned as a plain*] Rather, **shall be like the 'Arabah**, *i.e.* like the tract of level country which stretches along the lower Jordan to the Dead Sea; see Deut. i. 1, and note.

from Geba to Rimmon] = from north to south; 2 K. xxiii. 8, where we have *from Geba to Beersheba*, shewing that Geba was the northernmost town of Judah in the time of Josiah. On Geba see note on 1 K. xv. 22. Its frequent mention in post-captivity writers should be noted; see Ezra ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30, xi. 31, xii. 29; 1 Chro. vi. 60, &c.

south of Jerusalem: and it shall be lifted up, and ‖ inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and *from* the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses.

‖ Or, *shall abide.*

11 And *men* shall dwell in it, and there shall be no more utter destruction; but Jerusalem ‖ shall be safely inhabited.

‖ Or, *shall abide.*

12 ¶ And this shall be the plague wherewith the LORD will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem; Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth.

13 And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* a great tumult from the LORD shall be among them; and they shall lay hold every one on the hand of his neighbour, and his hand shall rise up against the hand of his neighbour.

14 And ‖ Judah also shall fight ‖ at Jerusalem; and the wealth of all the heathen round about shall be gathered together, gold, and silver, and apparel, in great abundance.

‖ Or, *thou also, O Judah, shalt.* ‖ Or, *against.*

15 And so shall be the plague of the horse, of the mule, of the camel, and of the ass, and of all the beasts that shall be in these tents, as this plague.

16 ¶ And it shall come to pass, *that* every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles.

17 And it shall be, *that* whoso will not come up of *all* the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain.

Rimmon was a city of Simeon on the southern border of Palestine; see Josh. xv. 32; Neh. xi. 29, and note.

it shall be lifted up] *i.e.* Jerusalem shall be exalted relatively to the rest of the country, which was to be reduced to one level; comp. Micah iv. 1, 2.

inhabited in her place] *i. e.* occupy her ancient boundaries and be as populous and prosperous as ever; comp. Jer. xxxi. 38—40.

The four localities mentioned here were probably important points in the circuit of the wall of Jerusalem at the date of the prophecy, so that the complete security of the city is implied in the mention of them. Benjamin's gate (identical with Ephraim's gate, 2 K. xiv. 13; Neh. viii. 16) was in the centre of the old north wall, which reached from it westward to the corner gate (2 K. xiv. 13; Jer. xxxi. 38), and eastward to the place of the first gate (identical with the old gate of Neh. iii. 6, xii. 39) at the north-eastern corner of the city. The tower of Hananeel was at the north-eastern corner of the city near the first gate, and the king's winepresses were on the south side of the city in the king's garden; see Neh. iii. 15. This latter clause therefore gives the measurement of the city from N. to S., while the measurement from Benjamin's gate, eastward and westward, gives the breadth of the city measured on its northern front. See note on 2 K. xiv. 13.

11. *utter destruction*] Heb. *cherem, extermination*, from a root signifying to mow down as with a scythe. For the promise of security comp. Isai. lxv. 17—25; Rev. xxii. 3 sq.

12. *will smite*] Rather, **will plague.**

have fought] Rather, *have banded together*, according to the primary meaning of the root, *to gather*, or *flock together*. Comp. Exod. xxxviii. 8.

Their flesh shall consume away, &c.] Lit. *To cause his flesh to waste away, and he standing upon his legs.*

shall consume away] Rather, **shall waste away**; comp. Ezek. xxiv. 23, xxxiii. 10.

13. *tumult*] is the rendering of a word, which signifies any sudden confusion or panic falling upon an army, so that they turn their arms one against the other, comp. Judg. vii. 22; 1 S. xiv. 20; 2 Chro. xx. 23. Keil thinks that the reference here is to the last of these three passages.

14. *at Jerusalem*] Maurer renders it *against Jerusalem;* but see sup. xii. 2 and note.

15. In Josh. vii. 24 the doom of Achan involves not only his family, but also his oxen, his asses, his sheep, &c.

16. This verse declares that even the judgment upon the enemies of Israel was not to be universal in its operation. The renewed prosperity of Jerusalem would attract many heathen as proselytes.

17. *of the earth*] Rather, **of the land.**

no rain] Comp. Amos iv. 7, 8, and note.

18 And if the family of Egypt go
† Heb. *upon whom there is not.* not up, and come not, † that *have* no *rain;* there shall be the plague, wherewith the LORD will smite the heathen that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.

‖ Or, *sin.* 19 This shall be the ‖ punishment of Egypt, and the punishment of all nations that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.

‖ Or, *bridles.* 20 ¶ In that day shall there be upon the ‖ bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; and the pots in the LORD's house shall be like the bowls before the altar.

21 Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the LORD of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe therein: and in that day there shall be no more the [c] Canaanite in the house of the LORD of hosts.

[c] Isai. 35. 8. Joel 3. 17. Rev. 21. 27. & 22. 15.

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18. *that have no rain*] Rather, **also to them there shall be none**, *i.e.* no rain or its equivalent. The family of Egypt receives special mention, because the threat of no rain would not influence the inhabitants of a land never watered by rain (Deut. xi. 10—12). The corresponding plague to the dweller by the Nile would be the withholding of the annual inundations. But comp. Amos iii. 1 to illustrate this passage.

19. *punishment*] *i.e.* sin as seen in its punishment, an unusual meaning of the word; comp. Lam. iv. 6. The four verses (16—19) look like an interpolation.

20. *the bells*] Probably the most correct rendering of the Hebrew word *M'tzillah*, found nowhere else in the Old Testament. (In the rock sculptures of Persepolis this practice is illustrated: see Ges. 'Lex.' s. v. מצלה.) This fact is adduced by Köster as an indication of the post-exile date of the passage. The trappings of worldly pomp and pride are to be sanctified to the service of Jehovah, and inscribed with the same words that were on the golden crown of the highpriest, *Holy unto Jehovah.* The common pots in which the sacrificers cooked the portion of the victims reserved for food would be considered as holy as the very vessels of the altar (sup. ix. 15). There is a noticeable alliteration in the Hebrew.

21. *Canaanite*] has the meaning of *merchant* or *trafficker* in Isai. xxiii. 8; Hos. xii. 7; Zeph. i. 11, and may be so rendered here, to imply that the offering traffick in the temple should cease (John ii. 15, 16; Matt. xxi. 12). But it is also possible to take the word literally. *Canaanite* shall no longer be a name given in irony to the Israelites, as it is said of Jerusalem in Ezek. xvi. 3, *Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan: thy father was an Amorite and thy mother an Hittite.*

MALACHI.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Person and Age of the Prophet* . PAGE 740

§ 2. *The Subject-matter and Style of the Book* . . . . . PAGE 741

§ 1. *Person and Age of the Prophet.*

THE last of the long series of Hebrew prophets, Malachi, stood in the same relation to Nehemiah during the latter portion of his work of restoration and reform at Jerusalem, which Haggai and Zechariah had occupied in relation to Zerubbabel. Not that his name is directly mentioned as having been associated with Nehemiah in the events recorded in the 13th chapter of the Book of Nehemiah; but a comparison of his denunciation of the sins of the people with the record of Nehemiah's reforms is strong evidence of the fact that they were cotemporaries.

The passages upon a comparison of which this conclusion is founded are,
Mal. ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 15, 29;
Mal. ii. 10—16 with Neh. xiii. 23—27; and
Mal. iii. 7—12 with Neh. xiii. 10, &c.

That he was not a cotemporary of Haggai and Zechariah may be inferred from the fact that his name is not mentioned in conjunction with theirs in the Book of Ezra; and also from the way in which he speaks of the temple and the temple services, the existence of which is assumed in Mal. i. 10, iii. 1, 10[1].

The parallelism between Nehemiah's history and Malachi's prophecy is confined to the 13th chapter of the former; and therefore limits the date of the latter to that of the last section of Nehemiah, c. B.C. 431 (Vol. III. p. 427).

The events recorded in Neh. viii.—x. took place B.C. 444. In them Ezra took a prominent part, and as they are separated only by an interval of 13 years from the latest portion of the Book of Nehemiah, it is not improbable that Ezra and Malachi were cotemporaries. In that case both he and Nehemiah may have participated in the work, which tradition assigns to Ezra, of having settled the Canon of the Old Testament in the form in which it has come down to us.

The name of Malachi occurs nowhere in the Scriptures of the Old Testament save in Mal. i. 1; and the rendering of it by the LXX. in that place, ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ, has given rise to the notion that Malachi (=my angel or messenger) is not the real name of the author of the prophecy, but merely his official title. Jerome mentions a tradition of the Jews that Malachi was identical with Ezra the priest; and with no greater probability the authorship of the prophecy has been assigned to Mordecai, to Nehemiah, and to Zerubbabel.

The way in which Malachi is spoken of

[1] "The last of the prophets lived, and gave his oracles, after the Temple was rebuilt. His moral admonitions show that the service of the Altar and the Temple, with its offerings and sacrifices, was established, and in use; for it is a profane and insincere spirit in that service, a religion without purity, which he labours to reform; and both the *people* and the *priesthood* have their share in the imputed contamination of their restored worship."—Davison 'on Prophecy,' p. 381.

in 2 Esdr. i. 40, "*Aggeus, Zachary, and Malachy, which is called also an angel of the Lord*," is inconsistent with this theory, and, indeed, it is most probable that Malachi (though, like the names of Elijah, Obadiah and Hosea, the word is very significant of the work and character of him who bore it) is a proper name—an abbreviated form of Malachijah, just as we find Abi (2 K. xviii. 2) for Abijah (2 Chro. xxix. 1).

§ 2. *The Subject-matter and Style of the Book.*

The prophecy of Malachi forms one connected treatise, having for its main object the denunciation of practices inconsistent with the obedience and responsibilities of God's people; practices which had grown to a head during the absence of Nehemiah at the court of the Persian king. The prophet's purpose was to strengthen the hands of Nehemiah in the reforms which he was labouring to effect; yet not without reference to the Person to whom all the prophets with greater or less clearness of language had borne witness, and to the time when the spiritual kingdom of the Son of David was to be established upon earth.

It is possible that the oral delivery of the warnings and predictions contained in the book may have been spread over a considerable period; but its oneness as a written document is beyond question. It would seem as though the writer had in his mind the invitation of God to His people, conveyed to them through Isaiah, *Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord*, for his rebukes take throughout a controversial form. To every charge a rejoinder is made, which is put into the mouth of the accused in an interrogative form, and supplies the prophet with an occasion of enforcing and explaining his rebukes to the conviction of his hearers. We have none of the poetic imagery—none of the abrupt outbursts of eloquence which are found in the earlier prophets. We have no symbolic actions, and no visions requiring interpretation. The writer addresses himself directly to the sins which he found prevailing among the people, and shews their inconsistency with their profession of obedience to the will of God and with the formal acts of worship which were duly rendered. The gross idolatry of earlier times had disappeared; but the not less dangerous error of practices not in harmony with the professed and outward service rendered to God had sprung up.

The style of Malachi is less prosaic than that of Haggai and of Zechariah (i.—viii.). The judgment of Bishop Lowth is as follows: "Prophetarum ultimus Malachias medio quodam dicendi genere utitur, atque ejusmodi plane, quod arguere videatur Poesin Hebræam inde a captivitate Babylonicâ deflorescentem, et inclinatâ jam ætate in genium quodammodo vergentem." ('De Sac. Poes. Heb.' Vol. I. p. 282.)

Renan ('Hist. des Langues Semitiques,' Liv. II. c. i. p. 143) takes a more favourable view, when he writes, "Parmi les auteurs appartenant décidément à la seconde période (de la littérature hébraïque) il en est qui écrivent encore l'hébreu avec une grande pureté: tels sont Esdras, Néhémie, Malachie."

MALACHI.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Malachi complaineth of Israel's unkindness.* 6 *Of their irreligiousness,* 12 *and profaneness.*

THE burden of the word of the LORD to Israel † by Malachi.

† Heb. *by the hand of Malachi.*

2 ¶ I have loved you, saith the LORD. Yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us? *Was* not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the LORD: yet I [a] loved Jacob,

[a] Rom. 9. 13.

3 And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness.

4 Whereas Edom saith, We are impoverished, but we will return and build the desolate places; thus saith the LORD of hosts, They shall build, but I will throw down; and they shall call them, The border of wickedness, and, The people against whom the LORD hath indignation for ever.

5 And your eyes shall see, and ye shall say, The LORD will be magnified ‖ † from the border of Israel.

‖ Or, *upon.* † Heb. *from upon.*

6 ¶ A son honoureth *his* father, and a servant his master: if then I

CHAP. I. 1. *The burden*] Rather, *The sentence*, as in Zech. ix. 1; or taking the rendering of the LXX. λῆμμα, the message, of the word of Jehovah. See notes on Isai. xiii. 1 and Jer. xxiii. 33.

to Israel] Rather, **against Israel**, the prophecy being throughout one of rebuke.

2. *I have loved you*] Comp. Deut. vii. 8, x. 15.

Was not Esau Jacob's brother?] The reference to the history of Jacob in Hosea, one of the earliest (Hos. xii. 3—5, 12, 13), and in Malachi, the latest of the prophets, proves that the Book of Genesis was familiarly known to, and its divine authority recognized by, inspired men, during the entire prophetic period. St Paul endorses this recognition when he quotes the present passage in Rom. ix. 13.

3. *hated*] *i.e.* did not love in the same degree; comp. Gen. xxix. 30, 31; and the use of μισεῖν in Luke xiv. 26.

and laid his mountains, &c.] Rather, **and I have made his mountains a desolation, and his heritage** (I have given) **to the monsters of the desert.** Solitude implies *uninhabited*, but not necessarily *uninhabitable*; comp. Jer. xlix. 17.

the dragons of the wilderness] Rather, *the monsters of the desert*, meaning serpents, dragons, &c.; or perhaps jackals. The LXX. have treated the expression as identical with that which in Jer. ix. 10 is rendered, "the habitations of the wilderness."

4. The love of God towards the descendants of Jacob was shewn in their restoration from the captivity at Babylon. To the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, no such favour was extended. The rebuilding of the temple on Mount Zion had been carried out under God's protection; but the curse, which had made Edom a desolation, was to have no remission.

Whereas] Rather, **Because.**

We are impoverished] Rather, **We are broken in pieces**, or, **We are crushed and ground down.** In the LXX., ἡ Ἰδουμαία κατέστραπται. See note on Jer. v. 17, where the LXX. have ἀλοήσουσι.

desolate places] The Hebrew word implies places, which, having once been inhabited, have fallen into decay; comp. Jer. vii. 34 and note there.

I will throw down] See 1 Macc. v. 65 for the victories of Judas Maccabeus over the children of Esau; and Josephus 'de Bell. Jud.' Lib. I. ch. ii. for those of John Hyrcanus. See also Milman's 'Hist. of the Jews,' Vol. II. pp. 6, 28.

5. *The LORD will be magnified from...*] Rather, **Magnified is Jehovah from across...**, *i.e.* the fame and fear of Jehovah were to spread far and wide as the result of the victories of those who should come forth over the border of Israel; comp. Amos i. 2; Zeph. iii. 10; and for the preposition, Gen. i. 7.

6. In *v.* 2 God has declared what was the relation in which He stood towards Israel as compared with Edom, viz. that which He

be a father, where *is* mine honour? and if I *be* a master, where *is* my fear? saith the LORD of hosts unto you, O priests, that despise my name. And ye say, Wherein have we despised thy name?

‖ Or, *Bring unto, &c.*

7 ‖ Ye offer polluted bread upon mine altar; and ye say, Wherein have we polluted thee? In that ye say, The table of the LORD *is* contemptible.

† Heb. *to sacrifice.*

8 And if ye offer the blind † for sacrifice, *is it* not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, *is it* not evil? offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the LORD of hosts.

9 And now, I pray you, beseech † God that he will be gracious unto us: this hath been † by your means: will he regard your persons? saith the LORD of hosts.

† Heb. *the face of God.*

† Heb. *from your hand.*

10 Who *is there* even among you that would shut the doors *for nought?* neither do ye kindle *fire* on mine altar for nought. I have no pleasure in you, saith the LORD of hosts, neither will I accept an [b]offering at your hand.

[b] Isai. 1. 11. Jer. 6. 20. Amos 5. 21.

11 For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name *shall be* great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense *shall be* offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for

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had assumed towards Jacob as compared with Esau. In this verse He shews what is expected from Israel in return, viz. the honour due from a son to his father; the reverence due from a servant to his master.

my fear] Rather, *my reverence.* Comp. Isai. viii. 13, where the same word means *object of reverence;* see also infra *v.* 14. Drusius remarks: Timet superstitiosus; veretur pius.

7. *bread*] A correct translation, if we take the word in its most general sense as signifying *food.* From *v.* 8 we gather that it means here the sacrificial flesh, as in Lev. iii. 11, 16, xxi. 8, and Num. xxviii. 2.

The table of the LORD] = the altar; see Ezek. xli. 22, xliv. 16.

is contemptible] Rather, **despised it is**, according to the use of the same Hebrew word in *v.* 6, where it is twice so rendered.

8. *the blind*] *i.e.* a blind animal. Such an offering is forbidden in Lev. xxii. 22.

is it not evil?] Rather, **it is not evil**, *i.e.* in your eyes—in your view of your duty to God; so Drusius and Maurer.

the lame and sick] See Deut. xv. 21; Lev. xxii. 20.

thy governor] It has been thought that this reference to offerings to be made to the temporal ruler of the land, appointed by the Persian monarch, is inconsistent with the date attributed to the prophecy during the satrapy or rule of Nehemiah; because in Neh. v. 14—19 we are told that Nehemiah forbore to exact from his countrymen the customary taxation for his own subsistence as governor. But it is hardly necessary to limit the expression *thy governor* to the individual who held the office when Malachi prophesied. He uses it as a general illustration of the sin of Israel in offering to their Divine King that which a human ruler would reject with disdain.

9. *beseech God*] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 11; 1 S. xiii. 12; Jer. xxvi. 19. This duty of intercessory prayer belonged to the priest's office.

unto us] We should rather have expected *unto you*, as in the Vulg., "*ut misereatur vestri:*" but the prophet may be speaking here as one of the people.

this hath been by your means] Literally, *from your hands hath this proceeded; i.e.* the priests were specially guilty, because it was their duty to reject improper offerings.

will he regard your persons?] Rather, **will He lift up the faces of any of you?** *i.e.* will He select objects of His grace from among you?

10. *Who is there even among you*, &c.] Rather, **Would that even there were some one among you that would close the doors** (of the temple)**; and that ye did not kindle fire on mine altar fruitlessly!** The interrogative particle has here an optative force. It is a mistake to supply *for nought* in the first clause of the sentence. The dual implies that the temple doors are meant; comp. Ezek. xli. 23; 2 Chro. iv. 22.

for nought] *i.e.* fruitlessly—to no purpose; comp. the use of δωρεάν in Gal. ii. 21, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν. See also Ezek. xiv. 23. The sense of the passage is this: It were better that the temple doors were closed, and that the sacrifices should cease to be offered, than that they should be offered in a form not acceptable to God.

an offering] Literally, *a meat offering, an unbloody sacrifice;* but here used in a general sense for any gift.

11. *shall be great*, &c.] The LXX. rightly

my name *shall be* great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts.

12 ¶ But ye have profaned it, in that ye say, The table of the LORD *is* polluted; and the fruit thereof, *even* his meat, *is* contemptible.

13 Ye said also, Behold, what a weariness *is it!* ‖ and ye have snuffed at it, saith the LORD of hosts; and ye brought *that which was* torn, and the lame, and the sick; thus ye brought an offering: should I accept this of your hand? saith the LORD.

‖ Or, wherewas ye might have blown it away.

14 But cursed *be* the deceiver, ‖ which hath in his flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I *am* a great King, saith the LORD of hosts, and my name *is* dreadful among the heathen.

‖ Or, in whose flock is.

CHAPTER II.

1 He sharply reproveth the priests for neglecting their covenant, 11 and the people for idolatry, 14 for adultery, 17 and for infidelity.

AND now, O ye priests, this commandment *is* for you.

2 [a] If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay *it* to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the LORD of hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings: yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay *it* to heart.

[a] Lev. 26. 14. Deut. 28. 15.

3 Behold, I will ‖ corrupt your seed, and ‖ spread dung upon your

‖ Or, reprove. ‖ Heb. scatter.

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use the present, not the future tense here, and throughout the verse. "*My name is great or glorified...*"

among the Gentiles...among the heathen] stand in A. V. as renderings of the same Heb. word. It would be better expressed in both places by **among the nations** (comp. Exod. xxxiii. 13).

in every place incense] *is offered.* In the Heb. there is a striking alliteration, which is lost in the translation.

12. *But ye have profaned it*] Rather, **But you are they that profane it.**

The table of the LORD, &c.] Rather, **The table of Jehovah, it is polluted;** for the pronoun is emphatic.

and the fruit thereof, &c.] Rather, **and as to its fruit** (*i.e.* what is on it) **its meat is despised.** Thus in Heb. xiii. 15, prayer is καρπὸς χειλέων, being on the lips.

13. *what a weariness is it!*] *i.e.* "what a wearisome, ungrateful task it is for us to consume such food!" The same word is rendered by *travail* in Exod. xviii. 8; by *travel* in Num. xx. 14; by *trouble* in Neh. ix. 32.

and ye have snuffed at it] Rather, **and ye sniff at it,** as an animal would when it rejects food; but comp. the use of the word in Haggai i. 9.

This passage is one of the instances furnished by the Masorah of what it calls *Tikkun Sopherim*, "Correction of the Scribes," in which a corruption of the text is assumed in order to escape expressions deemed derogatory of the dignity of Jehovah. A substitution of אותו for יהוה is suggested; see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Chald.' p. 2631 sq.

that which was torn] Rather, **what is stolen,** or taken by violence.

14. *a corrupt thing*] *i.e.* a female in contrast to a male, which he might have offered. See Lev. i. 3, 10, xxii. 19.

dreadful] *i.e.* held in reverence, awful; see sup. *v.* 6.

heathen] Rather, **nations,** as sup. *v.* 11.

CHAP. II. 1. *this commandment*] Or, according to Fürst, *this commission of mine*, my mission in this present case, is to you. Keil explains it by *this purpose of mine* = this which I (Jehovah) purpose to do; and compares Nahum i. 14.

2. *a curse*] Rather, **the curse,** the article being emphatic, in reference to the curse of the law contained in Deut. xxvii. 15—26, xxviii. 15—68. "Maledictio plus est quam imprecatio. Imprecatio verbis tantum fit. Maledictio Dei etiam effectum habet." Drusius.

I will curse your blessings] *i.e.* I will turn your blessings into curses.

I have cursed them] Literally, *I have cursed it*, the fem.-sing. suffix being used distributively to signify each one of your blessings.

3. *I will corrupt your seed*] Rather, **I will check your seed by reproving,** *i.e.* my reproof shall check the productiveness of the harvest: for seed = produce of the seed sown, comp. Isai. xxiii. 3. The same verb occurs infr. iii. 11 in a promise, as here in a threat. *Corrupt* is an unfortunate rendering, not to mention that it represents another Heb. root in *v.* 8 infr. *Rebuke* gives the sense in iii. 11; and also in Ps. ix. 5, lxviii. 30, cvi. 9; Nahum i. 4; but in all these passages the idea of *restraint* is more or less involved. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

dung] *i.e.* the dung of the animals offered

faces, *even* the dung of your solemn feasts; and ‖ *one* shall take you away with it.

‖ Or, *it shall take you away to it.*

4 And ye shall know that I have sent this commandment unto you, that my covenant might be with Levi, saith the LORD of hosts.

5 My covenant was with him of life and peace; and I gave them to him *for* the fear wherewith he feared me, and was afraid before my name.

6 The law of truth was in his mouth, and iniquity was not found in his lips: he walked with me in peace and equity, and did turn many away from iniquity.

7 For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he *is* the messenger of the LORD of hosts.

8 But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to ‖ stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the LORD of hosts.

‖ Or, *fall in the law.*

9 Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but ‖ † have been partial in the law.

‖ Or, *lifted up the face against.* † Heb. *accepted faces.*

10 [b] Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?

[b] Eph. 4. 6.

11 ¶ Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the holiness of the LORD which he ‖ loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange god.

‖ Or, *ought to love.*

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in sacrifice, which with the skin and the flesh was burned without the camp; see Exod. xxix. 14.

of your solemn feasts] Rather, **of your festal sacrifices**, comparing the use of the word in Exod. xxiii. 18; Ps. cxviii. 27; Isai. xxix. 1.

one shall take you away with it] Rather, **one shall cast you to the same place**, *i.e. without the camp*, meaning that they shall be excommunicated. Comp. 1 K. xiv. 10.

4. *that I have sent this commandment*] Rather, **that I have declared this my purpose**, as in *v.* 1 supr.

that my covenant might be, &c.] Rather, **that my covenant with Levi** (=the Levites as a body) **might stand fast**; see Num. iii. 5 ad fin.

5. *My covenant*] Cp. Num. xxv. 12, 13.

was afraid before] Literally, *bowed himself down from before*, an action expressive of deep reverence and humiliation. In the parallel passages in 2 S. xxii. 35; Ps. xviii. 34, this verb is incorrectly rendered *broken*. It should be *bent*. The Psalmist is speaking of the strength which God had given him as enabling him to bend the strongest bow. The verb *shabar* signifies *to break* the bow; see Ps. xxxvii. 15; Hos. i. 5, ii. 18; Jer. xlix. 35.

6. *and iniquity was not found*] Rather, **and as to perverseness, it was not found.**

equity] The rendering of a noun which literally means *a plain, a level tableland, a plateau*—figuratively, the making level by removing obstructions (Zech. iv. 7); and then, as here, *equity, honesty, plain dealing;* as in Isai. xi. 4.

7. *should keep*, &c.] Rather, **have kept... and men sought the law**, &c., *i.e.* when the priests were faithful ministers of God and did their duty.

8. *are departed out of*] Rather, **have turned aside from**, as in Deut. xvii. 20.

the way] That is, of those priests of old, who were faithful to God.

9. *base*] Rather **abased** or **brought low.**

have been partial in the law] Lit. *have lifted up faces in* (the administration of) *the law;* comp. sup. i. 8; Gen. xix. 21; 1 S. xxv. 35.

10—16. From the priests the prophet turns to rebuke those who divorced their wives and intermarried with foreign women; see Ezra ix.; Neh. xiii. 23—27.

10. *one father...one God*] *i.e.* "is not our God the same God whom our forefathers served, and whose covenant they kept by marrying wives of their own race?"

deal treacherously against] *i.e. deceive.* The Heb. verb *bâgad* is the catch-word of this and the following verses down to *v.* 16; see *vv.* 11, 14, 15, 16.

covenant of our fathers] Referred to in Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 3, 4, and re-enforced in Ezra ix. 12, x. 3.

11. *the holiness of the* LORD] Holiness is Jehovah's highest attribute—that by which He sweats; comp. Amos iv. 2; Ps. lxxxix. 35.

which he loved, &c.] Rather, **in that he**

12 The LORD will cut off the man that doeth this, ‖ the master and the scholar, out of the tabernacles of Jacob, and him that offereth an offering unto the LORD of hosts.

‖ Or, *him that waketh, and him that answereth.*

13 And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the LORD with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that he regardeth not the offering any more, or receiveth *it* with good will at your hand.

14 ¶ Yet ye say, Wherefore? Because the LORD hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet *is* she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant.

15 And did not he make one? Yet had he the ‖ residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That he might seek † a godly seed. Therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal ‖ treacherously against the wife of his youth.

‖ Or, *excellency.*
† Heb. *a seed of God.*
‖ Or, *unfaithfully.*

16 For the LORD, the God of Israel, saith ‖ that he hateth † putting away: for *one* covereth violence with his garment, saith the LORD of hosts: therefore take heed to your spirit, that ye deal not treacherously.

‖ Or, *if he hate* her, *put* her *away.*
† Heb. *to put away.*

17 ¶ Ye have wearied the LORD

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hath loved and married the daughter of a strange god, *i.e.* a foreign and heathen woman.

12. *The* LORD *will cut off*] Rather, **Let Jehovah cut off**, the verb being hortative.

the master and the scholar] Literally, *the waker and the answerer*, which Jac. Cappellus applies to *minister* and *congregation*—*priest* and *laymen*—referring to Deut. xxvii. 15, 16, &c., &c., and 1 Cor. xiv. 16; but it is rather a proverbial expression for every living member of the transgressor's family. Cp. Deut. xxxii. 36, where "the shut up one and let free one"=the bond and the free=all: see Vol. I. pt. 2, p. 919 note, ad loc.

out of the tabernacles of Jacob] i.e. *from among the families of Jacob.*

and him that offereth] Rather, **even him that offereth**, *i.e.* notwithstanding that he offereth.

The descent from Jacob, and the outward service, will not avert the Lord's retributive judgment.

13. *again*] *i.e.* a second time, in reference to Neh. xiii. 23, notwithstanding what is recorded of the repentance of the people for this particular sin in Ezra ix., x.

with tears] *i.e.* of the divorced wives, when supplanted by foreign rivals.

insomuch that he regardeth not] Rather, **so that He would not turn graciously towards**; comp. 2 S. ix. 8; Ps. xxv. 16.

or receiveth it, &c.] Rather, **neither receive an acceptable gift at your hands**; comp. Isai. lx. 7.

14. *Wherefore?*] *i.e.* Why does God refuse to accept our offerings?

companion] Rather, **partner**. The Heb. root implies a very close and intimate association, as of partners, friends, confederates, accomplices, &c.: comp. Hos. iv. 17, vi. 9, and Dan. vii. 20.

15. *And did not he make one?* &c.] Rather, **And hath no one acted thus, who yet had a remnant of sense in him?** *i.e.* And hath no one acted thus with regard to his wife, who had any sense in him? The Jews put this question to the prophet in reference to Abraham and his treatment of Sarah in the matter of Hagar. The prophet replies: **And wherefore did the one** (Abraham) **so act?** He acted thus **in seeking seed of God**, *i.e.* in carrying out the divine will with regard to Isaac and Ishmael. **But do you keep a guard upon your own spirit**: comp. Deut. iv. 15; Jer. xvii. 21.

none] Rather, **no one of you.**

16. *For the* LORD, *the God of Israel*, &c.] Rather, **For that he hateth** (her) **let him put her away, saith Jehovah the God of Israel.** The objecting Jews again reply to the prophet, by referring to the permission of divorce given in Deut. xxiv. 1—4; but this was only an exception to a general law, and certainly did not cover the case of men who divorced Jewish wives in order to contract heathen alliances; see Matt. v. 31, 32; Mark x. 11, 12. We may notice that the Jews speak of Jehovah as *the God of Israel*, whereas the prophet in his reply calls Him *Jehovah of Hosts.*

for one covereth violence with his garment] Rather, "and yet should one cover himself with violence against his wife?" The prophet's reply may be thus paraphrased: "Can anything justify your violent and treacherous conduct towards your wives, which is contrary to the moral sense and a violation of the moral law? Nothing; therefore set a guard upon your own spirit so as not to deal thus treacherously." The noun, which means properly *a garment*, is here only used figuratively for *wife*. For the construction, comp. the use of the word in Ps. lxv. 13. Maurer and Scholz give the same mean-

with your words. Yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied *him?* When ye say, Every one that doeth evil *is* good in the sight of the LORD, and he delighteth in them; or, Where *is* the God of judgment?

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ing, but not the same construction of the verb.

17. In this verse the prophet takes up a new subject (viz. the coming of the day of Jehovah), which occupies him to the end of his prophecy. From ii. 17—iii. 6 inclusive may be regarded as God's reply by His prophet to the scoffing inquiry, "Where is the God of judgment?"

Every one that doeth evil, &c.] Comp. Isai. v. 19, 20, where we have the same two ideas in an inverted order. First, the ironical challenge to God to make Himself known in judgment (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 4); and secondly, the calling *evil good, and good evil.*

NOTE on CHAP. II. 3.

The rendering of the LXX. is ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀφορίζω ὑμῖν τὸν ὦμον, which suggests the reading גרע for גער and הַזֶּרַע for הַזֶּרַע. Comp. Deut. xviii. 3. The Vulgate has *Ecce, ego projiciam vobis brachium* in the same sense. But the rendering of A. V. (which requires no correction of the text), as explained in the note, agrees better with *v.* 2 and iii. 11. Comp. Joel i. 17; Haggai i. 11, ii. 17; and Jer. xiv. 3.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Of the messenger, majesty, and grace of Christ.* 7 *Of the rebellion,* 8 *sacrilege,* 13 *and infidelity of the people.* 16 *The promise of blessing to them that fear God.*

[a] Matth. 11. 10. Mark 1. 2. Luke 1. 76. & 7. 27.

BEHOLD, [a] I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts.

2 But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he *is* like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap:

3 And he shall sit *as* a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the LORD an offering in righteousness.

4 Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the LORD, as in the days of old, and as in ‖ former years.

‖ Or, *ancient.*

5 And I will come near to you to

CHAP. III. **1.** *prepare the way*] Comp. Isai. xl. 3, lvii. 14, lxii. 10. These passages clearly indicate the nature of the preparation. Keil says the expression is peculiar to the writings of Isaiah, and that Malachi borrowed it from that source.

before me] *i.e.* before God, *i.e.* before Messiah one with Me. All the three Evangelists who apply this passage to the mission of John the Baptist, change the person here, and have *before thy face, before thee, i.e.* they use the words as though they were spoken by God the Father to God the Son, when sending Him into the world as the Messiah and Redeemer of mankind.

the Lord] (Heb. *Ha-adon*) meaning the Messiah, who is also the messenger and minister of the new dispensation.

whom ye seek] is equivalent to *whom ye are expecting or looking for*, as the promised deliverer of Israel (comp. Luke ii. 25, 38). Wordsworth notices the latent irony in the words *whom ye seek, whom ye delight in.*

suddenly] *i.e.* unawares, when He is not looked for by you. Comp. 2 Chro. xxix. 36. ἐξαίφνης of the LXX. rather than *statim* of the Vulgate.

2. Comp. Nahum i. 6 and Joel ii. 11 with this passage and with Rev. vi. 17.

fullers' soap] Rather, **soap of the washers.** The first notion of the word rendered *fuller* is that of cleansing by stamping with the feet. See Jer. ii. 22. The verb occurs in a figurative sense in Jer. iv. 14.

3. *purge them*] The original notion of the root is that of cleansing or purifying by filtering or straining; comp. Isai. xxv. 6; Ps. xii. 6; but it also admits the notion of melting by fire, as essential to that of straining in the case of metals.

4. *shall be pleasant*] Literally, *shall be sweet;* as in Jer. vi. 20. Comp. Hos. ix. 4, and note.

5. *to judgment*] This is Jehovah's reply

judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that [1] oppress the hireling in *his* wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger *from his right*, and fear not me, saith the LORD of hosts.

[1] Or, *defraud.*

6 For I *am* the LORD, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed.

7 ¶ Even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept *them*. [b] Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the LORD of hosts. But ye said, Wherein shall we return?

[b] Zech. i. 3.

8 ¶ Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings.

9 Ye *are* cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, *even* this whole nation.

10 Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the [c] windows of heaven, and [†] pour you out a blessing, that *there shall* not *be room* enough *to receive it.*

[c] Gen. 7. 11. [†] Heb. *empty out.*

11 And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not [†] destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the LORD of hosts.

[†] Heb. *corrupt.*

12 And all nations shall call you

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to the question with which *v.* 17, c. ii. concludes.

swift] Literally, **one that hasteth.** The Heb. word is found in a contracted form in Zeph. i. 14.

sorcerers] Properly, *mutterers of incantations*; see 2 Chro. xxxiii. 6, where the expression is *used witchcraft.*

false swearers] Comp. Zech. viii. 17 and Jer. xxvii. 15.

6. *I change not*] *i.e.* I am not changeable or fickle; comp. Prov. xxiv. 21; Hos. xii. 5 and note; and for the sentiment, Lam. iii. 22, *It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed*, where the Heb. verb is different; see also Hab. i. 12.

7—12 contain a reproof of the Jews for not paying tithes and oblations; and an assurance of prosperity, if they are duly rendered.

7. *Even*] This word represents a Heb. particle, which is all but redundant; comp. Num. xviii. 7; 1 K. vii. 32, and Furst, p. 718 b.

8. *rob*] Rather, **defraud**, which meaning is in accord with the quibbling self-justifying spirit of the Jews in the days of Malachi, illustrated by the questions, "Wherein shall we return?" "Wherein have we robbed thee?" &c., a spirit which survived in the man who, willing to justify himself, said, "And who is my neighbour?" Comp. Neh. xiii. 10.

9. *this whole nation*] Not this people (*Ha-goi*, not *Ha'am*). The latter title, which would indicate their relation to God, is withheld from them on account of their sin.

whole] Literally, *the whole of it*; comp. 2 S. ii. 9; Ezek. xxix. 2.

10. *storehouse*] Rather, *treasure-house*, as in Dan. i. 2, and Neh. x. 38. The use of this word here implies a date subsequent to the restoration of the temple.

meat] Literally, *that which is torn* or *lacerated*, and so specially used of the food of lions; see Job iv. 11, xxxviii. 39; Gen. xlix. 9. In Ps. cxi. 5; Prov. xxxi. 15, and here, the word means simply *food*, perhaps with some notion of portioning out. Comp. Hos. viii. 7. As to the use of the word in Ps. lxxvi. 4, see note ad loc. Vol. IV. p. 344.

pour you out] Implying *in abundance, to overflowing*; comp. Zech. iv. 12; Eccles. xi. 3.

that there shall not be room enough] Literally, *to not a bare sufficiency, i.e.* above what is sufficient, to superabundance.

11. *rebuke*] Implying *restraint*; see sup. ii. 3.

the devourer] Signifying probably *the locust*, called elsewhere by the parallel terms *gazam*, *châsil*. See Joel i. 4 and note. In Judg. xiv. 14 the same word refers to *the lion.*

cast her fruit before the time] Right: the same idea of premature (and therefore immature) production is involved in the use of the word from the same root in Hos. ix. 14. Comp. Job xxi. 10; Gen. xxxi. 38; Exod. xxiii. 26.

12. *all nations shall call you blessed*] Rather, **all the nations shall bless you**=deem you blessed, comp. Luke i. 48.

blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the LORD of hosts.

[d] Job 21. 14.

13 ¶ Your words have been [d]stout against me, saith the LORD. Yet ye say, What have we spoken *so much* against thee?

14 Ye have said, It *is* vain to serve God: and what profit *is it* that we have kept [†]his ordinance, and that we have walked [†]mournfully before the LORD of hosts?

[†] Heb. *his observation.* [†] Heb. *in black.*

15 And now we call the proud happy; yea, they that work wickedness [†]are set up; yea, *they that* [e]tempt God are even delivered.

[†] Heb. *are built.* [e] Psal. 95. 9.

16 ¶ Then they that feared the LORD spake often one to another: and the LORD hearkened, and heard *it*, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the LORD, and that thought upon his name.

17 And they shall be mine, saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my [‖]jewels; and I will spare them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him.

[‖] Or, *special treasure.*

18 Then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *God's judgment on the wicked,* 2 *and his blessing on the good.* 4 *He exhorteth to the study of the law,* 5 *and telleth of Elijah's coming and office.*

FOR, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the LORD of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

2 ¶ But unto you that fear my name shall the [a]Sun of righteous-

[a] Luke 1. 78.

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a delightsome land] Comp. the similar expressions in Dan. xi. 16, and Zech. vii. 14.

13—15 contain a rebuke of persons who were impatient under temporal trials, and murmured against God, because they did not at once reap the fruit of their service in temporal prosperity; comp. Ps. lxiii.

13. *have been stout*] Rather, **have been hard**; comp. Jude 15.

spoken so much] Rather, **spoken often**, as in *v.* 16. The verb has a frequentative force; comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 30.

14. *that we have kept his ordinance*] Rather, **that we have served in his service**, both noun and verb being from the same root.

mournfully] *i.e.* in mourning guise, in black garments, from a root which signifies *to be covered* or *veiled*; comp. Job xxx. 28; Ps. xxxviii. 6.

15. *And now*] Rather, **And so.** These murmurers against God come to call the evil good and the good evil.

the proud] Comp. Prov. xxi. 24; Isai. xiii. 11; Ps. cxix. 21, 51, 69, 78, &c.

that tempt God] The same verb is used here as in *v.* 10, where it is rendered by *prove.*

16—18. The result of the prophet's rebuke is here proclaimed—a result similar to that described in the 73rd Psalm as springing out of the Psalmist's visit to the sanctuary of God (Ps. lxxiii. 16, 17).

16. *a book of remembrance*] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 32; Ps. lxix. 28; Rev. iii. 5.

that thought upon] Rather, **that highly esteemed**; comp. Isai. xiii. 17.

17. *And they shall be mine*, &c.] Rather, **And they shall be to me, saith Jehovah of Hosts, in the day that I am preparing, a peculiar treasure**; comp. the expression "a peculiar people" in Tit. ii. 14; and in 1 Pet. ii. 9. See also Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6; Ps. cxxxv. 4.

I will spare them] = *I will have compassion on them*; comp. Exod. ii. 6.

18. *return, and discern*] = *again discern.*

CHAP. IV. 1—6. These last six verses of the prophecy are intimately connected with what has preceded them, and in the Hebrew text are included in ch. iii. They declare the near approach of the day of retribution for those workers of wickedness, of whose prosperity complaint had been made in iii. 14, 15.

1. *that shall burn*] Literally, *fiercely heated*, comp. Hos. vii. 4.

shall burn them up] Rather, **shall lick them up as by fire.** The force of the metaphor is lost in A.V. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 22; Ps. lxxxiii. 14; Joel i. 19.

neither root nor branch] Comp. Ezek. xvii. 8, 9; Amos ii. 9.

2. *arise*] Rather, **break forth**; and also in Nahum i. 17, where, as here, *shémesh* is feminine. Comp. Isai. lviii. 10.

ness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall.

3 And ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I shall do *this*, saith the LORD of hosts.

[b] Exod. 20. 3. 4 ¶ Remember ye the [b] law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, *with* the statutes and judgments.

[c] Matth. 11. 14. Mark 9. 11. Luke 1. 17. 5 ¶ Behold, I will send you [c] Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD:

6 And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

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grow up] Rather, *leap in wantonness*, as stall-fed animals leap about, when loosed from the stall; see note on Jer. l. 11, where *ye are grown fat* signifies rather, *thou leapedst, skippedst*. Comp. Hor. 'Od.' III. iii. 40, 41,

"Dum Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum."

calves of the stall] Literally, calves of the fattening=calves fed with mast; comp. 1 S. xxviii. 24; Jer. xlvi. 21; Amos vi. 4.

3. *ye shall tread down*] The Heb. verb thus rendered is only found here. It carries on the metaphor of the calf in the previous verse. From the same root comes the noun rendered *new wine* (in Joel i. 5, iii. 18; Amos ix. 13), as being expressed by treading.

4. *which I commanded unto him*] *i.e.* which I entrusted to him to deliver, which I gave in charge to him; comp. 2 S. xxiv. 19.

the statutes and judgments] The *with* of A. V. is unnecessary; *the statutes and judgments* are the contents of the law of Moses.

5. This prophecy was to receive its fulfilment in the person of John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah. This meaning of the passage was confirmed by our Lord on two several occasions; see Matt. xi. 14 and Mark ix. 11, 12.

dreadful] The same Heb. word used in the same connection is rendered by *terrible* in Joel ii. 11, 31.

6. *he shall turn*, &c.] Comp. Luke i. 17, and note. The meaning is that the office of the Baptist should be to turn the hearts of young and old alike, fathers and children, in one common accord of repentance, to God; and thus make ready a people prepared for the Lord, and avert the curse which must otherwise smite the earth. This explanation requires the rendering of the Hebrew preposition by *with* rather than by *to*; but the idea of mutual love between fathers and children underlies as a necessary result that of the conversion of their hearts to God.

END OF VOLUME VI.

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